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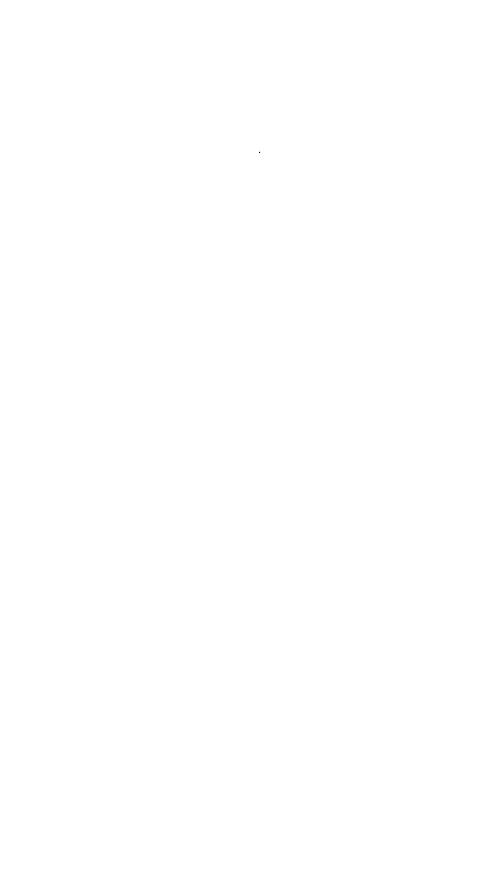
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SOUNDS AND INFLECTIONS

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THE GREEK DIALECTS

IONIC

SMYTH



SOUNDS AND INFLECTIONS

OF

THE GREEK DIALECTS

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SMYTH



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HENRY FROWDE

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THE

SOUNDS AND INFLECTIONS

OF THE

GREEK DIALECTS,

IONIC

BY

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PREFACE

It is now more than half a century since Ahrens laid the foundations of Greek Dialectology in a work which, by reason of its sterling merits, has remained unsuperseded in part until the present day. Had the original intention of the author of the De Graccae linguas dialectis been carried out, an investigation of Ionic would have followed upon that dealing with Aiolic and Doric; and the need of any other treatise on the subject would have been less urgent. The deflection of his literary activity to other departments of philology bequeathed a legacy of opportunity, of which his countrymen have been slow to avail themselves. At the present time there exists no treatise on the dialect which in its interest for the student of Greek language and literature is second only to that wherein the masterpieces of Athenian genius found expression. Maittaire's Graecae linguae dialecti, last issued in 1807, is out of date, and the monographs at the disposal of the scholar cover only a limited portion of the extensive territory.

As the author of the first attempt at depicting the Ionic dialect as a whole, I may perhaps be pardoned for alluding to the difficulties involved in such an undertaking, difficulties that are enhanced not only by the absence of minute investigations on many questions of considerable importance, but also by the fact that the sources of information are often accessible only in an

imperfect state. Much of Ionic literature is still inadequately edited. Of Hippokrates, Aretaios, the philosophers (with the exception of Herakleitos) and the logographers, there are no editions which record fully and faithfully the readings of the MSS. In the case of the philosophers only was I able in part to reconstruct my own text, thanks to such books as Diels' Simplicius and Wachsmuth's Stobaeus. From the ordinary Lexicons one does not, it is true, expect much assistance in dialectological matters. Yet, apart from errors of fact, their failure to register the occurrence of ordinary words in much-read authors is often the cause of serious inconvenience. example, that Herodotos (or Hippokrates) made use of ölos is not recorded in Stephanus, Liddell and Scott, or even in Portus' Λεξικόν 'Ιωνικόν or Schweighäuser's special Lexicon to Herodotos.

The present work attempts to combine the two methods by which dialectal phenomena may be studied—the philological and the linguistic. Primary importance has been attached to the point of view of Philology, which seeks, among other things, to determine on the basis of tradition the forms proper to the dialect of each author, the place occupied by him in the history of the development of the dialect, the interrelation of the various connected styles of literary composition, and the connection between the language of artistic construction and the language of the public and private documents preserved in the inscriptions. So far as Ionic is concerned, these matters have been discussed briefly in the Introduction, but the conclusions there presented can be fully understood only by comparison with the detailed investigation that follows. I have deferred to another occasion a sketch of ancient dialectology, a discussion of the interrelation of the chief cantonal idioms, and an examination of the principles that govern their appearance in a literature permeated to a remarkable degree by artistic consciousness.

The method that has been pursued in treating the forms as purely linguistic phenomena calls for a few words of explanation. As it has not been my purpose to write a Comparative Grammar from the point of view of Ionic, I have rarely endeavoured to trace the forms back to the pre-Hellenic stage. been compared throughout with other dialects, especially Attic. Because of its μετριότης and κοινότης, Attic is, and will continue to be, the standard by which philologians measure the manifold 'aberrations' of dialects less highly developed, or less adapted than itself to serve as vehicles for the expression of Hellenic thought. To the mention of difficult forms I have added brief explanations in the belief that these would prove of service to English and American students of Greek grammar. Many of these explanations refer to articles scattered up and down in the various journals or in monographs not always easy of access. The student may find here and there in the following pages a contribution to the solution of some of these difficulties, the existence of which has constantly been emphasized; but in crossing the frontier of disputed questions I have attempted only to bring the book to the level of the comparative grammar of to-day, and, while confessing my inability to arrive at a decision when the evidence seemed insufficient, to set forth briefly and criticize existing theories.

As regards the collection of material, completeness was wellnigh out of the question in the case of a dialect which has left
abundant traces of its existence for over a thousand years.

The evidence offered by the inscriptions and post-Homeric Ionic
lyric will, however, I think, be found to be reasonably complete.

I have made considerable use of the Ionic portion of Homer, but
it was alien from my intention to treat in detail this 'dialect,'
since its artificiality often renders hazardous the delimitation
of Ionic from Aiolic. The fact that scholars already have at
their command such books as Monro's Homeric Grammar and

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van Leeuwen's Enchiridium dictionis epicae warranted me in devoting greater attention to the post-Homeric literature. In dealing with the literary documents, I have compared the readings of the MSS, whenever it was possible. I venture to believe that, without deserting the MS. tradition to any great extent, I have disproved the theory that Herodotos made constant use of Homeric forms as such. The depravation of the dialect of Herodotos has been so great that it is often impossible to adopt a form on the consensus of AB and Rvs, which is the warrant of the archetypal reading; while it often happens that the correct form is preserved in R alone. Convinced as I am that Herodotos contracted $\epsilon + \epsilon$, $\epsilon + \eta$ and $\epsilon + \epsilon \iota$ in $\epsilon \iota \omega$ verbs, I do not hesitate to rank R very high when it preserves the contracted forms. The Atticisms of R are in fact often Ionisms. C and P represent the hyper-Ionic tradition more than other MSS. As I have referred to C (the Florentinus of the eleventh century), I take this opportunity to correct the statement on p. 93 where A (the Florentinus of the tenth century) has taken the place of C. In the case of Hippokrates the readings of θ and Λ have often been cited when they conflict with the vulgate or with Littré's text.

έτερος εξ ετέρου σοφὸς τό τε πάλαι τό τε νῦν. Among the books that were of greatest assistance, the place of honour belongs to the collections of inscriptions and the comments thereon by my former teacher, Prof. Bechtel of Göttingen. The monographs of Renner, Merzdorf, and Lindemann, the Greek Verbs of Veitch, and the grammars of Meyer and Brugmann have proved especially serviceable. Bredow's book on Herodotos rests upon incomplete and defective collations of the MSS., but is invaluable so long as Stein's promised Lexicon remains unpublished. Since the book went to press (in January, 1892), I have added some matters of interest from Prof. Blass' edition of Kühner's Ausführliche Grammatik, and incorporated the important

forms occurring in Herodas. Through the courtesy of its author, Meister's elaborate discussion of the dialect of Herodas reached me shortly before the concluding pages passed out of my hands. It has contributed largely to the additions in the first appendix, and thus rendered the treatment of the sounds and inflections of Herodas tolerably exhaustive. Schulze's Quaestiones epicae, a book of great learning, but often over-subtle and devoid of a proper regard for tradition, was of assistance at the same stage of the progress of the sheets through the press.

My thanks are due to the Executive Committee of the American Philological Association for permission to use the paper on the Vowel System published in its Transactions. apparently egotistical reference on p. 5 to my own contribution has its excuse in the fact that it chanced to be the only treatise covering any part of the dialect as a whole. In the continuation of this work it will be seen that the other dialects have received ampler treatment at the hands of scholars, whose contributions are mentioned in the forefront of my own discussion. Gildersleeve, the editor of the American Journal of Philology, I am indebted for permission to avail myself of a paper on Digamma published in vol. xii, and for other evidences of his friendship. Prof. Meister of Leipzig had transcribed for me the observations on Ionic by Johannes Grammaticus in Aldus' Thesaurus Cornucopiae et Horti Adonidis of 1496, a book that has since come into my possession after a long search. Prof. Kirchhoff generously allows me to cite his opinion on various points, concerning which my information has been derived from his · Lectures on the Ionic Dialect,' placed at my disposal by the kindness of a former pupil of the Berlin professor. references to the views of Prof. Kirchhoff are indicated by the mention of his name unaccompanied by the title of any of his published works. It was a matter of no little satisfaction to discover, upon the completion of my work, that the opinion of

the German scholar was in accordance with my own in respect of many essential features of the dialect.

Finally, I desire to acknowledge my special indebtedness to my colleagues and students at Bryn Mawr, who have helped me in word and deed; to Mr. Monro, the Provost of Oriel, and to E. S. Roberts, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Caius College, Cambridge, for invaluable assistance in reading the proof-sheets; to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for undertaking the publication of the present work, which has outgrown the limits originally set by the author; and to the printers for their care in carrying it through the press.

BRYN MAWR, PENNSYLVANIA:

March 9, 1894.

LIST OF THE CHIEF WORKS CITED AND OF ABBREVIATIONS

THE titles of treatises dealing with special departments of the subject will be found on pp. 45, 66, 74, 78, 91, 101, 110, and in the Appendix to pp. 45, 91.

- Ahrens = De Graecae linguae dialectis, I De dialectis Aeolicis et pseudaeolicis 1839, II De dialecto Dorica 1843, Gottingae. This work is now rewritten and continued by Meister.
- A. J. A. = American Journal of Archaeology, Princeton 1885 ff.
- A. J. P. = American Journal of Philology, Baltimore 1880 ff.
- Allen Versification = Greek Versification in Inscriptions, Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, vol. IV.
- American School = Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens (Archaeological Institute of America), Boston 1882 ff.
- Amph. = Amphipolis.
- An. Bachm. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibl. reg. Parisin. descripsit Lud. Bachmannus, I-II, Lipsiae 1828.
- An. Ox. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibliothecarum Oxoniensium, descripsit J. A. Cramer, I-IV, Oxonii 1835-37.
- An. Par. = Anecdota Graeca e codd. MSS. bibliothecae regiae Parisiensis, edidit J. A. Cramer, I-IV, Oxonii 1839-41.
- A. P. A. = Transactions of the American Philological Association, Boston 1869 ff.
- Apoll. Dysk. = Apollonius Dyscolus edidit Richardus Schneider in the Grammatici Graeci, vol. I, Lipsiae 1878.

Arch. Archile. Archile.

Arch. Zeit. = Archaeologische Zeitung, Berlin 1843-48, 1868 ff.

Aret. = Aretaios.

Arkadios = 'Αρκαδίου περὶ τόνων, ed. Barker, Lipsiae 1820.

Arrian = Arrian's 'Ινδική.

Ascoli Krit. Stud. = Kritische Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft von G. I. Ascoli. Autorisierte Uebersetzung von Reinhold Merzdorf, Weimar 1878.

Astr. = Lukian $\pi \epsilon \rho \ell \tau \hat{\eta} s$ 'Aστρολογίηs.

Athen. = Athenaeus edidit Kaibel, Lipsiae 1887-90.

'Αθην.='Αθήναιου, σύγγραμμα περιοδικόν κατά διμηνίαν εκδιδόμενου,
Athens 1872 ff.

Aug. = Grammaticus Augustanus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.

Baunack Stud. = Studien auf dem Gebiete des Griechischen und der arischen Sprachen von Johannes Baunack und Theodor Baunack, vol. I, Leipzig 1886.

B. B. = Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, herausgegeben von Dr. Adalbert Bezzenberger, Göttingen 1877 ff.

B. C. H. = Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique (École Française d'Athènes), Paris and Athens 1877 ff.

Bechtel = Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts von Fritz Bechtel, aus dem 34^{sten} Bande der Abhandlungen der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1887.

Bechtel Lautlehre = Die Hauptprobleme der indogermanischen Lautlehre seit Schleicher, Göttingen 1892.

Bekk. Anecd. = Anecdota Graeca edidit I. Bekkerus, I-III, Berolini 1814-21.

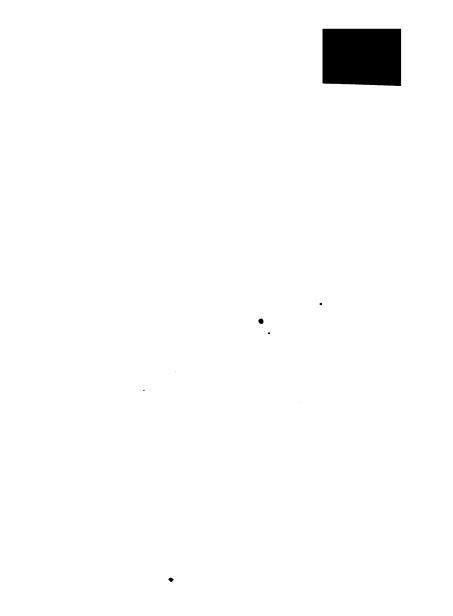
Bennett = On the sounds and inflections of the Cyprian dialect, in the Studies of the University of Nebraska, vol. I, Lincoln, Nebr. 1888.

Bergk = Poetae Lyrici Graeci recensuit Theodorus Bergk, ed. 4, Lipsiae 1878-82.

Birnb. = Grammaticus Birnbaumius in Sturz' Etymologicum Gudianum, Lipsiae 1818.

Blass = Ueber die Aussprache des Griechischen, 3te Auflage, Berlin 1888.

- ace M. E. = Miscellanea epigraphica scripsit Fridericus Blass, in the Satura philologa Hermanno Sauppio oblata, Berolini 1879.
- P. W. = Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 1881 ff.
- edow = De dialecto Herodotea, Lipsiae 1846.
- itish Museum Inscriptions = The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum, Oxford, I 1874, II 1883, III 1886.
- ngmann Gram. = Griechische Grammatik in vol. II of Iwan von Müller's Handbücher der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft, 2te Aufl., München 1890.
- ugmann Grundr. = Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen, Strassburg 1886 ff.
- ner = Delectus inscriptionum Graecarum propter dialectum memorabilium, iterum composuit Paulus Cauer, Lipsiae 1883.
- D. I. = Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften herausgegeben von Collitz [und Bechtel], Göttingen 1884 ff.
 . = chorus.
- nandler = Greek Accentuation, 2nd edition, Oxford 1881.
- ioir. loirob. = Choerobosci Dictata in Theodosii Canones, edited by Gaisford, Oxford 1842.
- noirob. Orth. = Choerobosci Orthographia in An. Ox. II, 167-281.
 - I. A. = Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum, Berolini 1873 ff.
 - I. G. = Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum, Berolini 1828-1877.
- ass. Rev. = The Classical Review, London 1887 ff.
- irtius Et. = Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie, 5te Aufl. von Windisch, Leipzig 1879.
- S. art. Stud. = Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik, herausgegeben von Georg Curtius [und K. Brugmann], Leipzig 1868-78.
- artius Verbum = Das Verbum der griechischen Sprache, 2te Aufl., Leipzig 1877-80.
- = Dindorf in Poetae Scenici Graeci, Lipsiae 1869.
- anielsson Epigraphica = Epigraphica scripsit O. A. Danielsson, in the Upsala Universitets Årsskrift 1890.
- d. I. = Greg. Kor. de dialecto Ionica ($\pi\epsilon\rho$) $\tau\hat{\eta}$ s 'Iddos dialéktou).



PREFACE

It is now more than half a century since Ahrens laid the foundations of Greek Dialectology in a work which, by reason of its sterling merits, has remained unsuperseded in part until the Had the original intention of the author of the present day. De Graecae linguae dialectis been carried out, an investigation of Ionic would have followed upon that dealing with Aiolic and Doric; and the need of any other treatise on the subject would have been less urgent. The deflection of his literary activity to other departments of philology bequeathed a legacy of opportunity, of which his countrymen have been slow to avail themselves. At the present time there exists no treatise on the dialect which in its interest for the student of Greek language and literature is second only to that wherein the masterpieces of Athenian genius found expression. Maittaire's Graecae linguae dialecti, last issued in 1807, is out of date, and the monographs at the disposal of the scholar cover only a limited portion of the extensive territory.

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- J. G.
 Joh. Gram. } = Johannes Grammaticus in Aldus Manutius'
 Thesaurus, Cornucopiae, et Horti Adonidis, 1496.
- J. H. S .= Journal of Hellenic Studies, London 1883 ff.
- Joh. Alex. = Ἰωάννου ᾿Αλεξανδρέως τονικὰ παραγγέλματα ed. Dindorf, Lipsiae 1825.
- Johansson Sprachkunde = Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde, Upsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1890.
- Johansson De derivatis verbis, see D. V. C.
- Jordan Kritische Beiträge = Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache, Berlin 1879.
- Kaibel = Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta, Berolini 1878 (also cited as K. E.)
- Karsten = De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto commentatio scripsit Gualtherus Karsten, Halis Saxonum 1882.
- K-B. = Grammatik der griechischen Sprache von R. Kühner in neuer Bearbeitung von F. Blass, Hannover 1890 ff.
- K. C. = The Principles of Sound and Inflexion in Greek and Latin by King and Cookson, Oxford 1888.
- Kirchhoff Alphabet = Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Alphabets, 4te Auflage, Gütersloh 1887.
- Kirchhoff = Lectures on the Ionic dialect by A. Kirchhoff (see Preface).
- Klein Vasen = Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen von Wilhelm Klein, 2te Auflage, Wien 1887.
- Kum. = 'Αττικής ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπιτύμβιοι by Stephanos Kumanudês, Athens 1871.
- K. Z. = Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen, begründet von A. Kuhn, herausgegeben von E. Kuhn und J. Schmidt, Berlin, now Gütersloh, 1852 ff.
- Lat.
 Latyschev = Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti
 Euxini Graecae et Latinae edidit Basilius Latyschev, vol. I
 Tyrae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae &c., Petropoli 1885;
 vol. II Regni Bosporani 1890.
- Le-Bas—Foucart = Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure with commentary continued by Waddington and Foucart; vols. III (text) and 3 (commentary) deal with Asia Minor, Paris 1847 ff.

- Lex. Messan. = Lexicon Messanense de iota ascripto in R. M. XLVII 404 (1892).
- Lindemann = De dialecto Ionica recentiore scripsit Hugo Lindemann, Kiel 1889.
- Loewy = Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer, Leipzig 1885.
- L. S. = Liddell and Scott's Lexicon, 7th ed., Oxford 1883.
- Mahlow = Die langen Vokale A E O in den europaeischen Sprachen, Berlin 1879.
- Maxim. = Maximus.
- Meerm. = Grammaticus Meermannianus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.
- Meist.
 Meisterhans = Grammatik der attischen Inschriften, 2te Auflage, Berlin 1888.
- Meister G. D.
 Vol. I Asiatisch-äolisch, Böotisch, Thessalisch, Göttingen 1882, vol. II Eleisch, Arkadisch, Kyprisch 1889.
- Meister Herodas = Die Mimiamben des Herodas, extract from the 13th vol. of the Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Classe der Königl. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Leipzig 1893.
- Mél. gr.-rom. = Mélanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg, 1855 ff.
- Menrad = De contractionis et synizeseos usu Homerico scripsit Jos. Menrad, Monachii 1886.
- Meyer Gram. = Griechische Grammatik von Gustav Meyer, 2te Auflage, Leipzig 1886.
- Mitth. = Mittheilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Athen, Athens 1876 ff.
- Mitth. aus Oesterreich = Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich, Wien 1877 ff.
- Mnem. = Mnemosyne, Leyden 1852-62, 1873 ff.
- Moiris = Moeridis Atticistae lexicon Atticum, em. ill. J. Piersonus, denuo edidit Koch, Lipsiae 1830.
- Mon. ant. = Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei, Milano 1890 ff.
- Monro Hom. Gram. = A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect, by D. B. Monro, 2nd edition, Oxford 1891.

Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. = Μουσείον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς, Smyrna 1873 ff.

M. U. = Morphologische Untersuchungen von Osthoff and Brugmann, Leipzig 1875-90.

Mus. It. = Museo Italiano di antichità classica diretto da Domenico Comparetti, Firenze 1885 ff.

Myl. = Mylasa.

Naukr. = Inscriptions from Naukratis, cited partly from Bechtel, partly from E. A. Gardner's collection in 'Naucratis,' edited by Flinders-Petrie, London 1886 ff.

Num. Chron. = Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society, 1839-54, 1861 ff.

Orop. = Oropos.

Osthoff Forsch. = Forschungen im Gebiete der indogermanischen nominalen Stammbildung, Jena 1875.

Osthoff Perfect = Zur Geschichte des Perfects im Indogermanisehen, Strassburg 1884.

Pape = Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen von Pape und Benseler, 3te Auflage, 3ter Abdruck, Braunschweig 1884.

Par. = Grammaticus Parisinus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.

Paspates = Χιακὸν γλωσσάριον by A. G. Paspatês, Athens 1888.

Paton and Hicks = The Inscriptions of Cos by W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, Oxford 1891.

Pezzi = La lingua greca antica, breve trattazione comparativa e storica, Torino 1888.

Philol. = Philologus: Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum, Stolberg and Göttingen, 1846 ff.

Philologischer Anzeiger, als Ergänzung des Philologus, Göttingen 1869 ff.

Phrynichos = Phrynichi eclogae nominum et verborum Atticorum ed. Liobeck, Lipsiae 1820, Rutherford (The New Phrynichus) London 1881.

Prokon, = Prokonnesos.

Reinach = Traité d'épigraphie grecque, Paris 1885.

Renner = De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae in Curtius' Studien, vol. I.

Revue archéologique, Paris 1844 ff.

R. M. = Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Bonn and Frankfurt am Main, 1833 ff. Rob. Roberts = Introduction to Greek Epigraphy, part I, Cambridge 1887.

Roehl = I. G. A.

Ross = Inscriptiones ineditae, Nauplia, Athens and Berlin, 1834-35.

Rutherford = The New Phrynichus, London, 1881.

Saussure Mém. = Mémoire sur le système primitif des voyelles dans les langues indo-européennes par Ferdinand de Saussure, Leipsick 1879.

Schmidt Neutra = Die Pluralbildungen der indogermanischen Neutra von Johannes Schmidt, Weimar 1889.

Schmidt Vokalismus = Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vokalismus, Weimar 1871-75.

Schulze Q. E. = Quaestiones epicae scripsit Guilelmus Schulze, Gueterslohae 1892. This incorporates the Quaestionum Homericarum specimen, Gryphiswaldiae 1887.

S. A. Sim. Am. $\}$ = Simonides of Amorgos.

Simpl. = Simplicii in Aristotelis Physicorum libros quattuor priores commentaria edidit Hermannus Diels, Berolini 1882.

Smyth Diphthong EI = Der Diphthong EI im Griechischen, Göttingen 1885.

Spitzer = Lautlehre des arkadischen Dialektes, Kiel 1883.

Sprachwissenschaftliche Abhandlungen hervorgegangen aus G. Curtius' Grammatischer Gesellschaft, Leipzig 1874.

Stephan = De Herodiani technici dialectologia, Argentorati 1889.

Sterrett = An Epigraphical Journey in Asia Minor, vol. II, and The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor, vol. III, of the Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, Boston 1888.

Stes. = Stesichoros.

Stob. = Stobaeus edidit Gaisford I-IV, Lipsiae 1823-24, edidit Wachsmuth I-II, Berolini 1884.

Stud. = Curt. Stud.

Struve Quaest. = Quaestionum de dialecto Herodoti specimina III, Regimontii 1828-30.

Syria dea d. S. = Lukian $\pi \epsilon \rho l \ \tau \hat{\eta} s \ \Sigma \nu \rho l \eta s \ \theta \epsilon o \hat{v}$.

Th. (L.) Thas. (L.) = Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre von Fritz Bechtel, aus dem 32^{sten} Bande der Abhandlungen der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, Göttingen 1884.

Theodos. = Theodosii Alexandrini Canones edidit Hilgard, in the first volume of the fourth part of the Grammatici Graeci, Lipsiae 1889.

Theog. = Theognis.

Theogn. = Theognosti Canones in An. Ox. II, 1-165.

tetr. = tetrameter.

tr. = trimeter.

Tryphon = Tryphonis Alexandrini fragmenta collegit A. von Velsen, Berolini 1853.

Tzetz. = Tzetzae Exegesis in Homeri Iliadem edidit Hermann, Lipsiae 1812.

unc. loc. = uncertain locality.

V. A. Vit. Auct. = Lukian's Vitarum auctio ($Bl\omega\nu \pi \rho \hat{a}\sigma\iota s$).

Vat. = Grammaticus Vaticanus in Schaefer's edition of Gregory of Korinth.

Veitch = Greek Verbs irregular and defective, new (4th) edition, Oxford 1879.

Vita Hom. = Vita Homeri in Westermann's Vitarum scriptores Graeci minores, Brunsvigae 1845.

Wagner = Quaestiones de epigrammatis Graecis ex lapidibus collectis grammaticae scripsit R. Wagner, Lipsiae 1883.

W. F. Wescher-Foucart \} = Inscriptions recueillies à Delphes, Paris 1863.

Wheeler = Der griechische Nominalaccent, Strassburg 1885.

Wilamowitz Herakles = Euripides Herakles erklärt von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Berlin 1889.

W. K. P. = Wochenschrift f
ür klassische Philologie, Berlin 1884 ff.

z = Aldus' edition of Herodotos, 1502.

Zeitschrift für das Gymnasialwesen, Berlin 1867 ff.

Zeitschrift für Numismatik, Berlin 1874 ff.

EDITIONS OF THE CHIEF AUTHORS CITED

1. Poets.

Homer: La Roche and Ludwich.

Homeric Hymns: Gemoll, who combines the two hymns to Apollo.

Hesiod: Flach, but the citations from the scholia follow Gaisford's numbering (Poetae Minores Graeci, vol. II).

Lyric Poets (including Pindar): Bergk 4.

Scenic Poets: Dindorf, Meineke, Koch.

Theokritos: Fritzsche.

Herodas: Arabic numerals follow Kenyon, Roman follow Bergk (for the fragments not on the papyrus).

Phoinix of Kolophon
Aischrion of Samos
Parmenon of Byzantion

Schneidewin's Delectus.

2. Prose Writers.

Herodotos: Stein.

Hippokrates: Littré and Ermerins. The references are to the pages of Littré (Kühn a few times), except in the case of the letters where Hercher-Boissonade's text has often been followed (denoted by ep. and an Arabic numeral).

Herakleitos: Bywater.

Protagoras: in Plutarch, Consol. ad Apoll. 33.

Demokritos and other Philosophers: Mullach's numbering is adopted, but the MSS., not his text, have been followed.

Historians: Müller.

Menekrates: Jacoby's edition of Dionysios of Halikarnassos.

Pseudo-Ionic letters: Hercher-Boissonade, except in the case of Hippokrates (see above).

xxiv EDITIONS OF THE CHIEF AUTHORS CITED.

Lukian: Jacobitz, and Sommerbrodt (for the Βίων πρᾶσις).

Arrian: Eberhard.

Aretaios: Kühn, and a few times Ermerins.

3. Grammarians.

Apollonios Dyskolos' Syntax from the pages of Bekker (1817).

The Pronoun and Adverb are sometimes cited by the old numbering, sometimes by the pages of Schneider (Schn.).

Choiroboskos' Dictata in Theodosii Canones follows Gaisford's

Choiroboskos' Dictata in Theodosii Canones follows Gaisford's pages throughout, as Hilgard's edition has not yet been concluded.

LIST OF THE CHIEF MSS. REFERRED TO

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1. Herodotos (cf. § 88).
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A = Florentinus (Mediceus), Laurentian Library, Florence (X Century).

B = Romanus (Passioneus), Angelican Library, Rome (XI Cent.).

C = Florentinus, Laurentian Library, Florence (XI Cent.).

P = Parisinus, National Library (XIII Cent.).

R =Romanus, Vatican Library (XIV Cent.).

d = Florentinus, Laurentian Library (XIV Cent.).

t = Venetus (Bessarion.), Library of St. Mark's (XV Cent.).

q = Parisinus, National Library (XV Cent.).

r = Urbinas, Vatican Library (XIV Cent.).

• = Sancroftianus, Emmanuel College, Cambridge (XIV Cent.).

r = Vindobonensis, Vienna (XIV Cent.).

z = Aldus' edition, 1502.

L in Stein's edition refers to the consensus of all the MSS.

2. HIPPOKRATES.

 θ = Vindobonensis (X Cent.).

 ξ = Vaticanus 276 (end XII Cent.).

Laur. 74, 7 (XI or XII Cent.).

Marc. 269 (XI Cent.).

A = 2253 (XI Cent.).

The above are the chief MSS.

D = 2254 (XIV Cent.).

E = 2255 (XIV Cent.).

F = 2144 (XIV Cent.).

G = 2141 (XIV Cent.).

xxvi LIST OF THE CHIEF MSS. REFERRED TO.

H = 2142 (XIV Cent.).

J = 2143 (XIV Cent.).

K = 2145 (XIV Cent.).

M = 2247 (old). This is Littre's M, not the Marcianus (XI Cent.).

N = 2248 (old).

Q = 1297 (XIV Cent.).

A-Q are in the National Library at Paris.

To facilitate reference to the tractates under the name of Hippokrates is subjoined a table of the place occupied by each in Littré's edition. The works starred are genuine beyond doubt.

Ι 570-637 περί άρχαίης Ιητρικής.

ΙΙ 12-93 περὶ ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων*; 110-191 προγνωστικόν*; 224-377 περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων*; 394-529 περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων (νόθα); 598-717 ἐπιδημιῶν Ι*.

III 24-149 ἐπιδημιῶν III*; 182-261 περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῆ τρωμάτων*; 272-337 κατ' ἰητρεῖον; 412-563 περὶ ἀγμῶν.

IV 78-327 $\pi\epsilon\rho$ 1 $\delta\rho\theta\rho\omega\nu$; 340-395 μ 0 χ λ 1 κ 6 ν ; 458-609 $\delta\phi$ 0 ρ 1 σ μ 0i; 628-633 $\delta\rho\kappa$ 0s; 638-643 ν 6 μ 0s.

V 72-139 ἐπιδημιῶν II; 144-197 id. IV; 204-259 id. V; 266-357 id. VI; 364-469 id. VII; 476-503 περὶ χυμῶν; 510-573 προρρητικόν I; 588-733 Κωακαὶ προγνώσιες.

VI 2-27 περὶ τέχνης; 32-69 περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου; 72-87 περὶ διαίτης ὑγιεινῆς; 90-115 περὶ φυσών; 118-137 περὶ ὑγρών χρήσιος; 140-205 περὶ νούσων I; 208-271 περὶ παθών; 276-349 περὶ τόπων τῶν κατὰ ἄνθρωπον; 352-397 περὶ ἰερῆς νόσου; 400-433 περὶ ἐλκῶν; 436-445 περὶ αἰμορροίδων; 448-461 περὶ συρίγγων; 466-525 περὶ διαίτης I; 528-589 id. II; 592-637 id. III; 640-663 id. IV = περὶ ἐννπνίων.

VII 8-115 περί νούσων II; 118-161 id. III; 166-303 περί τῶν ἐντὸς παθῶν; 312-431 περί γυναικείης φύσιος; 436-453 περί ἐπταμήνου; 452-461 περί ὀκταμήνου; 470-485 περί γονῆς; 486-542 περί φύσιος παιδίου; 542-615 περί νούσων IV.

VIII 10-233 γυναικείων I; 234-407 id. II; 408-463 περὶ ἀφόρων; 466-471 περὶ παρθενίων; 476-509 περὶ ἐπικυήσιος; 512-519 περὶ ἐγκατατομῆς ἐμβρύου; 538-541 περὶ ἀνατομῆς; 544-549 περὶ ὀδοντοφυίης; 556-575 περὶ ἀδένων; 584-615 περὶ σαρκῶν; 634-673 περὶ ἑβδομάδων.

IX 6-75 προρρητικόν II; 80-93 περί καρδίης; 98-121 περί τροφής; 152-161 περί δψιος; 168-197 περί δστέων φύσιος; 204-221 περί Ιητροῦ; 226-245 περί εὐσχημοσύνης; 250-273 παραγγελίαι; 276-295 περί κρισίων; 298-307 περί κρισίμων; 312-429 ἐπιστολαί.

The chief tractates are sometimes abbreviated thus:

ΕΙ = ἐπιδημιῶν πρῶτον.

Ε ΙΙΙ = ἐπιδημιῶν τρίτου.

ΠΑ = περί ἀέρων, ύδάτων, τόπων.

ΠΔΟ = περί διαίτης δξέων.

ΠΤΚ = περί τῶν ἐν κεφαλή τρωμάτων.

 $\Pi = \pi \rho o \gamma \nu \omega \sigma \tau \iota \kappa \delta \nu$.

ΠΚ = προγνώσιες Κωακαί.

3. THEOGNIS.

A = Mutinensis (X Cent.) National Library in Paris.

K = Vaticanus (XVI Cent.).

O =Vaticanus (XII Cent.).

4. LUKIAN.

A = Gorlicensis (XIV Cent.).

at = Vaticanus 87 (XII or XIII Cent.).

B = Vindobonensis 123 (X Cent.).

C = Parisinus 3011 (XIII or XIV Cent.).

 $E = \text{Wittianus} (\text{Marcianus}) \text{ perhaps a source of } \Omega.$

 Γ = Vaticanus 90 (XI Cent.).

 Φ = Florentinus (Laurentianus) 77 (of different dates).

 $\Psi = Marcianus 436 (XIV Cent.).$

 $\Omega = Marcianus 434 (XIII Cent.).$

a = editio princeps (Florence 1496).

v = Reitz' edition (Amsterdam 1743).

Sommerbrodt's critical edition (vol. I, Berolini 1886-89) does not yet include the Syria dea or the Astrologia.

INSCRIPTIONS.

All Ionic inscriptions, unless specially referred to other collections, are cited by the numbering of Bechtel's Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts. Thasian inscriptions not included in this work are denoted by Th. (L.), and refer to the numbering of Bechtel's Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre. The inscriptions from Naukratis are usually cited from E. A. Gardner's collection in the two volumes of W. M. Flinders-Petrie, but Bechtel's numbering of three (139 A-139 C) has been followed. All other dialect inscriptions, except when the contrary is stated, are cited from C. D. I. C. I. A. IV refers to the first, C. I. A. IV B to the second, C. I. A. IV C to the third part of the fourth volume of the Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum. The date of an inscription is sometimes indicated by a Roman numeral followed by the letter C, e.g. VC = fifth century B. C.

References have sometimes been made to notes in the text as if these notes were numbered. These references are to be understood as if made to paragraphs in smaller type.

ERRATA

Page 223, for 167 read 219. 596, read eluéra for eluéra. 7516, add κάρηνα Eurip. frag. 541, τρικάρηνον (MSS.) H. F. 611. 14212; read In Naukratis also. 154 (§ 150), see now app. to p. 265. 1586, read 209. 163, read ars. 165 end and 166 top, read -γενής. 17010 from bottom, read ἐλεύθαρος. 1842 read 420. 21316, cf. § 534. 23614, Δεκελήθεν, though found in PRC, is scarcely correct; see § 219, 9. 2774, read τώντ. 281, the reference to foot-note 3 belongs at the end of l. 2 f. b. [In two Eretrian inscriptions (Έρ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196, 200) we find σίτηριν, παιρίν, ἐπιδημέωριν, συνελευθερώραντι]. 25443. 219. 30713 f. b., after and insert σσ. 38516 f. b., dele Compounds ... 93. 38816 f. b., dele 1. 47518 f. b., read ἡρήρεισθαι. 487, f. n. 3. read Abhandlungen for Untersuchungen.

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THE IONIC DIALECT

INTRODUCTION.

Sources of the Present Investigation.

SETTH: The Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect in the Transactions Amer. Philol. Assoc. XX 5-138 (1889).

1.] Chief Literary Monuments. Of the lyric poets especial attention has been devoted to those of Ionic blood, in the first instance to the iambographers Archilochos of Thasos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax of Ephesos and Ananios (or Ananias), secondly to the elegists Kallinos of Ephesos, Mimnermos and Xenophanes of Kolophon, Phokylides of Miletos. The dialect of Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis has been treated in some detail: Tyrtaios, a Lakonian by adoption, but a representative of the early Elegy as cultivated by a poet not of genuine Ionic stock; Solon, in order to raise the question whether his Muse is Ionic or Old-Attic or a combination of the two; the Megarian Theognis, that we may obtain a survey of the language of the elegy to the end of the sixth century.

The newly discovered fragments of Herodas, though containing some Dorisms, evince the persistence of the dialect of

the Ionic iambographers.

Anakreon is the chief native source of information concerning the dialect in melic poetry. Simonides of Keos and the melic poets not of Ionic stock, especially Pindar, have been drawn upon in the discussion of the nature of the epigram, choral ode, &c.

Homeric forms, when of specifically Ionic texture, have been utilized for the purpose of comparing the older with the later dislect.

The didactic epic of Parmenides and Empedokles has but rarely been cited.

All the logographers have been studied, Hekataios of Miletos yielding more fruit than Charon of Lampsakos, Pherekydes of Leros, Xanthos the Lydian, or Hellanikos of Mitylene.

Herodotos has been examined with special reference to the interrelation of the MSS. Without a knowledge of the character of their fluctuations no theory as to the complexion of early Ionic prose deserves a hearing.

For the language of the philosophers the fragments of Anaxagoras of Klazomenai, Diogenes of Apollonia, Melissos of Samos, the Moralia of Demokritos of Abdera, and Herakleitos of Ephesos have been investigated.

The following treatises of Hippokrates, as least open to the suspicion of spuriousness, have contributed chiefly to the study of the older medical dialect :-

περί ἐπιδημιῶν τὸ πρῶτον. περί ἐπιδημιών τὸ τρίτον.

Προγνωστικά.

περί ἀέρων, ὑδάτων, τόπων.

περί διαίτης δξέων.

περί των έν κεφαλή τραυμάτων.

Κωακαί προγνώσεις (perhaps pre-Hippokratic).

The 'Aφορισμοί have been passed by as too full of inter-Only occasionally is reference made to treatises of the younger Hippokrateians (περί τέχνης, περί φύσιος ανθρώπου

of Polybos, περί φυσών, περί ίερης νόσου, &c.). Of the pseudo-Ionists, Aretaios, Arrian, and Lukian are our

principal sources. A subordinate place is occupied by the supposititious letters of Hippokrates and of the Ionic philosophers. To discover whether the $\pi\epsilon\rho i$ $\tau\hat{\eta}s$ $\Sigma\nu\rho i\eta s$ $\theta\epsilon\hat{\nu}\hat{\nu}$ and the $\pi\epsilon\hat{\rho}i$ $\hat{\alpha}\sigma\tau\rho\hat{\rho}$ λογίης are the production of the author of the βίων πρᾶσις, was foreign to the immediate purpose of this treatise. On any view they deserve a prominent place in the study of the Ionic Renascence. Though convinced that the study of the pseudo-Ionists is barren of great results for the restoration of Ionic forms in the texts of the early Ionic prosaists, the importance of the revival of Ionic literature seemed to me sufficient to justify a portrayal of the form assumed by pseudo-Ionism in Aretaios, Arrian and Lukian. I have also placed under contribution the fragments of Abydenos' Assyrian History, Uranios, Eusebios (perhaps an imitator of Demokritos), and Eusebios Myndios, that we may realize the more vividly how persistent has been the influence exerted upon later prose by the diction of its creators.

SOURCES OF THE PRESENT INVESTIGATION.

2. The Inscriptions.

3.]

The treatises by Bechtel: Die Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts 1887, and Thasische Inschriften ionischen Dialekts im Louvre 1884, have rendered antiquated, so far as material is concerned, Erman De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto (Curt. Stud. V 249-310, 1872), and Karsten De titulorum Ionicorum dialecto 1882. Besides the inscriptions in Bechtel's collections, I have made use of those in Imhoof-Blumer's Griechische Münzen, Head's Historia Numorum, and others which have appeared since the publication of Bechtel's first-named work.

So far as seemed advisable, every inscriptional form pertinent to a knowledge of Ionic phonology and inflection has been utilized. Wherever it was necessary to compare the date of any phonetic or inflectional change in Ionic with the date of a similar change in Attic, the latter dialect, in its stone records, has been

drawn within the range of view.

Of the epigraphical monuments of the dialect incorporated in Bechtel's collection, there are in all at least fifty antedating the introduction of the Ionic alphabet into Athens at the close of the fifth century. These are equally divided between the sixth and the following century. For the study of the earliest Ionic prose it is unfortunate that no less than eighteen (of the twenty) metrical inscriptions contained in Bechtel's collection fall before the year 400 B.C.; thus materially reducing the number of documents by which the prose of the historians and philosophers may be illustrated.

From the fourth century there are about a dozen inscriptions older than 350 B.C. when the integrity of the dialect is perceptibly weakened by the inroads of Attic. Dialectal forms continue to appear as late as the third century after Christ, though in the latest period almost entirely in proper names.

3.] The Grammarians. We possess tractates on Ionic by:

The author of περὶ διαλέκτων ἐκ τῶν Ἰωάννου γραμματικοῦ τεχνικῶν, in Aldus Manutius' Thesaurus, Cornucopiae, et Horti Adonidis.

Gregorios of Corinth.

Grammaticus Leidensis,
Grammaticus Meermannianus,
Grammaticus Augustanus,

In Schaefer's edition
of Gregorios.

Furthermore, excerpts from a Paris and from a Vatican MS. (in Schaefer's edition of Gregorios), and the Birnbaum excerpt in Sturz' Etymologicum Gudianum.

On the relation of Gregorios' treatise to the lost work of Johannes Grammaticus or Philoponos, on their sources, and on the interdependence of all the above mentioned briefer sketches, see the introduction to AIOLIC § 8.

Completely lost, or preserved only in part by a process of silent transmission, are the treatises dealing immediately with the Ionic dialect and of a period far anterior to the work of Johannes Philoponos, which falls in the sixth century of our era. Besides the many works on glosses and on dialects which we cannot prove to have discussed either exclusively or mainly the Ionic dialect, there are the following whose titles have come down to us:

Philoxenos of Alexandreia περί τῆς Ἰάδος διαλέκτου καὶ τῶν λοιπών, περί των παρ' 'Ομήρω γλωσσών, Trypho περί των παρ' 'Ομήρω διαλέκτων και Σιμωνίδη και Πινδάρω και 'Αλκμάνι και τοις ἄλλοις λυρικοῖς, and Apollonios Dyskolos περὶ 'Ιάδος. That the dialect of Eretria received attention is certain not only from Plato, but also from a passage in Athenaios (VII 284 B), where mention is made of the περί διαλέκτων of Dionysios Iambos, the teacher of Aristophanes of Byzantium. Aristophanes in his lexicon to Homer carried on the work which had been begun by Demokritos (περὶ 'Ομήρου ὀρθοεπείης καὶ περὶ γλωσσέων) and continued by the popular work of Philetas. Though these Homeric lexica dealt rather with studies of the vocabulary of the poet than with the inflectional and morphological aspect of his diction, they may have contained much that was instrumental in defining the position of Old Ionic. Kallimachos compiled a πίναξ τῶν Δημοκρίτου γλωσσῶν. In later times there were collections of $\lambda \epsilon \xi \epsilon \iota s$, and treatises on Herodoteian vocabulary, e.g. Apollonios' εξήγησις των Ἡροδότου γλωσσων.

In like manner side lights must have been cast upon the structure of Hippokratic Ionic by the τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συναγωγή of Erotianos, the τῶν τοῦ Ἱπποκράτους γλωσσῶν ἐξήγησις of Galen, and by the glossary of Herodotos Lykios. But little seems to have drifted from the numerous commentaries upon Hippokrates into the later grammatical literature. Herodian

mentions Hippokrates twice only.

The Homeric glossary of Apio and the similar work of Herodoros (or Heliodoros), both of which were based upon the labours of Aristarchos, proved important sources of information to Hesychios and Eustathios; and show it to be possible that similar, but more strictly phonological, treatises of the best period of grammatical studies may have been placed under contribution by Eustathios, the 'Ομήρου ἐπιμερισμοί, &c. The works of later grammarians, for example Johannes Philoponos, Theodosios, Charax, Timotheos and Choiroboskos (who wrote a treatise περί διαλέκτων), are based chiefly upon Herodian, whose observations upon Ionic deal almost exclusively with Homer. It is to be lamented that so much of Trypho's dialectological researches has been engulfed by time. In having an eye for local

colour, Trypho had the preeminent virtue of a dialectologist. Apollonios Dyskolos, so far as we can judge from the treatise on the Pronoun, embraced in his researches the dialect of the Ionic logographers and philosophers, though Homeric forms are the chief point of attraction.

The well-nigh universal failure of ancient grammar to notice the shading of sub-dialectal speech, and its neglect of the existence in the living language 1 of survivals from its dialect life weigh heavily against a dialect covering so great an extent of territory as Ionic. The narrower range of Aiolic forbids the expectation that its minuter variations had attracted the attention of a race of scholars whose dialectological studies were pursued chiefly in connection with literature. In the case of Doric however, apart from the investigations of Trypho into the speech of Rhegion and Syrakuse (which followed in the wake of the study of Ibykos and Theokritos), the dialects of Krete, Lakonia, &c., were deemed of sufficient interest in themselves to invite research.

To the splendour of the Homeric poems; to the general belief of the ancients that Homer was a distinct personality, by birth and residence an Ionian; and to the wealth of grammatical learning brought to the elucidation of his diction by the leaders of the Alexandrian school, is due in great part the fact that the Iliad and the Odyssey overshadow all other monuments of Ionic genius as the repositories of information concerning the Ionic dialect. Though to the rhetoricians of the empire Herodotos was the ἄριστος κανών of Ionic, yet both he and the other Ionic prosaists awakened attention too late to be saved from suffering comparative neglect at the hands of the earlier scholars, whose authority was absolute in the view of the later grammarians whose works have been directly transmitted to us.

The result of this supremacy of the Homeric poems in the schools is clear. In almost every case in which we find in the grammarians the unqualified statement that this or that form is Ionic, it does not mean more to the modern dialectologist than that the form in question is Homeric. To such puerilities does this one-sidedness of view lead, that even tmesis, apacope, hyperbaton, &c., are called Ionic. Tzetzes is the chief sinner in this regard.

The value of grammatical literature is not vitiated only by its subserviency, as regards Ionic, to the composite and artificial dialect of Homer and even of Hesiod. Words that are the property of all the dialects, or words that are not Ionic at all

¹ Very rare are such observations as fus νῦν παρ' "Ιωσιν οἱ κολοβοκέρατο. quoi αίλοι λέγονται, Schol. Ven. A on Π 117.

are stamped as Ionic solely because they happen to occur in a writer whose diction contains Ionisms. Gregory (p. 522) says that Osiris was Ionic for Dionysos. In utilizing the testimonia adduced in this treatise, the considerations here stated should guard us against attributing undue importance to the evidence of even such authorities as Herodian.

In the view of Herodian no word was worthy of discussion unless it was Hellenic, i.e. unless it occurred in literature or was used by the cultured classes of his day. All other words were vulgar (βάρβαρα). A word was Hellenic, if it occurred in but a single dialect author; a view that was disputed by some of Herodian's contemporaries and predecessors. On the other hand, a word was non-Hellenic if it was the exclusive property of the popular speech, or if it occurred in inscriptions. In all Herodian there are but three references to inscriptions, and these are derived, not from the stones themselves, but from literature. (Ionic, Doric, Aiolic, &c., scarcely ever include non-literary words.) Herodian could not escape meeting with vulgar words in the works on the manners and customs of different parts of Greece, or in the geographers and glossographers, though these sources were rarely employed. But vulgar words need not conform to rule, and even if they do, they are rarely employed in illustration of the principle under discussion. Some grammarians possessed a more catholic spirit than Herodian, who failed to develop the germ of truth in Sokrates' remark (Krat. 409) that Hellenic words could be of barbarian origin. Herodian refused to derive a Hellenic word from one of vulgar source. In studying Herodian's theory of dialectology it must not be overlooked that he thought the language of the epos was not that of an actual dialect. Choiroboskos and Gregory never doubt that Homer is an Ionic author. But Herodian does not refer exclusively to Homer when it is his intention to set forth the Ionic character of a form. See Stephan, De Herodiani Technici dialectologia, first part. Cf. note to § 25.

Though the ancient learning increases our knowledge of Ionic by scarcely a single fact that we do not already know from a study of the literary monuments of the dialect, it is fortunately accessible in a form sufficiently early, and thus sufficiently pure, to control the aberrations of pseudo-Ionism.

In the preparation of this volume the testimony of the following ancient grammarians, besides those mentioned in the beginning

of § 3, is adduced :-

Trypho, Apollonios Dyskolos, Herodian, Hesychios, Etymologicum Magnum, Etymologicum Gudianum, the Etymologicum of Orion, Theodosios, Choiroboskos, Eustathios, Priscian's Syntax in Maximus Planudes' Greek translation (Bachmann, An. II 105–166), the 'Ομήρου ἐπιμερισμοί (Cramer's Anecd. Ox. vol. I), Tzetzes' Exegesis of the Iliad, the minor tractates in the Anecdota Oxoniensia, Parisiensia, in Bekker's and Bachmann's Anecdota, the scholia on Hesiod (quoted according to Gaisford's lines), and the scholia of Venetus A on the Iliad (Dindorf, vol. I and II).

Phavorinus I have passed over, but the pseudo-Drakonian treatise περὶ μέτρων ποιητικών, dating from 1545-55 and the work of a Greek named Diassorinos, has been quoted here and there for the purpose of showing what views on Ionic were possible under the Renascence. The Aldine edition was successful in foisting upon Herodotos many non-Ionic forms which tend to reappear in modern editions; and it can be shown that the copyists of the Renascence have perverted the original reading because of their theories as to the love of Ionic for open vowels. The grammarians are quoted when they say outright that a form is Ionic, not when their statements point merely by implication to such an opinion.

Geographical Divisions of Ionic.

- 4.] It is upon the evidence of the stone records alone that we are justified in assuming a threefold division of the Ionic dialect.
 - (1) The Western Ionic of Euboia.
 - A. Chalkis and colonies: Kyme and Neapolis, Rhegion, Terone, Olynthos, Amphipolis, Ainea.
 - B. Eretria with its colonies, Mende, Oropos.
 - C. Styra.
 - D. Kyme.
 - (2) Ionic of the Kyklades.
 - A. Naxos with its colony Amorgos (Arkesine or -es, Aigiale)¹. Keos.
 - B. Delos.

Paros with its colonies Thasos, Neapolis in Makedonia, and Pharos.

Siphnos.

- C. The remaining Kyklades: Andros, Ios, Mykonos.
- (3) Ionic of Asia Minor. The Ionians of Asia Minor were the only division which in historic times bore the ethnic name 'Ionians.'
 - A. The Twelve Cities.
 - (a) Miletos, and colonies: Prokonessos, Iasos, Leros, Kyzikos, Zeleia, Parion (colonized from Miletos, Erythrai and Paros), Sinope, Pantikapaion, Theodosia, Olbia, Istros, Tomoi, Apollonia, Naukratis². Myus (or Myes, cf. Steph. Byz.). Priene.

¹ Amorgos was colonized by Naxians, Samians, and Milesians. Inscriptions from Minoa are placed under Samos.

³ The temple to Apollo was built by Milesians, the Hellenion by settlers from Chios, Teos, Phokaia, Klazomenai, Rhodes, &c. The temple of Hera was the work of Samiana.

(b) Ephesos:

Kolophon and Smyrna (cf. Mimnermos 9).

Teos and colonies: Abdera, Phanagoreia.

Klazomenai.

Phokaia with colonies: Lampsakos, Hyele, Segesta¹, Massalia, Inscriptions from Lebedos are wanting.

(c) Chios and Maroneia:

Erythrai (participated in the founding of Parion).

- (d) Samos and colonies: Minoa in Amorgos, Perinthos, Samothrake, Naukratis, where the Samians erected a temple to Hera.
- B. Ionic cities in Karia:

Halikarnassos. Mylasa. Olymos. Bargylia. Keramos. Aphrodisias. Tralles.

5.] Western Ionic has not abandoned the rough breathing. Proper names derived from κλέος agree with the Attic inscriptions of the fifth century in ending in -κλέης, not in -κλῆς. -κλῆς is the older form upon the stone records of Attika. The genitive of proper names, whose second component part is an iota stem, ends in -ιδος, not in -ιος. Herein too Western Ionic is in agreement with Attic. Whether this group had ττ for σσ of

Island Ionic and Asiatic Ionic, is doubtful (§ 371).

Until we come into possession of documents of an antiquity sufficient to free their phonetical and inflectional system from the suspicion of Atticism, we are not in a position to hold that there are sharply marked differences in speech between the Chalkidians, Eretrians and Styrians. In the present state of our knowledge Eretrian Ionic seems to possess a more distinct individuality than that of Chalkis or Styra. It alone ² shows examples of rhotacism, a phenomenon scarcely indigenous in Eretria, though its ultimate provenance is still a matter of dispute.

In Eretria it was more usual than in the Chalkidian colonies to substitute -0ι and $-\epsilon\iota$ for final $-\omega\iota$ and $-\eta\iota$. Neither the Ionic of the Kyklades nor that of Asia Minor shows any tendency to permit this substitution, which comes to light in Western Ionic about 400 B.C. Attic influence, at least so far as $-\epsilon\iota$ is concerned, accelerated the change in Ionic, for in Attic we find well-attested cases about 380 B.C. To the same cause are due the instances of $\tau\tau$ for $\sigma\sigma$ in Eretria and Styra.

When Western Ionic differs from that of the other divisions,

Cf. Kinch, Zeit. f. Num., XVI 187; Meister, B. P. W. 1890, p. 672, Philot. 1891, p. 607.
 On Κτηρῖνος an Eretrian, Styra 19 418, see § 331.

its preferences are, with the exception of rhotacism, in the direction of forms of Attic complexion 1.

Western Ionic alone in the period of its dialect life under the Ionic aristocracies was barren of literary offspring. The princely houses of Chalkis fostered the cultivation of the epos. It was Hesiod's glory to have gained a prize at a contest instituted at the funeral games of a Chalkidian. But whatever store of artistic capacity the Euboians may have received with their Ionic blood, so long as they remained in their Western home, they devoted it in great part to the manufacture of vases or of arms (Alkaios 15). It was only in the colonies sent out from Chalkis 2, in Leontini, Himera and Rhegion, the homes of Gorgias, Stesichoros, and Ibykos that Ionic genius, engrafting itself upon Doric, gave birth to a literature which it was not allotted to Euboian Ionic unaided to produce. There are indeed not wanting indications that Attic tragedy stood in closer relations to Stesichoros and Ibykos than to Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides.

Two additional points have been emphasized in some quarters as characteristic of Euboian Ionic: the retention of the original a and the preservation of f. In § 157 the cases of a in the Ionic of Styra are submitted to an examination. There is no proof that any quarter of Ionic in a period of dialect autonomy has adopted the Attic a. The Chalkidian vases with their inconsequent treatment of the dialects (Xopa C. I. G. 7459, Nats 7460, Papuforns 7582. &c.) are on a plane herein with some of Campanian origin. The digamma in fie, 'Ofarins, and Tapuforns is due to the possible mixture of nationalities in Chalkis, as has been shown by Kretschmer in K. Z. XXIX 390. Fourier and for in the inscription from Rhegion (Bechtel 5-Rob. I 180 may be ascribed to Doric influence (cf. Thuk. VI 5), since two idioms have contributed their quota to the document in question.

6.] Ionic of the Kyklades. In the group consisting of Naxos and Keos we observe that the palaeographic distinction, which seems to denote an original difference in the pronunciation of $\eta = IE \, \hat{e} \, (\text{written E}) \, \text{and} \, \eta = IE \, \hat{a} \, (\text{written B or H, see § 166}),$ was retained a century longer than was the case in the group formed by Delos, Paros, and Siphnos. But since this variation is merely chronological, and since there are no linguistic data known to us justifying a separation of the Kyklades into two sub-dialects, we may regard the dialect of these islands as one.

literary centre of Euboia, was the birthplace of Isaios and of Lykophron.

The encreachment of isolated Attic forms such as tires Oropos 18, is to be distinguished from the constant displacement of Ionic. tires occurs in Miletos 1004, perhaps of the fifth century. I have not ventured to constitute the use of is, ils a criterion of sub-dialectal differentiation. Ionic and the Ionic of the Kyklades have &s, while Western Ionic has both els and ds, a juxtaposition that is found in Homer and in Attic. Cf. § 715.

It may not be inappropriate to notice that Chalkis, preeminently the

Retaining the rough breathing, which is well attested in the case of the Parian Archilochos 1, the Ionic of the Kyklades thus forms the bridge which leads from Western to Eastern Ionic. It has furthermore -κλής not -κλέης, -ιος not -ιδος (§ 5).

- 7.] Eastern Ionic is characterized chiefly by the early displacement of the rough breathing. The evidence of literature confirms to a considerable extent the testimony of the inscriptions, which speak with no uncertain voice against the existence of the asper save in compounds. Asiatic Ionic, like that of the Kyklades, has -κλη̂s and -ιος (§ 5). Of less importance is the fact, that of the few Ionic examples of -n for -n in the dative all are found on the Asiatic mainland.
- 8. Geographical Divisions of the Ancients. Among the ancients the traces of a geographical and of a chronological division of Ionic refer almost exclusively to the dialect of the mainland of Asia Minor and of the adjacent islands. Euboian Ionic and the Ionic of the Kyklades, which play an important part in the modern classification of the sub-dialects, are, with the exception of a few isolated and unsupported statements of Lesbonax and some scattered notices as to Eretrian rhotacism, &c., excluded from the ancient geographical and the chronological division. From the point of view of literature they failed to excite the attention of the grammarians, whose field of observation rarely extended to an examination of local characteristics, and, if so extended, did not enable the critic to shake off his fearfulness in the face of authority 2. Even if a strongly marked Nesiotic or Euboian Ionic had existed in his time, the mention of either by Herodotos, in the passage where he discusses the speech of Ionia, would not have been imperative. When Euboia comes within the horizon of Herodotos, it is to show that the Abantes took part in the colonization of Ionia by the Ionians³ (I 146), or to describe the colonies of the Chalkidians and Eretrians (e.g. VIII 46). The Kyklades too are mentioned by Herodotos chiefly with a view to showing that their Ionic colonists came by way of Athens 4; a theory that was confronted by the imperial power of Athens in the fifth century, with its tendency to dislodge the older legends and to affix to them an Attic

³ Pausanias tells us that a Chian family traced its descent back to the Abantes, under which name the Euboians appear in the Catalogue of Ships.

See § 9, end, Kapnoos.

¹ Of the logographer Eudemos of Paros nothing has been preserved.

The Abantes were Phokians who made Euboia a halting place on the way to Chios. Amphiklos, who led the Hestiaians from Boiotia, found Abantes in Chios. Strabo has nothing to say of the speech of Euboia except in X 448

Siphnos Hdt. VIII 48, Keos VIII 46, Naxos ibid.

colouring (Hdt. VII 95, IX 106, Thuk. I 12, 4, Isokr. Pan. 43, 44, Marm. Par. 27, &c.).

9.] Mention is made of local divisions of Ionic in the following

passages:

(1) Western Ionic. Thuk. VI 5, of the dialect of Himera: καὶ φωνή μὲν μεταξὺ τῆς τε Χαλκιδέων καὶ Δωρίδος ἐκράθη. Lesbonax (An. Ox. IV 270 ff.): οἱ Εὐβοεῖς τοῖς θηλυκοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἀρσενικὰ συνάπτουσιν ἐπίθετα· οἶον 'ἀλὸς πολιοῖο.' ὁμοίως καὶ τοῖς σὐδετέροις ὀνόμασιν ἀρσενικὰ καὶ θηλυκὰ ἐπίθετα, καὶ μετοχὰς ἀρσενικάς τε καὶ θηλυκάς· οἶον, κόριον καλ(λ)ίστη, μειράκιον λέγων.

Χαλκιδείς οι εν Ευβοία, τοις ρήμασι τοις συντασσομένοις δοτικαίς αιτιατικάς πρότερον επιφέροντες τὰς δοτικάς συνάπτουσιν οίον, Διονύσιος δ Χαλκιδεύς. 'Μυρίνην τὴν 'Αμαζονίδα περιβλεψάμενος,

έδωκεν αὐτῷ τὰς άλλας 'Αμαζονίδας μετακαλέσασθαι.'

Χαλκιδείς τὰ δριστικά τῶν ρημάτων εἰς μετοχὴν ἀναλύουσι καὶ

ύπαρκτικου βήμα, λέγωυ είμί.

Whether the statement: Κυμαίων, τὸ τοῖς ἐνικοῖς ὀνόμασι πληθυντικὰς ἐπάγειν ἐπιφοράς οἶον, ἡ πύλη ἐκλ(ε)ίσθησαν συστηματικὰ γὰρ ὄντα πρὸς τὸ νοούμενον ἔχει τὴν ἀναφοράν, ὡς καὶ τό, ὡς ἐφασαν ἡ πληθύς, refers to the Ionic Kymaians is doubtful.

On the ancient witnesses to rhotacism in Eretrian, see §§ 331,

332.

An. Bachm. II 20031 (on Lykophr. Alex. 21): οὶ ναῦται ἀπεχώριζον, ἔλυον—καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπέτρεχον—εὐβοϊκὴ ἡ διάλεκτος·

(in the margin βοιωτικόν έστι τὸ ἐσχάζοσαν) 1.

(2) Island Ionic. Whether Lesbonax' remark (An.Ox.IV 270), that the islanders used the genitive instead of the dative (πλούσιος ήν χρουσοῦ), has any special reference to the Ionians of the Kyklades is entirely uncertain.

(3) Eastern Ionic. The locus classicus is Hdt. I 142: γλώσσαν δὲ οὐ τὴν αὐτὴν οὖτοι [οἱ Ἰωνες] νενομίκασι, ἀλλὰ τρόπους τέσσερας

παραγωγέων.

1. Μίλητος μὲν αὐτέων πρώτη κέεται πόλις πρὸς μεσαμβρίην, μετὰ δὲ Μυοῦς τε καὶ Πριήνη αὐται μὲν ἐν τῆ Καρίη κατοίκηνται κατὰ ταὐτὰ διαλεγόμενοι σφίσι,

2. αίδε δε εν τη Λυδίη, Εφεσος, Κολοφών, Λέβεδος, Τέως, Κλαζομεναί, Φώκαια αυται δε αι πόλιες τησι πρότερον λεχθείσησι

όμολογέουσι κατά γλώσσαν οὐδέν, σφίσι δὲ δμοφωνέουσι.

έτι δὲ τρεις ὑπόλοιποι Ἰάδες πόλιες, τῶν αὶ δύο μὲν νήσους οἰκέαται, Σάμον τε καὶ Χίον, ἡ δὲ μία ἐν τῆ ἡπείρφ ἴδρυται, Ἐρυθραί.

¹ Cf. Tzetz, on Lykophr. 252, Aristophanes in Eust. 1761₃₀. For Χαλκιδαϊκής in An. Bachm. II 40₁₀₁ read Χαλκιδικής. In Bekk, An. III 1294, these forms are called Chalkedonian of, An. Ox. IV 182₁₉), doubtless through confusion with Chalkidian, because, on one view, Chalkedon was settled by Chalkidians. These -σαν forms may have been borrowed from Boiotia.

3. Χίοι μέν νυν καὶ Ἐρυθραΐοι κατὰ τώντὸ διαλέγονται.

4. Σάμιοι δὲ ἐπ' ἐωυτῶν μοῦνοι. οὖτοι χαρακτῆρες γλώσσης

τέσσερες γίνονται.

Constantin. Porphyr. de Themat. p. 42 makes the colourless statement: καὶ ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς Μιλήτου μέχρι τῆς Ἐφεσίων πόλεως, καὶ αὐτῆς Σμύρνης, καὶ Κολοφῶνος, Ἰώνων ἐστὶ κατοικία, οἴτινες τῆ τῶν Ἰώνων διαλέκτω χρῶνται. Then he says that from Kolophon to Klazomenai and on the opposite island of Chios we have Aiolic. Our inscriptions have no trace of Aiolism save in Chios. The dialect of the Ephesians is referred to An. Ox. I 1919 on ἄφαρ: καὶ Ἰωνες καὶ οἱ Ἐφέσιοι ἀφαρεὶ λέγουσιν, τὸ εὐθέως καὶ ἀσκόπως ποιεῖν τι, ἡ φθέγγεσθαι; I 44718 τὸ σκύβαλον σκύβωλον τῆς Ἐφεσίου (-ων?) διαλέκτου. Schol. on Tzetz. Chiliad. 642 in An. Ox. III 37525: Βύκκων δὲ ὁ βρύχων, ἤτοι ὁ ὄνος, παρά τε Λυδοῖς καὶ τοῖς κατ' Ἐφεσον Ἰωσι λέγεται. βίλλος Hdn. I 1581; on ἐσσήν, see § 25, note. The remark of the Gramm. Leidensis § 8: γεγόνασι δὲ αὐτῆς μεταπτώσεις δ΄ is the only trace of acquaintance with the quadrilateral division of Herodotos preserved in any Greek dialectologist.

Lesbonax (An. Ox. IV 270, ff.) Κλαζομενείς τὸ πορεύομαι εls

άγωνα, πορεύομαι σύν άγωνι φασί.

Κολοφώνιόν έστι τὸ έχον την δοτικην αντί γενικης 1. οΐον, την κεφαλην τῷ ἀνθρώπφ.

Πειρινθικόν έστιν τὸ τῆ αλτιατικῆ ἐπιφέρειν εὐθείαν. . . .

Ίωνων των επί Καρίας, τὸ τὰ χαρας και λύπης δηλωτικά βήματα γενική συντάττειν ἀντὶ δοτικής οἶον, χαίρω τοῦ ἀνδρός, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀνδρί καὶ τὸ τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ τῷ προσηγορικῷ ὀνόματι ἄρθρα τιθέναι οἶον, τὸν Πλάτωνα τὸν φιλόσοφον τὸ τιθέναι τοῖς βήμασι περι-

τ(τ)εύουσαν την έχων μετοχήν οίον, σπεύδεις έχων.

The Schol. Ven. A on M 20 says Τυραννίων δξύνει τὸ Κάρησος & Παρνασσός οῦτως γὰρ ὑπὸ Κυζικηνῶν ὀνομάζεσθαι τὸν ποταμόν. ὁ δὲ ᾿Αρίσταρχος βαρύνει ὡς Κάνωβος. εἴπομεν δὲ ἐν ἐτέροις ὅτι οὐ πάντως ἐπικρατεῖ ἡ ὰπὸ τῶν ἐθνῶν χρῆσις καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν 'Ομηρικὴν ἀνάγνωσιν, ὁπότε περὶ τοῦ Γλισᾶντα (Β 504) διελάβομεν, εἴγε Διονύσιος ἱστορεῖ τοὺς ἐγχωριόνς συστέλλειν τὸ τ καὶ μὴ περισπᾶν τό τε Λύκαστος ὁ αὐτὸς ἱστορεῖ ὀξύνεσθαι, ἡμῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων βαρυτόνως (Β 647). The δημόται at Miletos bore the name γέργηθες, according to Eust. 143342; ζήτρειον was a Chian and Achaian word, Et. M. 41133. On Chian v for ε, see § 155.

Sub-Dialects of Eastern Ionic.

10.] If we apply the criteria of phonology and inflection to the Ionic of the Twelve Cities in the endeavour to test the accuracy

¹ Such observations of the dialectal use of cases occur elsewhere, e.g. Schol Apoll. Rhod. A 794, cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 58.

of Herodotos' quadrilateral division, we find that the following inscriptional forms have been held to constitute possible mintmarks of the four sub-dialects.

11.] The Ionic of Miletos. 1. lέρεω Olbia C. I. G. 2058 A₂₈, m, so = Bechtel 128 (third or second century), Tomoi in Arch. epigr. Mitth. VI 8, no. 14, has been taken as a gen. of leρήs, also the Arkado-Kyprian form of leρεύς. Ιερέω is, on this view, from *leρηo. To the gen. leρέω in the dialect of a colony of Miletos we have the nominative lερέωs in Miletos itself (Bechtel 100₄). Another explanation of the form if $\rho \epsilon \omega s$ (sic) has been put forward by Dittenberger (Syll. no. 376), who maintains that in the same manner as ἡμιέκτεων is derived from έκτεύς, so is ἀρχιέρεως derived from lepevs; and that from αρχιέρεως the nom, ιέρεως could be abstracted. Cf. § 477.

2. λάψεται Miletos 1004, and κατελάφθη 1137 in Zeleia which in all probability was settled by Milesians. Cf. § 130.

3. τρη (not τρή) Miletos 100₂, 5, 6 has been held to stand for οὐρή. Cf. Merry and Schol. H. Q. on ἄωροι μ 89: 'Αρίσταρχος ἀκώλους· τοὺς γὰρ "Ιωνας λέγειν φασί τὴν κωλῆν ὥρην καί ὡραίαν 1. It is noteworthy that in no. 100 we have κωλην l. 4. The comparison of ωρη with οὐρή, upon which this peculiarity of the Milesian has been based, is defective. οὐρή is derived from ὀρσ-(O. H. G. ars), while $\tilde{\omega}\rho\eta = \tilde{\omega}\rho\eta$ is probably to be connected with Lat. sura (so Bechtel). A Milesian w for ov of the other subdialects is at least not proven.

- 4. ἀτε[λ]είην Kyzikos 108 B3, an exceedingly corrupt archaistic inscription, scarcely older than the first century B.C., represents an unsuccessful attempt at reviving the older document 108 A; and is hence worthless as a source of information concerning sub-dialectal differentiations. Though we have elsewhere no trace of ἀτελείη save in Hdt., all the inscriptions, even Eryth. 1994 (after 394 B.C.), having the Attic ἀτέλεια, there is no reason for assuming that the idiom of Miletos or any other quarter of Ionic territory had originally rejected the Ionic ending in this word.
- 5. βησιλέως, quoted by Karsten (De titulorum Ionic. dialecto p. 18) from a Milesian inscription edited by Rayet in the Revue Arch. XXVIII 109, and proclaimed as a peculiarity of Karian lonic, is nullified by Basiler's Mil. 1005. Bysiléws is indefensible, and nothing more than an orthographical slip, the stone having ΒΗΒΙΛΕΩΣ.
- 12.] Lydian Ionic (Ephesos, &c.). The absence of inscriptional te-timony of the fifth century from other portions of the territory

¹ See also Eustath. 1715:3.

of the Twelve Cities renders valueless the claim that in δυνάμει, Teos 156 B 31, we have an instance of an inflectional peculiarity of 'Lydian' Ionic. See § 488. The dialect of Teos alone supports a form δέχομαι (156 B 20, also in Amphipolis, where it may be Attic). The unaspirated form is known to us solely from the literary monuments. On ἐσσήν, an Ephesian title, see § 25, note.

13. The Ionic of Chios-Erythrai. 1. On the basis of Δεονύς. Maroneia 196, 1, and Δεονθδος, Eryth. 198, the claim has been set up that this sub-dialect has e for i in this name. We have however Δεύνυσος in Anakr. 211 11 and ΔΕΟ, probably for Δεονυσάδος, in Abdera 163, 1. a colony of Teos. This argument is as baseless as would be the contention that, on account of Διειύσωι, Amorgos 31, Island Ionic had ε for o.

2. Gen. in -ev in the A declension, 'Aρ χηγέτευ Eryth. 201, narrow side l. 6, dating from the fourth century. Other examples, Eryth. 206 A 33, B 9, C 35, are to be placed in the first quarter of the following century. This form is however not confined to

Chios-Erythrai, since we have Πυθεῦ Smyrna 15325.

3. Gen. in -ω in the decl. ('Αννικώ 174 C 13, 'Ασίω C 27, Πυθώ D 4, Λυσώ D 17). But in Chios we have also -εω, and the -ω forms recur in Halik. e.g. 240 A 38, B 3, and, when iola precedes, also in Abdera 163, 16.

4. πόλεως Chios 174 A 13, B 12, a form found also in

Xenophanes 2₃, 22. Cf. § 485. 5. πρῆχμα Chios 174 B 17-18. But the variant μυριχμένας Archil. 30 (in B) cannot belong to a Chian sub-dialect. Cf. also

έσμυριγμέναι μεμυρισμέναι in Hesychios.

6. ἀνηρίθευτοι Chios 174 B 25-26, whereas ἀνερίθευτος is the usual form (cf. C. I. G. 267145, 2693 D 5). The absence of the word from any other quarter of the Ionic of the mainland forbids any argument on the question.

7. $\ell \sigma \lambda \hat{\eta} s$ Chios 1751 (epigr.) may well be a form known to other quarters of the mainland. The absence of the θ is attested in Arkesine 35, and in Aiolic and Doric. There is no reason for

holding it to be one of the Aiolisms of Chian Ionic.

8. Subjunctives in -ει instead of -ηι: ποιήσει Chios 174 A 12. The same proto-Hellenic termination comes to light

in Teos and Ephesos.

9. Subjunctives in -ωισι (λάβωισιν Chios 174 B 16-17) and in -οισι (πρήξοισιν 174 A 16-17, 20) are found in Chios alone. Since, however, they are alien to the character of Ionic they must be regarded as adventitious Aiolisms.

10. The genitives of the numerals; δέκων Chios 174 D 14, τεσσ ερα κ δ ντων 174 C 16, πεντηκόντων 174 D 8, ενενηκόντων C 26. These genitives are, like the subjunctives in -ωισι and , Aiolic loan-forms and not merely local variations of normal

se also below § 17, for points of contact between Chios and hrai.

" The Ionic of Samos. δημιοργός for δημιουργός 220₂₉. Cf. γή 220₁₆ and other forms § 297 III A, where it is shown that and the same dialect may possess both δημιουργός and ργός. Other divisions of the Ionic of the mainland may have had the -οργός forms.

24ηληι or Πριηνηι, Samos 212, is the only example of -ηι from v stem upon Ionic soil.

.] Testimony of literature as to the existence of sub-diain Ionia. If we question the Ionic literature of the Asiatic
land, the fragments of Kallinos and Hipponax of Ephesos,
lenophanes and Mimnernos of Kolophon, and the remains
ne prose writers whose birthplace was Miletos, we discover
race whatsoever pointing to a differentiation in phonology
in inflection between the sub-divisions of Ionic territory.
Iterature, at least in its extant condition, refuses to own
influence, save in the scantiest measure, of local form and
sure. Hipponax must have reckoned upon an ephemeral
t. In him we might think to find indications of Lydian
ology and inflection as well as words picked from the slums
iphesos or Klazomenai. Yet his Billingsgate is inflected
the most orthodox Ionic fashion.

ne dominance of Ionic in the literary world of Hellas must a early date have proved an insuperable bar to the admission literature of word-forms not in accordance with the canons catholic taste. Had the epos pressed with less weight upon levelopment of Ionic lyric genius; had Ionia been the home spontaneous and individual melic poetry unaffected by the nt of Attic tragedy; and had Ionia been spared the fall of tos with the ultimate stagnation of its political and literary ations attendant upon that disaster, then and then only it we with reason have indulged the hope of discovering a monuments of Ionic literature some of those mint-marks ib-dialectal differentiation which can scarcely have failed that long stretch of territory, extending from the sto the Karpathian Sea, which had fallen under Ionic sway.

.] It is then to the inscriptions as a court of last appeal we must turn in the endeavour to test the accuracy of the

he diction of Hipponax excited the attention of the grammarians only natantly than did that of Herodotos. Cf. Herodian II 282₇=Et. M., βόλιτον βόλβιτον δὲ Ἰωνες, οῖ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἰππῶναξ, and see Stephan De issus Technici dialectologia, p. 23. On Lydian vocables in Hipponax see § 44.

Herodoteian, or of any other, system of sub-division. Owing to the paucity of material at command, the evidence of the very few phenomena, which seem to point in the direction of subdialectal differences, is vitiated by the fact that it largely rests upon the argument from silence. By far the larger portion of the stone records represent, not the easy flow of the dialect of the people in its unconstrained simplicity, but an official Ionic, which, though perhaps not as formal as the decrees of some non-Ionic states, is nevertheless impatient of the lingua rustica. The fate of Ionia in ancient and mediaeval times, its exposure to the political influence of Persia on the one hand, and, on the other, to the sway in the domain of language exercised by Athens, have alike contributed to the uprooting of the idiom of the soil. Of all the phonetic and inflectional phenomena presented above there are but few which are sufficiently characteristic to deserve the dignity of being accounted criteria of sub-dialectal difference.

These are the forms of Aiolic texture in Chios, and certain peculiarities of the dialect of Miletos. Is this scanty evidence

corroborated by other testimony?

17.] Dialect of Chios-Erythrai. The only possible ground for admitting the existence of a sub-dialect of Chios-Erythrai is the presence of Aiolism. In § 13 we have seen that the sub-junctive terminations -ωισι(ν) and -οισι(ν), and the genitives of the numerals 10, 40, 50, 90 have been enfranchised in Chian Ionic. Other traces of Aiolism are as follows. The name of the highest mountain in Chios is Πελινναῖον, though Meineke in Strabo XIV 645 edits Πελιναῖον. That the form with the geminated nasal is correct is evident from Πέλιννα, name of a city in Hestiaiotis (Catalogue Brit. Mus. Coins, Thessaly, 38). Βόλισσος, name of a city on the west coast of Chios mentioned by Thuk. VIII 24, 3, was by some regarded as Aiolic. See Steph. Byz.

All these Aiolisms are Chian. In Erythrai we have the epic and Aiolic ἀργεννόν in "Αργεννον mentioned by Strabo XIV 645 (ἄκρα τῆς Ἐρνθραίας). The geographical extension of this name of a promontory is seen by its occurrence in the Troad, Lesbos, and Sicily. ᾿Αργεννοῦσσαι is supported by a good MS. Thuk. VIII 101, 2. An ἀργεινός appears never to have come into

vogue.

From the point of view of phonology the links between Chian and Erythraian Ionic are exceedingly weak. Names of places, unless bearing the distinct impress of a dialect and agreement in vocabulary or in cult, prove but little in the case of contiguous localities. With Καύκασα, name of a harbour of Chios, Καυκασέ[α]s upon a recently discovered Chian inscription

(Berl. Phil. Wochenschr. 1889, p. 1195), we may compare Apollo Καυκασεύς and Artemis Καυκασείς, Eryth. 206 A 19. Koĩλa appears to have been a locality in both Chios and Erythrai (Απόλλωνος ἐγ Κοίλοις 206 B 29). Dittenberger has suggested (Jenaer Litt.-Zeit. 1877, p. 569) that the χέλληστυς ὰ Ἐρυθραί[ων] C. I. G. 2168 B = C. D. I. 278 may point to a closer connection between Aiolic and Chio-Erythraian. Both the dialect of Chios (183 A 46) and that of Erythrai (2012) have retained the old word σίη village¹, one of those hidden treasures which are continually forcing their way upwards in the bosom of the earth in order to reach the light, and whose possession by any one sub-dialect can never be proven. To the joint possession of this word by the dialects of Chios and Erythrai a fictitious importance may easily be attached. ἄδος was known solely through a passage in Hipponax and an Hesychian gloss, until it appeared in an inscription from Halikarnassos.

Until there are discovered prose monuments of the Ionic of Erythrai equalling in antiquity the Chian document no. 174, which dates back to the fifth century, we must remain in ignorance as to whether the bond which united Chian and Erythraian according to Herodotos was or was not the presence of an Aiolic element. πεντήκοιτα and τριήκοιτα, each in combination with a genitive, in Eryth. 202₁₆, 17 dating from about 350 B.c., do not disprove the existence of an Aiolic ingredient in Erythraian.

Roehl I. G. A. no. 381, noticed that λάβωισιν and πρήξοισιν were not Ionic; Schulze, Hermes XX 393, regarded as a matter of chance the agreement between λάβωισιν and Aiolic forms in -ωισιν. Beelitel, Ion. Inschr. p. 110, remarked that Chios, so far from being originally Ionic, was Ionized only at a tolerably late period. He might have noticed the observation of Pausanias VII 4. 10: οὐ μέντοι ἐκεῖνό γε εἶρηκε (Ion of Chios) καθ΄ ἣντινα αἰτίαν Χῖοι τελοῦσιν ἐτ Ἰωνας. Though a colony of the Abantes of Euboia (see above § 8), Chios must have contained both Aiolians and Ionians, and have become definitively Ionic under the pressure exercised by Miletos and the Panionion. It is incorrect to imagine that Chios was first Aiolic, then Ionic. The dialect must have been mixed at a very early period.

18.] Dialect of Miletos. Upon such a weak foundation as the possession of $l\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega$ s, gen. $l\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega$ and $\lambda\dot{a}\psi\epsilon\tau a\iota$, $\kappa a\tau\epsilon\lambda\dot{a}\phi\theta\eta$ it is futile to erect a Milesian dialect. And yet this is the sole evidence to be extracted from the inscriptions. $l\epsilon\rho\epsilon\omega$ s was Attic as we learn from the scholiast on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. An. p. 1197, and if Attic, why not Samian as well as Milesian?

¹ Cf. slairār' көнүтөх. slai γὰρ al көнаi Hesych., Hdn. I 302;. Cf. Attie 'Oa, 'Ωa, an Attie deme of the tribe of Pandionis; 'Οη (Οίῆθαν, a deme of Oineia. See Күркіах § 38.

The mere fact that Herodotos has traces of the theme Aaß where we should expect λαμβ (but cf. § 130), possibly of lépews for lερεύs or lρεύs (§ 477), or that δασέα is Milesian (§ 167), cannot lead to the belief that the diction of a native of Halikarnassos was Milesian. That the language of Herodotos should have been the Ionic of his native city, which early in the fifth century abandoned Doric for Ionic, at least in its state-documents, or that it should have been Samian Ionic, was impossible in view of the overshadowing influence of Miletos. If any sub-dialect was elevated by the early prose writers to a position of supremacy in literature, a Tuscan amid less polished idioms, there can be no question that it was that of Miletos.

The influence of Miletos upon the pan-Ionic πανήγυρις established the orthodox creed that none should be regarded as genuine Ionians save those who accepted Kodrids as their oikists. Phokaia had to purchase admission to the Ionic league at the price of Kodrid rule. At Miletos were born Thales, Anaximander, Anaximenes, Kadmos, Dionysios and Hekataios. Pherekydes came from the neighbouring Leros. Prokonnessos, the home of Bion and Deiochos, and Lampsakos, whence came Charon, were both colonies of Miletos. Phokylides has the Milesians in mind

when he says :-

πολλοί τοι δοκέουσι σαόφρονες έμμεναι άνδρες, σὺν κόσμω στείχοντες, ἐλαφρόνοοί περ ἐόντες.

Demodokos levels his blow at them :-

Μιλήσιοι αξύνετοι μέν ούκ είσί, δρώσιν δ' οξά περ αξύνετοι. Anakreon wrote before the Ionic Revolt:πάλαι κοτ' ήσαν άλκιμοι Μιλήσιοι.

In the struggle of the two 1 Ionic alphabets for mastery that of Miletos gained the day as early as the sixth century, and spread in course of time over all Ionia. The so-called 'Ionic' alphabet is in reality the alphabet of the chief city of Ionia. the field of numismatics we find that the electrum staters of the Milesian standard were in vogue in the sixth century among Ionians not connected with Miletos by colonial ties 2.

See Hirschfeld Rhein. Mus. XLIV p. 467, who supposes the two groups to have been developed by the eighth century and that a was added by the

Milesians by the seventh century at the latest.

To the later Greeks Miletos was naturally the centre of Ionic civilization. Herakleides Pontikos calls the Milesians the representatives of the Ionic race. In discussing the question of colonization and the transference of the mother dialect to the colony, Miletos is the example chosen by the grammarians to represent Ionic. See An. Ox. IV 4235 = Choirob. 75115, and also Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 1075.

rigin of an artistic vehicle of expression in Ionia must ht in a territory, whose political supremacy and whose as the rallying point of intellectual activity rendered it of becoming the dictator in the development of a literary

The idiom of this locality, freeing itself, as the tative of the national culture, from the bondage of the shed local usages, might well in time become the organ new prose literature. No city of Ionia can advance so a claim to be regarded as the starting-point and home new literature as Miletos. The dialect of its cultured was as essential a foundation for the literary dialect as was that of the cultured Athenians for the literary of Attika.

e it is tolerably certain therefore that the language of the gographers, more local in tone than that of Herodotos, idiom of their native city, it may not be a baseless to hold that the story of the downfall of Ionia was Herodotos in the dialect of a city which was as he eye of Ionia as Athens was of Greece. If we find levelopment of Greek literature the operation of a law nic art, whereby the language of the original home left ess upon any species of artistic composition, we shall be deny that Herodotos may have followed in the main n established by his predecessors.

Whatever probability may be attached on literary grounds priori assumption that of the four sub-dialects mentioned odotos, one at least—that of Miletos—actually existed, le to disguise the fact that it is impossible to prove os or his predecessors to have made use of that variety, monstrate its existence on the lines of difference in phond in inflection. With the materials at present under our we are unable to cherish the hope of showing that there any clearly stamped sub-dialectal differences in the traquarters of Ionic. In the case of Chios only we have at there is a stratum of Aiolic forms of sufficient authority ant our setting apart Chian Ionic as provided with the s of sub-dialectal differentiation. Erythraian Ionic, so we know its structure at the present day, presents too iolic colouring to admit of being classed in the same [,] as Chian.

Now if Herodotos' quadrilateral division is based upon ern assumption that the only satisfactory tests of dialect g are yielded by phonology and by schemes of inflection, orian would seem to err when he says that the language sos, Kolophon, Lebedos, Teos, Klazomenai, and Phokaia is 'totally different' from that of Miletos, Myus and Priene. If we grant that the evidence might be increased by later discoveries, we are nevertheless at present in possession of data sufficient to warrant the conclusion that there was no radical difference, at least in the inflections, between the Ionic of Lydia and that of Karia. The inflections in the monuments discovered outside of the territory embraced by the Ionic Dodekapolis cannot be said to vary in any essential feature from those current among the original Ionic cities. Literary and inscriptional monuments unite in proclaiming the fact that Ionic does not offer such marks of dialect differentiation as meet us in the investigation of other dialects, both those of wider and those of narrower geographical extension.

21.] But does the delimitation of Herodotos rest upon the modern conception that phonology and inflection determine dialect character? His system of division would assume a totally different complexion, and at the same time lose much of its apparent value, if he held that differences in vocabulary constituted criteria of sub-dialectal differentiation, and that the presence of sporadic loan-words from contiguous speech-centres gave to a dialect its peculiar colour. On this view, which is held to have been that of the historian by such eminent dialectologists as Kirchhoff and Bechtel, Herodotos' second τρόπος would be an Ionic interfused with Lydian, such as Hipponax' βεβρός and κονίσκε 1. The Ionic of Miletos, Priene, &c., would then contain an admixture of Karian words2, and the Ionic of Chios-Erythrai be interpenetrated with Aiolisms; while the dialect of Samos alone would represent uncontaminated Ionism³.

Apart from the intrinsic probability or improbability of the view that Herodotos' theory of the nature of dialect differences was different from that now in vogue, we know of no Karian word (not a proper name) adopted either by the Milesian folkdialect or by literature. If, as seems probable, Karian belongs to the Indo-European family, there is no trace in any Ionic word of the adoption of a Karian deaspiration of I. E. gh, dh, and bh, a deaspiration which Karian seems to possess in common with

¹ The ancient grammarians rarely cite Lydian words or Lydian usage of

Hellenic words. Cf. Eust. 108234 (ayrear = mopreior) and §§ 9, 44.

* Karian was not an ill-sounding language according to Strabo (XIV 662), who cites Philip, author of Kapınd, to the effect that it adopted many Hellenic

⁵ No coincidences between the language of Hdt. and that of Samos (c. g. lpopγίαι Hdt. V 83, Sam. άλοργά 22026) suffice to rehabilitate Giese's view. exploded half a century ago, that the New Ionic of the historian was that of Samos. It is noteworthy, however, that Giese defended the proposition that the Ionic of Samos was 'less mixed' than that of Lydia. (Der acolische Dialekt pp. 152, 153).

Balto-Slavonic; nor do any of the phenomena which indicate that Lydian followed a different path from that followed by Hellenic in its treatment of I. E. sounds occur in Ionic.

22.] The rhetoricians and dialectologists of antiquity did not, it is true, draw with sufficient precision the line between vocabulary and style on the one hand, and phonetics and inflection on the other, as dialectal standards. The rhetoricians, especially Hermogenes, believed that the ἐκλογὴ ὀνομάτων was the chief standard to be applied in the criticism of the dialect of the Ionic prose writers. The ancient conception of ποικιλία, of the difference between 'pure' and 'mixed' Ionic, and in part the confusion between 'lωνικῶs and ποιητικῶs, have their root in the belief that vocabulary and style are the mint-marks of a dialect.

Under the influence of sources in which the theories of the rhetoricians are visible, Gregory of Corinth is not infrequently led into quoting a word as Ionic, not because of its Ionic complexion, but because of its occurrence in an Ionic author (cf. § 79 ff. and above § 3). But if the grammarians of greater calibre, and in the main even such magistelli as Gregory, do not lose sight of the fact that phonetic and inflectional changes are the essential points to be held in view, it must give us pause before we assume that Herodotos, whose brain was not befogged by the canons of the rhetoricians, should have been completely The merest boor, who says of a visitor from in the dark. another dialect district that he does not speak 'correctly,' refers, not to the choice of words, but to the variations in sound and inflection which stamp the stranger as less cultivated in his estimation. Herodotos' elder contemporary Aischylos saw clearly enough what constituted dialect speech. In the Choeph. v. 563 Orestes says :-

> άμφω δε φωνην ηπομεν Παρνησσίδα γλώσσης αυτην Φωκίδος μιμουμένω.

And yet in the face, not only of the evidence of literature and inscriptions, but also of the distinct statement of Herodotos as to the complete difference in character between the speech of Miletos and that of Ephesos, it is difficult to arrive at any other conclusion than that the presence of Karian and of Lydian words affixed to two of the τρόποι their distinctive character. It may not, however, be over-bold to maintain that, inasmuch as the exact

¹ The preeminent position occupied by vocabulary in the rhetorical studies of the Hadrianic age is evident from the attitude of Lukian in his critical remarks on Thukydides. See below, § 25, note, for examples of the study of Ionic vocabulary.

scale of pronunciation 1 current in different quarters of Ionia is involved in obscurity; inasmuch as the laws of contraction and crasis are treated with a freedom sufficient to yield varying results; inasmuch as our inscriptional material presents not a single instance of the occurrence of ἐωυτῶν and congeners, of κ for π in κως, κότε, &c.—distinctive features separating Ionic from all other dialects-and since we are confronted, even in the few epigraphical documents at present known, with isolated phenomena whose wider extension cannot be disproved; it may not, I say, be over-bold to assume that some of these matters played a part in the system of sub-dialect division which has been handed down to us by an Ionian. The student of the Greek dialects has always to bear in mind the fact, too often neglected, that contemporaneous evidence is of a peculiar value. Its conclusions may be based upon shadings of vowel and consonantal sound too elusive to warrant graphical representation. Nor can it be emphasized too strongly that the different sections of Greece assumed very different attitudes towards the graphical representation of the sounds of their dialects. In those dialects which had developed a literature at a very early period we find a thoroughgoing objection to phonetic spelling; while in others, subject to the control of scarcely any literary monuments (as Boiotian), or none at all (as Eleian or Arkadian), we find, even in the official documents, the widest divergence from the form adopted by the language elsewhere. If the dialectologist of future generations, endeavouring to establish dialectal divisions of the speech of England or America, or seeking to mark the differences between English and American, or German and Austrian, or Swiss pronunciation, had a material as limited as the Ionic material in our possession, could he by any possibility succeed in his attempt? The Herodoteian quadrilateral division, if it deserves any recognition at the hands of modern dialectologists, must be regarded as a division based upon observation of the distribution of phonetical and inflectional phenomena. If it is false, we are for the present at least unable to demonstrate the existence of any other.

Bechtel has suggested that augmented inscriptional material may ultimately enable us to dispose the sub-dialects of Ionia as follows:—(1) South Ionic (Miletos, Ephesos, Samos), free from the admixture of any Hellenie dialect. (2) North Ionic (Chios), with Aiolic ingredients. (3) Halikarnassian

¹ That the pronunciation of $\sigma\sigma$, for example, was not uniform, may be inferred from the $T=\sigma\sigma$ in Halikarnassos (238₁), Mesembria (Rob. I, § 75), Teos (? Bechtel 156 B 23), and the interrelation between $\sigma\sigma$ and $\tau\tau$ in the allied Attic dialect.

² Die Inschriften d. ion. Dial. p. vii.

³ The Aiolic τριοῖσι in Hipponax 51 is a puzzle if the speech of Ephesos is pure Ionic.

lowic, with Doric ingredients. Without further evidence, so tentative a scheme, though plausible in itself, can scarcely be adopted. As yet we have no inscription that might represent the third division.

Chronological Divisions of Ionic.

23.] The actual life of the Ionic dialect begins in its earliest ascertainable form with the Homeric epos and ends languidly in the second 2 or third century after Christ, though its artificial life was prolonged by the canons of literary tradition to a period considerably later. The retention of that η which is specifically Ionic, the genitive in $-\cos$ from stems in iota, and the non-contraction, at least in writing, of some forms of the adjectives of material in $-\cos$, were the most carefully guarded heirlooms of the dialect. Their preservation in inscriptions in the latest period of its existence is due solely to the conservatism of the lapidary style.

From about the middle of the fourth century before Christ the history of Ionic is a history of the gradual displacement of the dialect due to the vigour of its rival Attic. (In the fourth century Aiolic could scarcely hold its own against the intruder which was sapping the strength of Ionic, and in the preceding century the name Aiolian is merged in that of Ionian in the public documents of Athens.) Though in the detailed examination of the dialect care will be taken to delineate its history as a living idiom, from the time it first encountered the strong hand of Attic till its final extinction, our interest in the life of the dialect is necessarily centered in the period when it was a controlling force in the development of Greek literature. Ionic was the dialect of the literary world 3 from at least the eighth century until it was dislodged from its commanding position by the dialect of Athens. Ionic was in all probability the official medium of communication adopted by the semi-Hellenic world of Makedonia and by the barbarian courts of Persia and Egypt 4. By the end of the fourth century

^{&#}x27;Almorat (as r Becht. Halik. 238; = Rob. 145; is the only possible trace, and that in a proper name, of Doric ā. The same inscription has 'Αλικαρτισσών l. 41. In a Vienna papyrus 'Philologus XLI 746 ff.) of the fourth century B.c. we find (l. 3) ταὐτοσωντο(ν), which suggests the possibility of the writer being a Dorian from Halikarnassos (cf. 'Αρτεμισίη in l. 1). Kretschmer K.Z. XXX 572 suggests that Herodotos' δμπωτις is a loan form from Doric. Cf. 6715.

Cf. § 715.

Lukian, however (XXXIX 15), says of the language of a woman from Smyrna that it was καθαφώς 'Ιωνικόν. Cf. XIV 13-15, XXI 1, XXV 16 (Tauch.), and Lobeck Ασίσωλ. II 007 ff.. Tatian adv. Grace. p. 161.

and Lobeck Agrauph. II 997 ff., Tatian adv. Grace, p. 161.

The Ioniama of the supposititious letters of Pittakos indicate the belief of the ancients that Ionic was the literary language before Attic.

¹ Cf. the spurious letters of Artaxerxes and Amasia.

Attic had become the language of Philip, Alexander, and Antipater in their state letters (Cauer no. 430). Until the rise of Attic, every creative effort of Greek thought, save the Doric choral ode and the Aiolic love and drinking song, found expression in a dialect that was largely, if not wholly, Ionic. The earlier Aiolic epos lost its outlines as it merged into the Ionic poem under the hands of the bards, whose evanescent personalities unite under the name of Homer; the elegy, conscious of its source, did not disclaim its Ionic origin under the hands of Theognis or other non-Ionians; the lampoon was impatient of the admixture of a non-Ionic element. Ionic was the language of science, philosophy, and history till almost the end of the fifth century. All who would appeal through the medium of prose to be heard in the world of Hellenic culture were compelled to write in Ionic, no matter whether their native city was Kos, Mitylene, Pergamon, Syrakuse or Rhegion. Just so in the early period of Teutonic literature, Hartmann, Wolfram and other poets used the tempered Bavarian dialect though they came from different quarters of Germany. At the period when the power of Ionic was most autocratic, Doric prose was still in swaddling-clothes which it was destined never to effectually cast off, and Attic prose did not exist. But by the time that her alphabet was becoming universally enfranchised throughout Greece, Ionia was effete. When the Renascence of the language of Herodotos and Hippokrates came with the Hellene-loving Hadrian, Ionic fell into the hands of Kappadokians, Bithynians or Syrians, who adopted it because of the fine archaic flavour it imparted or because it had become the technical vehicle of expression for the medical guild. Native Ionians, caring nothing for the rehabilitation of their mother tongue, wrote in the κοινή.

The creation of an idea, even in the narrower sphere of dialect life, is attended by subsequent exhaustion or paralysis. When Ionic developed a prose literature, it had reached the last effort of an energy which for three centuries had been continuously creative. But, as if in compensation for the loss of its dominant position in literature, we find that now the dialect is widening the area of its influence. When the genius of the Ionic people, together with its liberties, was extinguished, and when in its home the dialect was succumbing more and more to the intrusion of Attic, we discover that other dialects are more and more displaying a tendency to adopt forms of Ionic colouring. Notably is this the case in respect of ev for eo in Doric idioms. In the third century other Ionisms are found in Kos. But the ripple which then scattered memorials of Ionic upon Doric and Aiolic shores, only followed in the wake of that more vigorous wave which carried Attic forms into a position from which they could

not be dislodged by the expiring efforts of dialect life. contributed a not inconsiderable contingent of forms and also of vocabulary to the κοινή. But it is as imprudent to claim that the roun is nothing more than a vulgar Ionic, carried throughout the world by the Ionians, the greatest of Greek colonists, and afterwards elevated to the rank of an organ of literature 1, as it is ill-advised to give undivided attention to Photios 2 when he tells us that Ionic was Attic which had lost its ancestral flavour (7 ns διαλέκτου το πάτριον) from contact with barbarians.

24. The ancient grammarians divided Ionic 3, from the point of view of its appearance in literature, into ἡ ἀρχαία 'lás and ή νεωτέρα or μεταγενεστέρα Ids. A two-fold division of this nature was generally adopted in antiquity in the case of the other dialects.

άρχαία 'Ids connoted in the opinion of the ancients either (1) the dialect of the time of Homer, or (2) that of the period of the Ionian migration eastwards while the colonies were founding under Kodrid rule (Joh. Gram. 242 'Η μέν οθν άρχαία 'làs μετέπεσε παρά την των κατοικούντων παρατροπήν, διέμεινε δε ξως έκείνων των χρόνων, ότε εποιήσαντο Ίωνες τας αποικίας και διεσπάρησαν εls πλείονας τόπους, and so with slight verbal changes Greg. Korinth. p. 490). On this second view Old Ionic does not differ from Old Attic; which was the opinion of Strabo VII 333: τούτων (διαλ.) δ' αὐτῶν τεττάρων οὐσῶν τὴν μὲν Ἰάδα τῆ παλαιά 'Ατθίδι την αὐτην φαμέν (καὶ γὰρ "Ιωνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε 'Αττικοί, καὶ ἐκεῖθέν εἰσιν οἱ την 'Ασίαν ἐποικήσαντες "Ιωνες καὶ χρησάμενοι τῆ νῦν λεγομένη γλώττη 'lάδι)4. See below § 71,

1 Thus Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Verhandl. deutsch. Phil. 1878, p. 40. adopted not only words whose use had been confined to Ionic writers, but forms which bear marks of Ionic phonetics, e.g. shifting of aspiration, as ανθριβίοις in Clem. Alex., ανθρογαύλους in Josephos. Cf. Ίαστί Ἑλληνιστί, Hesych. The expression 'las rours, in which, according to a view of some scholiasts, Theokritos XII and XXII are composed, is unique. It is unknown

as a division of Ionic, and has no apparent connection with the relations of Ionic to the κουή. See § 118.

Photios 640, on φάρμακος in contradistinction to Attic φαρμακός; δλιον ἡ Βάρβαρον ἡ Ἰακόν, Ail. Dionys. in Eust. 1160₁₈. This theory of Ionic in some form or other reappears from time to time. Salmasius (De Hellen, Chap, 7, p. 427' held that Ionians from Attika, corrupted by contact with the βαρβαροφόνοις. Karians and Leleges, perverted their ancient speech until it adopted δωντός. λόγοισι, Πηληϊάδεω, δεσπότεα, &c. Latterly Hesselmeyer has found in Ionic a Pelasgian dialect!

Some thought that Ionic was the most ancient of the dialects (Bekk.

Assect. II 786₁₄).

⁶ Cf. Eust. on Il. p. 8, 39. Many of the so-called Atticisms in Homer, according to the grammarians, are to be explained from their point of vious of the identity of Old Attic and Old Ionic. Homer was even called a poet ris raλasas 'Ατθίδος. Ephoros appears to have been the first to set up the identity of the doxala 'Arels with the 'Ids which is affirmed by Strabo. Ephoros was led to this view, not by linguistic evidence, but by historical conceptions. where other evidence from antiquity to the same effect is adduced, and the interrelation of Ionic and Old Attic discussed.

As the normal usage of the term Old Attic referred to the dialect of a definite period in Athenian literature (cf. for example Dionys. Halik. p. 4548), so Old Ionic was generally applied to the dialect of the Homeric poems in contradistinction to the $v\acute{\epsilon}a$ 'lás, of which Herodotos was regarded as the foremost representative. So in the case of Doric, $\acute{\eta}$ $v\acute{\epsilon}a$ $\Delta\omega\rho\acute{\iota}s$ was the dialect of Theokritos, $\acute{\eta}$ $\pi\lambda\lambda\iota\dot{\iota}$ $\Delta\omega\rho\acute{\iota}s$ that of Epicharmos and Sophron.

Ionic was never divided by the grammarians into more than two divisions. The three-fold division of Attic, as usually adopted, covers merely the literature of the fifth and fourth centuries (Moiris s.v. πλυνεῖs, χολάδαι, Ailios Dionys, apud Eust. Od. 1761 51). οἱ παλαιοὶ Ἰωνες Hdn. II 6031, 642 14 = An. Ox. III 23723, 674 8 = Choir. 209 29; οἱ ἀρχαῖοι Ἰωνες Joh. Gr. 242, An. Ox. I 2823, Hdn. II 673 19 = Choir. 20921; οἱ νεώτεροι Ἰωνες Hdn. II 265 11 = An. Ox. I 366 24 = Et. M. 667 29 without direct reference to Ionic, Hdn. II 6031, 674 21 = Choir. 209 21, 29, An. Ox. I 247 10, 366 24, Schol. Vict. on Il. XV 421, Eust. 1643 2; οἱ μεταγενέστεροι Ἰωνες Hdn. I 304 28, 465 7, II 107 11 642 11 = An. Ox. II 237 27; ἡ μεταγενεστέρα Ἰάς An. Ox. I 265 6; ἡ δεντέρα Ἰάς Hdn. II 344 2 = Schol. Apoll. I 108 2 = Et. M. 82 I 40 not used by Homer; ἡ νέα τῶν Ἰώνων διάλεκτος Gram. Aug. § 25; ἡ ὕστερον Ἰωνικἡ γλῶσσα Eust. Od. 1714 16; ἡ νεωτέρα Ἰάς Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 998, 1081; οἱ νέοι Ἰωνες Et. Gud. 9944.

25. It often happens that forms adduced as the property of the véa 'lás, belong neither to it nor to the apxaía 'lás, so far as the monuments under control permit a conclusion. For example Herodian II 6744 (= Choir, 20924, cf. Et. Gud. 9944) states that Aχιλλείοs and βασιλείοs are the property of the νεώτεροι "lωνες, as they are, with different accent, the property of Aiolic also. Though the ει of 'Αχιλλείος may be explained (§ 220) after a fashion different from that adopted by the ancients, the form itself is unattested in any period of Ionic, and perhaps never existed. When Herakleides apud Eust. Od. 1643, (but ef. Il. 1160,6) says that δλίζον for δλίγον was used by the 'younger Ionians,' we should be tempted to indulge the hope that an unusual form not adopted by literature 1 had been preserved, were it not for the fact that the belief was wide-spread that the Ionians substituted ζ for γ , a belief that was supported by such examples as πέφυζα, πεφυζώς, and φύζω. The Attic ολείζων, the Homeric φύζα and πεφυζότες may have been the source of the confusion.

The preeminent position occupied by the Homeric poems in the study of Ionic by the ancients, overshadowing the approach to a minuter study of the diction of Herodotos, to say nothing of the logographers and Hippokrates, resulted in the belief that the distinction between 'Ionic' and 'poetic' was

¹ See note below.

evanescent 1. To the later generation of grammarians and commentators, 'Ionic' is equated with 'poetic,' while 'poetic' and 'Ionic' become commensurate terms. Not merely is any phonetic or inflectional phenomenon, but also any word, which comes to light in Homer, set down as Ionic, without regard to the possibility of its occurrence, or its actual occurrence, elsewhere. Even in the professed treatises on dialects we find the same perverse attitude. Had Gregory or his chief source Johannes Philoponos rigidly applied his two-fold method of division, by ascribing to Old Ionic that which is Homeric, and attributing to the New Ionic the forms he met with in Herodotos, his procedure had at least merited praise for possessing some method. But 'Ionic' with him covers the entire period from Homer to Herodotos. We are never sure of our bearings unless either the name Homer or Herodotos is actually employed, or the prove-nance of the form under discussion is known to us. Had Johannes Philoponos been able to place under contribution an investigation into the complexion of Ionic in the iambographers and elegists, we might expect to find that his excerptor had used greater discretion on the side of chronology. In but one instance is the dialect of Homer compared with that of a later Ionic

According to Herodian, Homer used Old Attic, Ionic, and probably Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian and Doric, though the last two dialects are not expressly stated to have contributed to the poet's diction. The recent epic poets were, in his view, untrammeled as to the use of the various dialects. Herodian differentiated *Ionians* and *poets*. The later grammarians did not keep them apart except when they echoed the opinion of Herodian. In the terminology of the later grammarians the poets are the epic poets. Herodian applied the word either to all poets, or (more frequently) to the epic and elegiac poets. It is very unusual for Herodian to call a word poetic for any other reason than that it has undergone a poetic #doos. Poetic words are not necessarily the same as words $\kappa \pi \tau \lambda$ didaerto, though the $\pi d\theta \eta$ of each may not be dissimilar. The character of the $\pi d\theta \sigma$ has usually to determine the question whether a word is poetic or dialectal. Occasionally, however, it is use which must decide whether forms, whose widon are due to metre or histus, are to be called poetic or dialectal. Often Herodian makes grievous mistakes, e.g. reuros is postical, not Ionic, because the diphthong is due to the metre, an explanation which was correctly applied in the case of Ούλυμπος. Whenever Herodian calls a form poetic or dialectal, his hesitation may be due to a contamination of the views of his predecessors, or because he may actually have been in doubt. See Stephan on Herodian for the working out of these views. Rarely do we See Stephan on Herodian for the working out of these views. Rarely do we meet with an attempt in the later grammarians to differentiate 'Ionic' from poetie': 'Iwves καl οΙ ποιηταί An. Ox. I 34717. II 41220. Choir. 51316.51731. cf. 5193.; 'Iwverê ἡ ποιητικῶς An. Ox. I 3954; Choir. 51320. 59120; 5932; 69920. 6370: 'Iwverê ἡ ποιητικῶς An. Par. III 11619. cf. 1203. Choir. 59320; ποιητικοί Ἰωναί Philoponos, Choir. 5932; ποιητικὰ οὐκ 'Iaκά An. Ox. I 15920. οὐκ 'Iwverê ἐλλὰ ποιητικὰ Αn. Ox. I 3851; 'Iακῶς ἔστο καὶ ποιητικῶς είστο An. Ox. I 17413; Iwweré, ποιητική An. Bachin. II 36521. Some forms called Ionic are also classed as archaisms, Tzetz. Ex. II. 9013. Extremely rare is such a conjunction as "Outpos καὶ 'Iwves, Max. Plan. in An. Bachin. II 6127. cf. 'Iwves, οῖ τε ἔλλοι and Ἰωνεύνα Hdn. II 2827 (cf. II 38413). Of Anakreon, Pollux III 98 says that he used ἡσε, 'Iwv καὶ ποιητής ἀνήρ. The first and second persons of iteratives were used by the poets κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν 'Ιώνων, Choir. 63324, following Herodian's view. Herodian's view.

poet from the point of view of Ionic form. On Ψ 88 ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλοισι χολωθείς, the Schol. Ven. A remarks: αὶ πλείους τῶν κατ' ἄνδρα ἀμφ' ἀστραγάλησιν ἐρύσας καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικώτερον. "ἀστραγάλαι δ' Ἑρωτός εἰσιν μανίαι τε καὶ κυδοιμοί." 'Ανακρέων.

Note on Ionic Vocabulary.

Subjoined is a list of some words called Ionic in the ancient lexica. For others see the 'Ηροδ. λέξεις, Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. Kor. § 80 to § 191, Hekataian words, § 87 note, the fragments of the

iambographers, especially Hipponax, and above § 9.

àγai = alγιαλοί Et. Gud. 421, cf. Hesych. 8.v.; ἀνάγειν ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀπλῶς ἄγειν Eust. 183919, cf. 70858, 150763; ἄρπεζον = αἰμασία Eust. 1851₉₅; ἀφαρεί = ταχέως Et. Mag. and Gud.; βόλβιτον = βόλιτου Et. Mag. 20428 (Hipp. 70 A); βρόταχος, see § 147; βροῦκος ἀκρίδων είδος, Ίωνες Hesychios. βρούκαν is Kyprian; γάλλος = μητραγύρτης Phot. 1831; γέργηθες = the δημόται at Miletos, Eust. 143342; yépivos tadpole Eust. 1864a: Plato has yupîvos, Nikander γέρυνος; δαυλός = (δαλός) Schol. Vict. on Il. XV 421, Et. Mag. 246 = Attic δαελός, a form called Syrakusan by the same Cf. μηρίων δεδαυμένων quoted from Simonides Amorg. in Et. Mag. 25018; δενδίλλων = περιβλέπων An. Par. III 5618; ἔραται ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡ λέξις Ἰωνική Schol. Ven. A on Ι 64; ἐργύλον στάτην. Ἰωνες Hesych.; ἐσσήν = ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ Ἐφεσίους Εt. Mag. 383_{30} ; ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπὸ μεταφορᾶς τοῦ τῶν μελισσῶν βασιλέως ώς εἴρηται ἔσσην (sic) . . . Ἰωνική δὲ ἡ λέξις Et. Gud. 'Εσσήν was the title of a priest of Artemis at Ephesos, Paus. VIII 13, 1; Είδοθέεια = Είδοθέα Eust. 1501 52; ζήτρειον σημαίνει τὸ των δούλων δεσμωτήριον, ήγουν τον μύλωνα, παρά Χίοις καὶ 'Aχαιοίς Et. Mag. 41133, cf. Eust. 83744; ήγάνεα πέμματα τὰ ἀπὸ τηγάνου Hesych. See Anakr. 26; ήγός = δ εὐδαίμων Et. Mag. 390₃₇; ἰβυκινήσαντες... ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ἰβῦ παρῆκται ἡ λέξις, καὶ ἔστιν Ἰωνικὸν ἐπίρρημα . . . ἔστι δὲ καὶ ὅρκος Ἰωνικός Hesychios; κηγχός Apoll. de Adv. 1849 (Schn.); κιττάλης = κλέπτης Joh. Gr. 242 B, cf. Teos 156 B 19; κνηστός, ποιός, τις, άρτος παρά "Ιωσι Eust. 872, Hesych. s. v.; κοκκύας (sic) = πρόγονος Et. Mag. 524₅₂, κοκύας An. Par. IV 74₂₄; κριοὶ κόλοι. ἔως νῦν παρ' "Ιωσιν οἱ κολοβοκέρατοι . . . λέγονται Schol. Ven. A on Π 117; λόγχας τάς μερίδας Ίωνες λέγουσιν Et. Mag. 56934, Orion 9425; μηνις

τας μεριοάς Τωνές κεγουστίν Ε.Ι. Μας. 50934, Οποίη 9425; μηντε όργή Βεκ. Απ. ΙΙ 73920; μήτρως Eust. 97126 ff; μικκόν = μικρόν Eust. 21720, 61025; μύττακες μυκαί. Σικελοί, Ίωνες, Hesych.; διμφαλητόμος = Attie μαΐα Eust. 97137 (Hippokr.); πάτρως Eust. 3168, 16, 97126, 37; πέργαμον τὴν πόλιν Ίωνες λέγουσιν οἱ δὲ πάντες τὰ ὑψηλά Απ. Bachm. Ι 3373; πηλός οἶνος, "Ιωνές Hesych., Orion 8620, cf. 17823; σῆτες τὸ ἐπέτους Εt. Μας. 71143; σκύβωλον = σκύβαλον Ephesian Ionic, Απ. Οχ. Ι 44718; σμῶξαι = πατάξαι Et. Μας. 72121, Orion 1416; στέρφος ἔρφος

ο δέρμα, ὅπερ Ἰωνες στέρφος λέγουσιν Schol. Nik. Alex. 248; ρώειν = βλάπτειν Eust. 1304_{45} , 1532_{10} , 1803_2 ; τρώμη = τρῶσις Eust. 1653_{52} , 1803_2 , cf. 102_{32} , 991_{60} ; δπέρτερος = νεώτερος Eust. 184_{32} ; δποκρίνεσθαι = λποκρίνεσθαι Eust. 687_{15} , 1437_{31} , cf. 515_{15} , $νου_{42}$, 1876_{47} , 1877_2 ; φάρμακοι = Attic φαρμακοί Eust. 1935_{15} ; νῆμις = φήμη Eust. 1956_{62} , cf. 799_{10} , 1563_3 ; φωλεός schoolhouse Hesychios) called Ionic by L. S. may belong to some other dialect; λωσσός· λχθῦς ὑπὸ Ἰωνων Hesych.; χρειω = χρεία Eust. 698_{11} ; νωρραξ· οὶ Ἰωνες ψύδρακας λέγουσι τὰς ποικίλας Et. Mag. 819_{10} ; νω is called by Greg. Kor. 549 an ἀγροικικὸν προσφώνημα, the nly instance of a distinct reference to the vulgar speech; νωλη Eust. 1715_{26} (see § 11).

Some of these words are doubtless provincialisms, which have not received the consecration of literary usage; and among them here may be words older than those that have won for themelves a place in literature. In the course of the development of onic life in its home on the Asiatic mainland and on the djacent islands, one community may have clung with peculiar enacity to the old-time words, while another may have offered less stubborn resistance to the encroachment of neoterisms. At the $\pi a r i \gamma \nu \rho \iota s$ of the Ionic cities there may have been heard rords that sounded as strange to the ears of a Milesian as the rovincialisms of an Eastern County man sound strange to the ar of a Londoner.

In examining the vocabulary of Ionic literature, especially in the prose monuments, modern students of style have not been leterred, despite the scantiness of materials, from setting apart his or that word in Herodotos or Hippokrates as 'poetical' secause it is Homeric. Who can say how much of the epic ocabulary which reappears in Ionic prose is not the idiom of he day? Outside of Ionic prose literature $\partial \tau \rho \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \omega s$ occurs only a poetry. It might be set down as an instance of the dependence of Herodotos and Hippokrates upon Homer, did we not know hat the word was in use in Doric (cf. Et. Gud., Et. Orion, and I. D. I. 3219). $\partial \tau \rho \epsilon \kappa \dot{\eta} s$ is found also in Demokr., Phys. fr. 1. The list of words (A. J. P. VIII 467), which before the discovery of the Kyprian inscriptions were not known to exist outside of Homer, should warn us against holding too fast to the poetical haracter of the Herodoteian diction!

¹ To Prof. Strachan Herodotos VI, p. xxix I owe the following list:—srewest Demokr. 71, δεδάσθαι Diog. 6, δίζημαι Demokr. 10, 20, Herakl. 8, 80, kropas Herakl. 7, 122, έρδειν Demokr. 101, 106, 118, 135, 203, Γκελοτ Demokr. 1. Cf Kleemann, Focabula Homerica in Grae orum dialectis et in cotaliano sermone resta, 1876.

The Ionic Element in Homer and the Relation of 'Old' to 'New' Ionic.

26.] If we eliminate from the Iliad and Odyssey the few forms whose Doric complexion is the result of a mistaken transcription of the original text, the occasional instances of forms specifically Attic, whose admission is due either to the Attic diascenasts, to the authority of Aristarchos (who held that Homer was an Athenian), or to the copyists, and finally such non-Hellenic monstrosities as the so-called distracted verbs, whose explanation transcends the phonetic laws obtaining in every Greek dialect, the remainder of the 'Homeric dialect' falls under the two divisions Aiolic and Ionic. By far the greater part of the sounds and inflections in the language of the Homeric epos is pan-Hellenic, and hence the joint property of both dialects, and in actual use at the time of the final construction of Iliad

and Odyssey. Such archaisms as the instrumental in -φι, -φιν, which do not bear either the Aiolic or the Ionic stamp, are likewise pan-Hellenic 1 and hence do not fall within the immediate purpose of the present work. But even within the domain of the phenomena which are manifestly dialectal, a successful delimitation of Aiolie and Ionic in the traditional text of Homer is attended by well-nigh insurmountable difficulties. It must be based upon a knowledge of the structure of both these dialects at the date of the composition of the various constituent parts of Iliad and Odyssey, and in fact upon a consistent view of the origin and development of the epopee itself. As long as so fundamental a matter as the complexion of the dialectal a is under dispute, as long as Philodemos' view is being resuscitated that the epic dialect was a farrago of all manner of dialects, and as long as it is undeniable that the diction of Homer is, partly at least, a highly artificial product, so long may a prudent scepticism affirm the futility of attempting any definitive demarcation between the dialect affinities of the Homeric dialect.

In the discussion of Aiolic an effort will, however, be made to bring together some examples of those sounds and inflections which may fairly be held to be the property of that dialect; and the view will be advanced, that the appearance of the Aiolic ingredient can with propriety be reconciled with the general Ionic colouring of the whole only when it is seen that

¹ By the ancients regarded as either Aiolic or Boiotian. τεῖν, τένη and other forms ascribed by the ancients to this or that dialect, but whose complexion is probably pan-Hellenic, are excluded from the present discussion.

the dialect of the Homeric poems is, in greater or less degree, an Ionicized Aiolic. So far as the Ionic residue is concerned, the question at issue turns upon the character of the Homeric Ionisms in their relation to those of the age of Herodotos, and in fact apon the correctness of the ancient division into 'Old' and 'New' or 'Later' Ionic.

27.] In the view of the moderns, New Ionic is restricted to the dialect of the fifth century, as it appears in Herodotos and Hippokrates. It is probable that the ancient dialectologists included under the appellation New Ionic all that is post-Homeric, i.e. the dialect of the lyric poets as well as that of the philosophers, historians, and scientists. To the ancients Homer was farther removed from the lyric age than he is in the view of the moderns. The New Ionic included at least Hipponax 1, who is mentioned by the Marmor Parium under Ol.

59. 3 (= 542 B.C.), and placed by Pliny in Ol. 60.

In reality the application of the term New Ionic to the form displayed by the dialect in Herodotos and Hippokrates signifies nothing more than the ordinary use of the term 'dialect' as a cantonal idiom. It does not imply that this form may not in part have existed before the time of Herodotos and Hippokrates and elsewhere than in the pages of these prosaists. So the term 'Late Lakonian' does not denote either that much of its structure may not be of very considerable antiquity, or that Lakonia was the sole residence of certain linguistic phenomena. All chronological and geographical divisions of dialect life are purely conventional and hence of extreme elasticity. boundaries of New Ionic might be so far enlarged as to include the entire dialect of the oldest inscriptions, of the lyric poets, and of Herodotos, and this New Ionic contrasted with the oldest portions of the dialect of the Homeric poems, i.e. those that may reasonably be placed before the year But since modern usage has chosen to affix to the dialect of Ionic prose the name New Ionic, this designation may, under certain limitations, be here adopted as the basis of the discussion as to the interrelation between the Old and the New Ionic.

It must be understood that in the comparison of the $\partial \rho \chi a i a$ with the $\mu \epsilon \tau a \gamma \epsilon \nu \epsilon \sigma \tau \epsilon \rho a$ 'i.a's, an importance has been heretofore attached to Herodotos utterly out of proportion to the real value of his history as a representative of the later division. The text of Herodotos, even when built upon the consensus of testimony of

¹ Τὸ λαὸς Ετρευτος έμειτε παρ' 'Ομήρφ, καίτοι τῆ μεταγενεστέρφ 'Ιάδι τραπέν' ληὸν ἀθρήσας, 'Ιππώναξ 88 ; An. Ox. I 2654. Strabe VII 340 classes Hipponax among the νεάτερο, and even Archilochos falls under the same appellation Schol. Z 507, cf. frag. 176).

the best MSS.-which often does not exist-can claim, unless supported by extraneous evidence, only an inferior position as a standard by which to estimate the character of the Ionic of the fifth century. The diction of early Ionic prose, and preeminently that of Herodotos, is permeated by lexicographical, stylistic and syntactical affinities with the language of Homer. more significant is the erratic conduct of the phonetical and inflectional system, preferring now the Homeric now the contemporaneous dialect; the frequent aversion to the living speech when its forms contest the field with those consecrated by Homeric usage; the inconsistencies in one and the same word as presented by the MS. tradition. All these considerations, which are discussed at greater length below, § 88, create a presumption in favour of the view that the text of Herodotos had undergone a transformation at a time when exact knowledge of the Ionic of the fifth century had vanished even from the schools.

From this it follows that all the modern comparisons of Homeric phonology with that of Herodotos, as it exists in the best MSS. of the historian, will (unless they rest upon the assumption that Herodotos intentionally commingled a dead with a living speech) have to confront the objection that the retention, in such large measure, of open forms originally separated by yod (and to a less degree, by F and σ), from the earliest known period of Ionic until the fifth century, is a

phenomenon unique in the history of the language.

While the greater part of the dialect of Herodotos is contemporaneous Ionic, there is a residue of formations either entirely obsolete or obsolescent in the fifth century. So far then as New Ionic embraces the dialect of Herodotos, it is only that part of the dialect which may either be proved, or inferred by the argument from analogy, to be the Ionic of the historian's time. With this limitation as regards the dialect of Herodotos, and in a less degree as regards that of Hippokrates, the date of the New Ionic may be marked off with tolerable chronological exactness as the Ionic of the fifth century.

28.] What is Old Ionic? The conventional application of the term to the dialect of the entire epos pays no regard to the fact that under the name Homeric are classed dialectal phenomena ranging from perhaps the eleventh to the seventh century. While the oldest portions of the Iliad, even those of distinctly emotional character, antedate the earliest monuments of the

¹ For example καλέοι, καλέοιτο, φρονέοιεν, λυπεοίατο. The inscriptions have but one case of the retention, as an archaism, of the open, and older, form. The poets have -οίμεν, -οίμεθα, -οῖεν, The iteratives still live on in Herodotos though with impaired vitality.

Ionic lyric, there yet remains, in the Doloneia and various lengthy passages in books B, I, Λ , Σ , Υ , Ψ , an irreducible minimum that is contemporaneous with Archilochos or even with Simonides of Amorgos. And so far as the Odyssey is concerned, all of that which is called by Kirchhoff the 'second enlargement' is placed by him as late as 660 B.C.

And yet, so similar in texture is the diction of the later to that of the earlier accretions which have grown about the Iliad and Odyssey, that it is virtually identical with that of the primitive bard. The elasticity of their art did not debar the workers at the fabric of the epos from the use of forms either obsolete or obsolescent in their day, nor on the other hand from having recourse to analogical formations of an archaic stamp.

Tempting as is the comparison of book K and the greater enlargements of the Iliad and the second enlargement of the Odyssey with the fragments of Archilochos and Simonides of Amorgos, such a test yields no proof that the language of these latest portions is the language of the seventh century. The tendency to adopt contracted forms is perhaps the only sign of the assimilation of the literary to the popular form of the language 1. In the older portions of the epos the fusion of vowels may have been a matter of poetic license. exigencies of the verse may anticipate by an indefinable period the processes which operate in the ordinary speech of the day.

Subjoined is a list of some instances of contraction and synizesis, which deserve attention from those who approach the comparison of the epic with the iambographic dialect from the point of view of vowel openness or contraction 2. Forms showing synizesis come to light alike in the older and the later parts of the poems; contracted forms increase in frequency in passages whose later origin may be inferred on other grounds.

Apart (1) from instances of contraction occurring in those words, which, without vocalic fusion, could not find admission into the hexameter, and (2) the contractions in the sixth foot (except a few isolated cases mentioned below), there occur the following instances of later forms, most of which resist all remedial treatment save of the severest character. Cases which show the disappearance of you are less noteworthy than those where f or σ has been lost. Where the syllable of contraction or synizesis is not under the ictus, this is denoted by a star.

¹ Yet the termination -eein, when preceded by a single consonant, must have been in ordinary use at the end of the seventh century. By the year 479.8 it was old-fashioned in Teos. See footnote, p. 36, and § 45 (1).

In reference to the position assumed by Menrad in his De contractionis at symmetries use Homerico, see my review A. J. P. VIII 224 ff., Christ's Ilias, § 102 ff., and the articles by Mr. Arthur Platt, in the Journ. Phil. XVIII No. 35 ff., which deal immediately mith some of the forms event delege. deal immediately with some of the forms quoted above.

Α 15* χρυσέω, Β 684 καλεῦντο, 490 χάλκεον, 677* Κῶν (?); Δ 113 σάκεα, 384* Τυδῆ; Ε 387* χαλκέω, 525 ζαχρειῶν, 256* έᾳ; Ζ 220 χρύσεον; Η 394 ἢνώγεον (-γειν?); Θ 217* κηλέω (cf. O 744); Ι 605 τιμῆς (?), 75* χρεώ, 266 ἀθλοφόρους; Κ 285 σπεῖο, 449 μεθῶμεν; Λ 282* ἄφρεον, 282 στήθεα, 611 ἔρειο, 708 πολεῖς, 179 πρηνεῖς, 699 ἀθλοφόροι, 151* ἱππεῖς; Μ 347, 360 ζαχρηεῖς; Ν 684 ζαχρηεῖς; Ξ 7 λούση (λοΓ?), 274 ὧσι; Ο 21 ἢλάστεον, 65*, 68* κτενεῖ, 444 βέλεα, 339 Μηκιστῆ; Ρ 451 βαλῶ; Σ 136 νεῦμαι, 493 ἢγίνεον, 539 ὡμίλευν, 612 χρύσεον, 475 τιμῆντα; Τ 104* ἐκφανεῖ, 202 ἢσιν, 402* ἐῶμεν, 88 ἄτην (6th foot), 95 ἄσατο; Υ 218 ϣκεον, 72 Ἑρμῆς (6th foot); Ψ 361 μεμνέωτο, 121 δατεῦντο (6th foot), 412* κατακτενεῖ, 834 χρεώμενος, 226 Ἑωσφόρος, 792 ᾿Αχιλλεῖ (6th foot); Ω 290 εὕχεν, 503 αἰδεῖο, 722 θρῆνεον, 101 χρύσεον, 354* νόον (?), 28 ἄτης (6th foot), 734 ἀθλεύων, 769 δαέρων.

α 183 πλέων; β 358 ἀνοβῆ, 421 ἀκραῆ (?); γ 221 φιλεῦντας (6th foot); ϵ 54* Έρμῆς (6th foot); ζ 210 λούσατε, 216* λοῦσθαι, 219 ἀπολούσομαι (from λοΓ?); η 94* ὄντας, 110* τεχνῆσσαι, 107 καιρουσσέων, 118 θέρευς, 116* συκέαι; θ 550 κάλεον, 334* Έρμῆν, 483* ῆρφ, 160 ἄθλων, 271 "Ηλιος; ι 269 αἰδεῖο, 44 ἢνώγες, 240 θύρεον, 283 νέα (ναῦν?); 347* κρέα (6th foot), 136* χρεώ; κ 229, 255 καλεῦντες (6th foot), 518* χεῖσθαι, 263 ἢνώγεα, 240 νοῦς; λ 61 ἄσε; μ 249 καλεῦντες (6th foot); ν 78 ἀνερρίπτουν; ξ 86* βῶσι, 435* Έρμῆ; ο 74 φιλεῖν, 88 νεῖσθαι, 533 γένευς, 248 νἰεῖς: π 383 φθέωμεν, 367 ἄσαμεν; ρ 55 ἢνώγεα; σ 247 πλέονες; τ 136 ποθέωσα, 489* οὕσης, 331 τεθνεῶτι, 34* χρύσεον; ν 14 βεβῶσα (6th foot); φ 218* πιστωθῆτον, 47 θυρέων, 178 στέατος; χ 456 ἐφόρεον, 385 κοῖλον; ψ 77* ἔα; ω 337 ἤτεον, 323 ἴσχεο, 491 ὧσι, 437 φθέωσι, 1* Έρμῆς, 394* θάμβενς (6th foot); 398 'Οδυσεῦς,

523 Εὐπείθεα, 341* συκέας, 360 προϋπεμψ'.

29.] Now if the dialect of the epos represents the period of Old Ionic according to the ancient and modern conception, and the language of the fifth century is New Ionic, it might be questioned whether there is not in the monuments of the sixth century an intermediate stage of the dialect. That such a middle period does not exist is evident from the study of the literature and inscriptions from 600-500 B.C. A few examples will in fact suffice to show that 'Middle' Ionic has no existence whatsoever.

Thus for example the oldest Ionic form of λāfos is ληόs, found first in the misread Homeric Λειώδηs and Λειώκριτοs. ληόs itself does not come to light in the monuments of the dialect until the second half of the sixth century (Hipponax 88) while the Herodoteian λεώs had been formed as early as the

seventh century (Archil. 69), and was in use in Miletos (Bechtel no. 93) in the sixth century; to say nothing of the Homeric 'Ayé $\lambda \in \chi$ 131, 247. Herodotos has also in $\Lambda \in \chi \in \chi$ an example of a third form. While Herodotos has $\lambda \in \chi \in \chi \in \chi$ it is doubtful whether he has $\chi \in \chi \in \chi \in \chi$

Again: in at least eleven passages ranging from the earliest to the latest books, the genitive in -oo can be exhumed, a form which is the immediate parent of -ov and the direct descendant of -ovo 1. It may serve as the type of those forms whose archaic character is so clearly marked as to justify their ascription to a stage in the history of Greek in which lines of demarcation cannot be drawn between Ionic and Aiolic. Though we shall find it impossible to define accurately the life of 'pre-Homeric' forms, it is clear that the -ovo form must have been in possession of the field centuries before the first accretions began to grow about the primitive Iliad and Odyssey. Even its offspring -oo must have acquired an archaic flavour at the time of the composition of the poems. A distinct stage in the life of the dialect, when -ovo was old-fashioned and -ov had not come in, cannot be discovered,

Now if it could be shown from these and similar examples, that the life of a considerable number of individual forms was conterminous, a period of 'Middle' Ionic, such as is set up by Professor Sayce², might be said to have existed. But there is no trace of a halting-place where a number of distinctly intermediate forms consort. All the meaning therefore that can be extracted from the expression 'Middle' Ionic, is that, in the most general sense, between the close of epic and the rise of prose literature there was an interval, the existence of which in no wise carries with it the conclusion that the inflectional and phonetic development of the language had reached an intermediate stage.

The assumption then of a Middle Ionic, in fact the comparison of Old with New Ionic, is of almost no value in the eyes of a science which deals not with periods, but with the life of the individual form. There may indeed be a primitive, a middle, and a final period in the life of the individual form, if it chance to have undergone three distinct phonetic changes which are actually attested or which may be inferred.

30.] The study of the life of the individual form in Homer, the lyric poets, and the inscriptions, reveals an organic development of the dialect, whose recognition has been forced to wait upon

In La Roche's text the occurrences of -oio and -ov are: -oio Il. 1085, Od. 702, -ov Il. 1015, Od. 808. This count includes the instances of -oe for

Journal of Philology X 111, cf. Monro, ib. IX 253.

the formation of a just estimate of the position of Herodotos. If it be admitted that the sounds and inflections of the diction of Herodotos and Hippokrates are not epic as such, the conclusion is irresistible that the form often assumed by these sounds and inflections in the MSS. especially of Herodotos, is antagonistic to this organic development of the language, whose beginnings may be traced in Homer, and whose later aspects are visible in the epic, in the iambic writers and the inscriptions.

31.] In that portion of the Homeric dialect which, after the separation of the Aiolic element, we call Ionic, there co-exist, as we have seen, forms of very different dates. In determining the chronology of the Ionisms of the epos, there are several considerations which deserve ampler recognition than that usually accorded them. (1) No single verse or passage, of which the verse is an indissoluble part, is older than the date of the youngest form it contains; provided the passage in question is not an interpolation, and the form is not due to the exigency of the metre. (2) Forms which have disappeared completely at a very early period in the history of the transmission of the poems, and whose existence is due solely to reconstructive criticism, are not necessarily of the most archaic type. (3) If there are passages of greater or less compass-even single lines or parts of lineswhich have suffered transposition from Aiolic into Ionic, the Ionic forms which are metrically equivalent to those of Aiolic complexion, will belong to an early period of the dialect 1. As a matter of fact, apart from the probability or improbability of Fick's conception of the genesis of an Ionic Homer, it is frequently, but by no means invariably, the case that where the Aiolic form cannot be substituted for the Ionic form in the text, this form in question represents a later stage of the development of Ionic. (4) The joint ownership by Homer and Herodotos of formations, of which the Attic seems to offer more ancient by-forms, is not per se indicative of a later origin of the Homeric passages in which these formations occur. τιθέασι is no less a neologism than τιθεῖσι. (5) Homeric Ionic is not invariably older than that portion of the later dialect which is independent of epic influence. Yet in its totality the complexion of the Ionic of the Iliad and Odyssey is sufficiently archaic to exclude the suggestion that portions of the poems containing forms found alike in Epic and in 'New' Ionic, are later accretions. The assumption that, wherever Homer makes but rare use of

¹ The older the forms, the more nearly alike are they in all dialects. This fact of language has no necessary connection with a transference from one dialect to another of a product of literature.

a formation that grows apace in later Greek, this formation has been brought in by diascenasts or copyists, is destructive of all

linguistic perspective.

While not constituting a period of Middle Ionic, the dialect of the iambic writers is a bridge leading from the epic to the form assumed by the dialect in the fifth century. On the one hand it agrees with the Ionic of Homer in its freedom in treating the demonstrative as a relative pronoun; a freedom which has been somewhat restricted in Herodotos, and much more abridged in Hippokrates. In Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax, and Ananios, we encounter os in its ordinary relative use, and also the employment of the article as a relative. In Herodotos the 7-forms prevail in the oblique cases and in the neuter of both numbers, while \tilde{o}_5 , $\tilde{\eta}$, $o\tilde{i}$, $a\tilde{i}$ occur in the nominative, after prepositions which suffer elision, and in certain formulae. Hippokrates adopts the Attic use. Furthermore the following instances of divergence from the prose dialect are noticeable. few cases the poets preserve open in vocalic stems forms which later suffered contraction, notably in Hippokrates. The cof diphthongs is less frequently lost before a following vowel than in Herodotos. There is in fact no case of such a form as $\theta \dot{\eta} \lambda \epsilon a$. $\kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu o s$ and θέλω are preferred by the iambic writers to the longer forms, which find favour in Herodotos and Hippokrates. For verbs in -aω we find -εω very rarely in the poets.

32.] It is difficult to discover any phonetic change of the fifth century (occurring in a word found also in Homer 1) which does not appear in some portion of the epic. Oftentimes it happens that younger forms which come to light only sporadically, notably noun and verb forms which have lost yod, sigma, or digamma, are admitted in the later Ionic, which casts off the older form prevailing in the epos. Each set of forms deserves individual treatment, as it by no means follows that all younger forms 2 in the epos are universally adopted by the iambographers or the inscriptions; a consideration that must have weight in the reconstruction of the Ionic of the fifth century, when no light is cast by the iambic writers or the stone records.

Perhaps the most important marks of distinction between Old Ionic and the Ionic of Herodotos' time are the loss of the dual and of F, and the curtailing of the iterative formation in the latter. How far other phonetic differences may be set down as characteristic differences of Old and New Ionic is not always

¹ This limitation excludes securior &c.; see under Pronouns.

Thus βέλες O 444, σάκες Δ 113 (to say nothing of τεύχες, δλγες, τεμένες, στέδες in the 6th foot) do not exclude -εα from the lyric dialect, though there -εε may be more frequent than the open form.

clear. Some of the more marked changes are $\tau \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \sigma \epsilon \rho \epsilon s$ for $\tau \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \sigma a \rho \epsilon s$, $\theta \acute{\omega} \mu a$ for $\theta a \acute{\omega} \mu a$, and $\check{\omega} \nu$ for $\sigma \check{\nu} \nu$; κ for π in pronominal forms. The existence of the spiritus asper is imperilled and the contraction of vowels has set in to a very considerable extent in New Ionic. On the other hand the dialect of the Ionic iambic poetry runs parallel with that of the inscriptions, save in the fact that the former has $\kappa \check{\omega} s$, $\kappa \acute{\sigma} \tau \epsilon$ &c., while the latter has no case of the κ form. Except in this particular the language of the iambographers is more closely allied to that of the stone records than it is to the diction of Herodotos.

Homeric Ionisms.

33.] The résumé of Aiolic forms under the head of Homeric Aiolisms, Aiolic §§ 12-39, relieves us of the responsibility of treating in detail the Ionisms of the Homeric diction. All that is not Aiolic in Homer (with the exceptions referred to Aiolic § 10) is Ionic. The following sections call attention to a few points, some of which are not free from doubt, where Ionic stands out in direct opposition to Aiolic.

34.] Vowel-system. When, in conjunction with ρ , we have variable forms in a and ϵ , as in $\theta \acute{a} \rho \sigma \sigma s$, the presumption is in favour of the Ionic character of the a forms.

Ionic ϵ is=Aiolic \bar{a} in $\tau \epsilon \omega s$, $\bar{\epsilon} \omega s$ ($\tau \epsilon l \omega s$ and $\epsilon \bar{l} \omega s$ are misrepresentations of the older Ionic forms in η), in 'Ayé $\lambda \epsilon \omega s$

X 131.

Ionic are all cases of η except those which are pan-Hellenic. Ionic η has often been obliterated by incorrect transcription of E, as in $\Lambda \epsilon \iota \dot{\omega} \kappa \rho \iota \tau \sigma s$ which stands for $\Lambda \eta \dot{\sigma} \kappa \rho \iota \tau \sigma s$ (cf. $K \rho \iota \tau \dot{\sigma} \lambda \sigma \sigma s$), and in $\Lambda \epsilon \iota \dot{\omega} \dot{\sigma} \eta s = \Lambda \eta \dot{\omega} \dot{\sigma} \eta s$, the equivalent in meaning of Thessalian $F \alpha \sigma \dot{\tau} \dot{\sigma} \mu \sigma s$ C. D. I. 371. $\Lambda \eta \dot{\omega} \dot{\sigma} \eta s$ is from $\lambda \eta f \sigma - F \alpha \dot{\sigma} \eta s$. The Ionians appear in Homer in the non-Ionic form 'lάονες N 685, while $\pi \alpha \iota \dot{\eta} \dot{\omega} \nu \Lambda$ 473 is genuine Ionic (cf. Archil. 76).

Ionic are all long vowels and diphthongs due to compensatory lengthening (but not to epenthesis) in cases where the Aiolic dialect geminates the preceding consonant. Examples under §§ 196, 224. The sound ει is Ionic as the result of the contraction of εε to ει; and all contractions of οο to ον. When Homeric ει has

 $\epsilon v = \epsilon F$ as its counterpart in Aiolic, this $\epsilon \iota$ is Ionic.

ει and ov under the ictus in cases for which comparative grammar can find no morphological explanation: εἰλήλουθα, Εἰρέτρια, Οὕλυμπος. χρύσεος is Ionic, χρύσιος Aiolic. Though the contraction of ε and ο assumes in a few instances the form of ϵv in Aiolic, all cases of ϵv in Homer may safely be classed as Ionic¹. In a stage of development of the Homeric poems so remote as the supposed 'Aiolic period,' while the synizesis ϵo might be possible, the contraction to ϵv would scarcely be admitted. Besides the instances given in § 28, the following may be mentioned:

ἐρέβευς Θ 368, λ 37 (cf. Hym. Dem. 410), ἀὐτευν Μ 160, (ἐ)γεγώνευν ι 47, μ 370, ρ 161, νεικεῦσ' Υ 254, εἰλεῦντο Φ 8, ἀχλεῦνται Φ 261, θηεῦντο Η 444, Κ 524, σφαραγεῦντο ι 390, 440, φοβεύμενος Θ 149, αἰρεύμενοι Π 353, ἰκνεύμεναι ι 128, οἰνοχοεῦντες γ 472, ἀμφιβαλεῦμαι χ 103, λωτεῦντα Μ 283. In most of these verbs open εο was impossible. Furthermore in ἐμεῦ (twenty-six times), μευ (sixty-three), σεῦ (thirty-five), εὖ (seven), τεῦ (sixteen).

Menrad's De contractionis et synizescos usu Homerico attempts to heal many of the contracted forms in § 28 and in § 34, which are by other scholars rightly held to be hysterogeneous. Cp. A. J. P. VIII 224. ἐπιβώσομαι α 3,78, β 143. ἐπιβωσόμεθ' Κ 463 (cf. Χ 254), βώσαντι Μ 337 has parallels in no dialect except Ionic. On δγδώκοντα B 568, 652, see § 207.

35.] Consonants. κτ in πολυκτήμων (Ionic κτέομαι), where Aiolic has πάομαι as in πολυπάμων. Movable nu in such collocations as $\theta \hat{\eta} κ \epsilon \nu$, τοῖσι δὲ κ.τ.λ., Ψ 153. Movable nu seems to have taken its start from Ionic territory.

Ionic never geminates labials as in $\delta\pi\pi\delta\tau\epsilon$, &c., nor at any period of the dialect was $\kappa\kappa$ used instead of the Aiolic $\pi\pi$. Nor does Ionic geminate τ in $\tilde{\sigma}\tau\tau\iota$, &c. When Homer has τ = Aiolic π , as in $\tau\tilde{\eta}\lambda\epsilon$, the τ form is Ionic.

Since the Ionic dialect seems to have lost the rough breathing at a later date than did Aiolic, cases of the *lenis* for the asper are more probably Aiolic.

36.] Â Declension. Nouns in $-\eta$ and $-\eta$; in the nominative, and $-\eta$ in all other case forms.

Gen. in εω. Dissyllabic -εω is found but once, in "Αλτεω Φ 86, where the άλταο of Cod. C suggests an easy change. εω thirty-seven times in the Iliad, twenty-eight times in the Odyssey, chiefly in the arsis of the second, the third, or the fifth foot. ἀγκυλομήτεω is found at the end of the verse, 'Ιδεω begins the verse I 558 (Meleager episode), Ικέτεω occurs in the arsis of the fourth foot Ω 158, 187, συβώτεω in the thesis of the same foot ξ 459, ο 304. In the cases of -εω from Πηληϊάδης, Πηλείδης, 'Αλτης, Νηληϊάδης, 'Ατρείδης, Αλνείης, βορέης, a' may be sub-

According to the ancient grammarians ev was both Ionic and Doric.

stituted, the genitives occurring always before a vowel 1. Tudetons does not admit of a like substitution, a fact which has called forth some speculation as to the position of Diomede in the galaxy of the heroes.

The genitive in -ω is always preceded by a vowel: ἐυμμελίω Δ 47, 165, Z 449, βορέω Ξ 395, Ψ 692, ξ 533, Ἑρμείω Ο 214, Αἰνείω Ε 534. βορέω never occurs save before a word beginning

with a vowel.

Gen. plur. Dissyllabic $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ is found only H 1, M 340, ϕ 191. $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ by synizesis twenty-one times in the Iliad, nineteen in the Odyssey.

 $-\omega \nu$: thirteen cases of $-\iota \hat{\omega} \nu$, furthermore $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ six times, $\sigma \hat{\omega} \nu$ E 818 ($\sigma \hat{\epsilon} \omega \nu$ Aristar.), $a \hat{\nu} \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ T 302.

- 37.] O Declension. Bριάρεων A 403 seems to be Ionic alone, but $\Pi_{\eta}\nu\ell\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$ N 92 need not be regarded as containing the Ionic $\lambda\epsilon\omega$ s. On $\lambda\eta\delta$ s in Homer, see § 29. ἀγήρω e.g. P 444 for ἀγηράω. I see no reason for regarding the instances of -015 as proofs of Ionic workmanship. Though -010 occurs more frequently in the post-epic Ionic than in the Aiolic lyric, we cannot distinguish between the dialects as regards its appearance in Homer.
- 38.] Consonantal Declension. On $\gamma \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \omega s$, $\dot{\epsilon} \rho \omega s$ see under Homeric Aiolisms; $\kappa \nu \kappa \dot{\epsilon} \iota \hat{\omega} \Lambda$ 624. Whether the Aiolians ever used $\pi \lambda \dot{\epsilon} o \nu \dot{\epsilon} s$, -o $\nu a s$, is doubtful. Od $\nu \sigma \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\nu} s$ \omega 398 is certainly Ionic, as are all other instances of $\dot{\epsilon} \nu \dot{\delta} s$ 28, 34.
- 39.] Pronouns. Ionic are the forms beginning with $\eta\mu$ and $i\mu$ -. In many cases $\eta\mu\epsilon\hat{i}s$ $\eta\mu\epsilon$ as are found where Fick cannot readily substitute the Aiolic equivalents, e.g. β 86, 244, δ 294. $\sigma\phi$ as E 567, cf. M 43, seems to be Ionic.
- 40.] Verbs. κτεριώ Σ 334, κτεριούσι Λ 455, δεικιώ Χ 256 seem to be Ionic rather than Aiolic. On other contractions see §§ 28, 34. All forms of the contract verbs such as ἐποίει are Ionic. αἰρέω is Ionic = Aiolic ἀγρέω, ἄγρημι.

Inf. in -val and - $\epsilon i \nu$ are solely Ionic (Aiolic - $\mu \epsilon \nu a i$, - $\mu \epsilon \nu$ and - $\eta \nu$). Those in - $\epsilon \epsilon i \nu$ from the second agrist stem seem to be the work of Ionians.

41.] Varia. μία = Aiolic ία, τέσσαρες, τεσσαράκουτα, τεσσαράβοιος.

εls in Homer is both Ionic and Aiolic, εs Ionic in all probability;
δν may be Ionic in contradistinction to Aiolic κε.

¹ On the Homeric genitive, see i. a. Platt in Class. Rev. II 12, 99.

مقيمان ۾ نود

The Ionic of Iambic, Trochaic and Elegiac Poetry.

42.]

AHRENS: Ucber die Mischung d. Dialekte in d. griech, Lyrik, 57-63. De hiatu apud elegiacos Graecorum poetas antiquiores, Philol. III 223.

Fick: Die Sprachform der altionischen u. altattischen Lyrik, B. B. XI 242, XIII 173, XIV 252

FLACE : Das nachhesiodische Digamma, B. B. II 1 ff.

KIRCHHOFF: Zur Geschichte des attischen Epigramms, Hermes V 48, 1871.

LABGER: De veterum epicorum studio in Archilochi, Simonidis, Solonis, Hipponactis reliquiis conspicuo, 1885.

RENNER: De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae, Curtius'
Studien I 1, 133 ff.; I 2, 1 ff., 1868. Ueber das Formelwesen im griech. Epos
und epische Reminiscenzen in der älteren griech. Elegie, 1872.

SCHULHOF: On the early Ionian poets and on the interrelation of Ionic and Attic Greek, Trans. Oxf. Phil. Soc., 1889.

SITZLER: Ueber die Sprache der Elegiker, Jahrb. f. Philol. CXXV 504.

Schneidewin: Beitrage zur Kritik der Poetae Lyrici Graeci, 1844.

WAONER: Quaestiones de epigrammatis graccis ex lapidibus collectis (by Kaibel) grammuticae, 1883. See also Aiolic, § 100.

43.] It is advisable to approach the investigation of early iambic, trochaic, and elegiac poetry from the point of view of the nationality of the poet. The poetry of those who 'purchased fame by keen iambicks' is redolent of the soil from which it springs. The elegists, on the other hand, fall into two distinct divisions: those of Ionic blood, whose contemporary dialect is tempered solely by the diction of Homer, and secondly those of non-Ionic birth, who, though they may colour their dialect with forms drawn from the soil either of their birth-place or of their adopted home, are debarred by the laws of their art from interfusing their dialect with forms that are specifically Ionic ($\kappa \omega_s$, $\kappa \delta \tau \epsilon$), i.e. forms whose use had not been sanctioned by having been adopted by Homer. Otherwise these non-Ionic elegists have equal recourse to the fountain head of elegiac diction, the epos.

Dialect of the Iambists.

44] Iambic poetry was the weapon which dealt the sabrethrusts of Ionic invective; and the cultivation of the iambic measures remained an almost exclusive prerogative of the Ionic race until the trimeter was claimed for a higher and wider purpose by the literary successors of the Ionians. Its reception by Solon paved the way for its adoption by Tragedy.

The dialect of the three iambographers adopted by the Alexandrian canon was the pure Ionic of the century and a half during which the iambus was cultivated by the race which had first used it as a vehicle of literary expression. In the lyrical parts of Archilochos we observe a widening of the dialect horizon. These are considered below § 62; on his trochaics, see § 52.

Hipponax alone has so coloured the diction of his 'halting' iambics with words not Hellenic, but drawn from Lydian' or Phrygian', that he gained among the commentators the name of βαρύγλωσσος. τροῖσι in 51 recalls the Aiolic scheme of inflection of the numerals. In the hexameters of Hipponax we find epic forms.

In the examination of the phonetic and inflectional system of Ionic the diction of the iambographers Archilochos of Samos, Simonides of Amorgos, Hipponax of Ephesos, Ananios, and Herodas, will be investigated in detail. The other monuments of iambic verse outside of tragedy and comedy are too scanty to yield information of value. A few interesting forms are found in Skythinos.

Though Anianios' personality is scarcely to be separated from that of Hipponax, his language speaks in favour of his being considered as a distinct poet. In some respect his inflections do not follow the strict norm set by his predecessors. Anakreon's iambics are too scanty to permit a conclusion as to their dialect.

The original colouring of the Ionic of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos and Hipponax, though partially obliterated by the ignorance or perversity of copyists, can nevertheless be restored without recourse to a violent disturbance of MS. tradition. In one or two cases epic forms seem to have forced an entrance into the text. In weighing the MS. evidence in the case of Archilochos, the testimony of the Thasiote dialect must be considered.

On the resuscitation of choliambies by the Dorian Herodas, perhaps a contemporary of Theokritos, Ionic came again into fashion. The Alexandrians confessed their allegiance to the Ionic norm; and Babrios' μυθίσμβοι Αlσώπειοι attest, at least partially, the persistence of the Ionic standard. Cf. also Tzetzes in An. Ox. III 308.

The newly discovered papyrus of Herodas presents a tolerably faithful picture of the Ionic appropriate to this species of iambic composition. The Ionisms seem to be imitative, and not drawn from a living dialect, though there occur forms hitherto unknown in literature. Most of the Atticisms are

¹ βεβρός 64 cf. Hesych. βέβροξ ἀγαθός; κονίσκε 64; μαυλιστήριον 126; Κανδαίλα Ι ('Μηονιστί'). Perhaps the Hesychian glosses βάσκε πικρολέα' πλησίον έξεθόαζε and βαστιζακρόλεα' θᾶσσον έρχου were derived from Hipponax.
² νηνίστον 129; cf. 135

due to a disturbance of MS. tradition. In the case of others, however, where there is no fluctuation (oùxí twelve times), it may be doubted whether they are not to be ascribed to the author himself. The MS. has in places been corrected in the interest of the Ionic forms. Forms of Doric complexion may be referred to the speech of the poet's home. These are especially such as show a contraction of $\alpha + \epsilon$ to η . The crasis of $\kappa \alpha i$ shows more forms with η than with a. δράω regularly has η (δρŷs, δρη, δρῆτε). γλάσσα οτ γλάσσα is not necessarily Doric. yer is not uncommon. Some of the most interesting traces of Ionism are the following:—(1) Vousls: Over 150 forms have the Ionic η , less than ten have \bar{a} after ρ , ϵ , and ι . The contraction of $\epsilon + o$ to ϵv is very frequent; regularly so in verbal forms. εύντων 2,5, δ,5 and ἀργυρεῦν 441, 44 are unique. Hyper-Ionic ev occasionally comes to light as in δραμεῦσα 5M, Xesseis, 4m. em is generally so written in noun and verb, though it must usually be read e. Πρηξιτέλεω 4m is a singular exception. ε+ει and e+ w are always contracted when the forms were originally separated by yod. •+η = ω in βῶσον 441, 45; lpós is frequent, as is the synizesis of -ea in neuter plurals. The Ionic ou appears in κούρη, γουνάτων, νοῦσος. ἐορτή is attested 500, cf. execs 200. melow is found twelve times, melow but once. 2 · Consonants: κ for π is very frequent. Traces of f are scarcely discernible; cf. 212 72 oins, but in five other passages the word has no f. The hiatus in 41s is excused by the caesura. There are many indications of psilosis, though these are outnumbered by the occurrences of the rough breathing. While abris is found there is no trace of οὐκί. χύτρη 774 and ἐνταῦθ 333 have driven out the Ionic forms. σσ holds its own 'ττ only three times). γλήχω occurs θλήται 344 and θλή 225, 541 (?) are not Ionic. (3) Noun declension: ey generally, and -esp probably everywhere in the genitive of a stems. -ass and -ess are certain, though the longer forms occur. Iota stems have -105, -I. 14 Pronouns: μευ, σευ, τέο; ἡμέων, ὑμέων (2:7) and ὑμέων, ἡμέας, ὑμέας as well as ήμας and ύμας. The Doric vir is slightly more common than μir. Reflexive pronouns in Ionic dress are σεωυτήν 244, σεωυτοῦ 7,99, έωυτόν 57, (cf. ώυτης 644). The demonstrative officiates occasionally as the relative. (5) Verbs: ἐποιεύμεσθα 417. dethew Class. Rev. V 481 no. 3. Pure verbs that contract in Attic are always contracted though the scriptio plena is often found. Speepaka 5, &c. and actrowers 540 are new forms. olovas 255 is the same form that Zenodotos regarded as Homeric. (6) Adverbs, &c.: He almost always, breisen' 520, cf. Tiai, μā; ds is much more common than els.

The following is a brief statement of the position of the dialect. For a detailed examination, see the discussion of the sounds and inflections of Ionic.

45.] The Vowels. λūός though frequent in the elegy, is not found in the iambists. ληός is attested in Hipponax 88. Supposed Doric forms such as κωρίδες S. A. 15 (cf. Anan. 52) or πώλυπος in S. A. 29 do not vitiate the conclusion that the iambographers did not mix dialects. See under OΥ.

If rόσοι, found in S. A. 112 is correct, it must be classed with

νόσημα, &c.

On opeias in Hipponax 355, see under OY.

ούτομα in Simonides of Amorgos 7,57 savours of the epic

transformation of the Ionic $\delta\nu o\mu a$. It is probably a misread form. Usually the prosaical is also the poetical form, as witness Archilochos' $\epsilon\nu d\lambda\iota o\varsigma$.

Ionic η still occurs in Skythinos 1.

As to the contraction of vowels the iambic poets speak with no uncertain voice.

- (1) When yod intervened between $a\epsilon$, ao, $a\omega$, $\epsilon\epsilon$, $\epsilon\eta$ and $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ contraction has resulted, even if, as happens in a few cases, the contraction is not visibly expressed; as in Sim. Amorg. 1, where the form $\delta o \kappa \epsilon \iota$ must be scanned as an iambus. $\epsilon_{\iota} \omega$ results always in a monophthong as does $\epsilon_{\iota} o$, though the orthography varies between ϵo , with synizesis, and ϵv , which is perhaps due to the later manner of writing.
- (2) Vowels originally separated by F or σ may, but need not, contract. $\epsilon \sigma \iota$ yields $\bar{\epsilon} \iota$ in all other cases except Hipponax 11, where Bergk's reading $\dot{a}\gamma \epsilon \iota$ has an initial \bar{a} that is not in harmony with the etymology.
- 46.] The Consonants. The κ equivalents of the Homeric π forms appear at the opening of the seventh century and remain in undisturbed possession. The presence of $\delta\pi\omega$ s upon an inscription from Thasos is no proof, as Wilamowitz opines, of the avoidance by Archilochos of the κ forms. The rough breathing appears intact in the Thasiote Archilochos (with the exception of but two instances), a fact which seems to be speak its presence in the Nesiotic Ionic of the seventh century. From the MSS. of Simonides of Amorgos no conclusion can be drawn in reference to the psilosis of the dialect, but Hipponax offers proof that the Ionic of the Asiatic mainland was devoid of the influence of the spiritus asper, save in fixed compounds of preposition with verb. Digamma seems to occur only in of (Arch. 292 and Sim. Amorg. 779), though the number of cases directly opposed to its presence is so overwhelming that we are compelled to regard $\dot{\eta}$ dé of and oddé of as mere formulae, proving nothing more than similar cases of hiatus in the tragic poets.

ἄμμορος in Hipponax seems to be the Epic and Aiolic form.

Movable nu is employed, though sparingly.

47.] Declension. The dual is extinct. The genitives in - ω and - ω are completely established in the beginning of the seventh century.

In the dative plural instances of -ais and of -ois before consonants are rare, if permissible at all. It is by no means certain that (in the few examples which occur) we are not to recognize the instrumental which is obsolescent even in Homer. Scholars

of Nauck's proclivities have not succeeded in ousting all cases of this form from the epos. To cure Arch. 23 the knife must cut deep. The later Ananios without doubt used -ois.

-οιο is rigorously excluded from iambic poetry. Archilochos in the elegy has a sure case of the archaic form. Hipponax bears witness to the influence of the epos only in his hexameter παρὰ θῖν' ἀλὸς ἀτρυγέτοιο (854).

-εσσι, in nouns which are non-sigmatic, is a stranger to all the

iambographers except Ananios.

- **48.] Pronouns.** The iambographers used κείνος, κείθι, the elegists both the longer and the shorter form.
- 49.] Verbs. The presence of the syllabic augment is rigidly enforced. Where the contrary seems to be the case, as Sim. Amorg. 7_{45} , hyphaeresis must be assumed to have taken place. The temporal augment may be neglected in the case of verbs whose initial syllable is long by position. The existence of parallel forms in $-a\omega$ and $-\epsilon\omega$ begins as early as Archilochos, though it is not till the New Ionic period that these puzzling forms appear in great numbers. The elegy recognizes the existence of the $-\epsilon\omega$ form in but one verb (Theog. 169 $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon\dot{\nu}-\mu\epsilon\nu\sigma$, 369 $\mu\omega\mu\epsilon\dot{\nu}\nu\tau a\iota$).
- 50.] Prepositions, Adverbs. $\dot{\epsilon}_{S}$ is the preferred form. $\delta\nu$ obtains everywhere except in Ananios who has the epic $\kappa\dot{\epsilon}$.
- 51.] The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute proof of the Ionic character of a form in question unless the inscription is older than 400 B.C. and contains no form specifically Attic. The language of the iambists, when supported by that of the inscriptions, is the surest warrant of the Ionic character of any form, cf. § 92. The differences in inflection between iambic poetry and the literary Ionic of Hekataios, Herodotos, and Hippokrates tend mainly in the direction of the preference of the latter, or more strictly the preference of their MSS., for open forms. In iambic poetry diphthongs are less frequently deprived of their second element, e.g. in adjectives in -vs, - $\epsilon \iota a$, -v; there is no shifting of surd and aspirate in the dental and guttural series. The poets use both $\theta \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \omega$ and $\dot{\epsilon} \theta \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \omega$, while Herodotos and Hippokrates seem to have confined themselves to the use of the latter.

The relative and demonstrative pronouns are not restricted in the use of the poets to the Herodoteian rule. An external difference lies in the fact that the graphical expression of crasis is more frequent in the poets than in the prosaists and the inscriptions. Forka seems to have been the usual form of the

perfect, as it is found in Sim. Amorg. and Herakleitos, while Herodotos uses oika. Verbs in $-a\omega$ are just beginning in Archilochos to admit the presence of the parallel form in $-\epsilon\omega$ which has extended its domain so widely in the New Ionic. A sharp distinction between Herodotos and the older Ionic might be drawn on the lines of the existence of forms in $-o\omega$ verbs made upon the model of $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs. But the MSS. of Hdt., which alone contain these formations, have probably been vitiated to a considerable extent by theories as to the preference of Ionic for $\epsilon \nu$ in all stages of its history.

The iambographers agree with the inscriptions in making a much freer use of the movable nu than was made, according to the prevalent, but incorrect, theories as to their diction, by

the first writers of Ionic prose. See § 340.

Dialect of Trochaic Poetry.

52.] No more surprising example of the extreme delicacy with which the lyric poets interveined one dialect with another, can be discovered than the diction of early trochaic poetry. It is upon the foundation of contemporaneous, native speech, that both elegy and iambic poetry are raised: the elegy, however, permitting a recourse to the language of the epos which is alien to the genius of iambic verse. Midway between the two, in contents and in spirit, stands trochaic poetry. Its dialect too is not exclusively that of the poet's native speech, but is nevertheless far more deeply rooted to the idiom of the soil than that of the elegy. Homeric forms, even if belonging to another dialect than that of the poet, occasionally force their way in to heighten the pathos of this species of composition.

Less impetuous than the allied iambic rhythm¹, trochaic verse under the hands of Archilochos expresses an elevated moral purpose which bids man contemplate without surprise the marvels of his outward life, and hold him steadfast in the shock of calamity. The tone of fr. 56, 66, 74 recalls the elegiac to Perikles, as well as the 'No care have I of Gyges' golden store.' When utilized for a less lofty purpose the tetrameter of the inveterate hater may become the vehicle of indirect attack. Yet it never 'bites into the live man's flesh like parchment' as does the terrible and keen-edged iambic. It rarely descends to the

coarseness of the latter rhythm.

Of the trochaics it has been said: uxores virilium iamborum non codem impeta quo iambi incedunt. Hermog. de Id. II 349 calls them γοργότεροι καὶ λογοειδέστεροι and well adapted for use when ἐπείγεσθαι ὁ λέγων δοκεῖ.

In the Archilocheian trochaic tetrameter are found the following cases of divergence from the dialect of iambic verse:— (1) Διωνύσοι' 77 is the only instance of this elision 1 in Ionic, non-Homeric poetry, and the only occurrence of the -o10 form in this species of verse. -ow is not found in the iambics of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, or Hipponax. It may be noted that when Anakreon uses -ow it is not in a trochaic fragment, but in an acatalectic iambic dimeter with anapaestic anacrusis. (2) κατθανοῦσι 64 may easily be forced to yield to the form without apocope. Its removal, however, is unwise, since there are not wanting traces of apocope in monuments of the dialect which are free from the suspicion of having been influenced by the epos. At best these traces are very rare. Apocope is confined almost exclusively to Aiolic and Doric. (3) φονηες in 59 has been regarded as containing the Homeric ending, which had disappeared from Ionic by the time of Archilochos. We find however in Samos Πριηνήι, on which see § 510. (4) Omission of the syllabic augment in 73 is not an Homeric reminiscence. Read 'κιχήσατο.

Solon's tetrameters are couched in pure Attic save $\mu o \hat{v} v o 33_s$, and $\kappa \dot{\epsilon} v 33_s$, the latter form being interesting from the fact that it is the only non-Ionic, but Homeric, form employed in trochaics.

Blus in 322 is probably an Ionic interloper.

Lesser trochaic rhythms employed by Archilochos show the beginning of melic poetry, and are therefore referred to § 62.

Dialect of the Elegy.

53.] The history of the elegy from the earliest to the Attic period is in great measure the history of the receding of the Homeric forms, notably those of Aiolic tone, before the wave of modernization. As the freedom and mobility of the speech of the Dirina Commedia, which set the form for the literary language as Homer did for his successors, were to be restrained in the course of time, so the epos was to lose something of its opulence and plasticity as it passed into the hands of the elegists.

The elegiac poets, whether of Ionic or non-Ionic birth, accepting the language of the Homeric epos as the basis of the fabric of their verse, subject it to two modifications. Either (1) the archaic forms are shaken off, or (2) those peculiar to the poet's home and age are adopted. To the forms which were found alike in Ionic and Aiolic, but were obsolescent at the time of

¹ See Platt, Class. Rev. II 99, Lugobil Der genit. Sing. § IV.

the completion of the Iliad and Odyssey (800-650 B.C.), the elegy, as the voice of the present, displays a varying degree of repugnance. Thus the archaic $\epsilon\theta\epsilon\lambda\omega\mu$ has become an impossibility, of ϵ there is but an echo, ϵ added to nominal stems scarcely survives, $\epsilon\epsilon\iota\nu$ in the second agrist no longer imposes upon our credulity, the open verbal forms are advancing rapidly, by way of synizesis, to the contraction stage. On the other hand the adaptability of ϵ 00 still ensures its perpetuation.

It may be the result of chance, or it may be due to the innovating spirit of the Ionians, that in the fragments of the elegists not of Ionic birth we find more archaic forms preserved than elsewhere. Thus the suffix $-\theta \epsilon \nu$ is found only in Tyrtaios and in Theognis, $\phi \iota$ is preserved by Theognis alone, and the enclitic $\delta \epsilon$, found once in Archilochos (epode 98), occurs in Tyrtaios, Solon, and Theognis. The terminations $-\sigma \iota$ ($\delta \epsilon \lambda \eta \sigma \iota \nu$), $-\sigma \theta a$ ($\delta \kappa \epsilon \iota \sigma \theta a$), and $-\mu \epsilon \sigma \theta a$ ($\delta \kappa \epsilon \sigma \theta a$) are dead except in

Theognis.

The bond of sympathy between Homer and the elegy is not felt in equal force by the different poets of the elegiac guild. Stylistic reminiscences of Homer are more frequent in Kallinos and in Mimnermos than in the elegies of Archilochos, the Ionian of the Ionians. It is the colours of war that are most eagerly transferred from Homer to the canvas of the elegists, and Kallinos and Tyrtaios contain more Homeric reminiscences than any other elegists. Some small part of the sententious wisdom of Solon and Theognis is an echo of that of the bourgeois Hesiod ¹. In the adoption of epic reminiscences Theognis and several of his contemporaries evince a fondness for those of Aiolic structure.

On the one hand then we have a contraction of the freedom permitted to the diction of the epopee. On the other, the elegists drew from the soil such forms as had not been deemed suitable in tone to express the splendour and remoteness of the epic. We can thus admit without hesitation the κ forms of the Homeric $\pi \acute{o}\tau \epsilon$, $\pi \acute{o}s$, &c., even where the MSS, have π -, perverted by copyists who had the Attic form in their mind's eye. The inability of the Ionic to geminate κ ensures the correctness of Kallinos' $\acute{o}\pi\pi \acute{o}\tau \epsilon$ $\kappa \epsilon \nu$ $\acute{o}\acute{\eta}$, which has proved a stumbling block to Fick's theory that the elegy in the hands of native Ionians contained no form not pure Ionic in character.

¹ When Phokylides in his hexameters (3) uses the Doric τετόρων, he borrows not from the Homeric, but from the Hesiodic epos, which has left its traces in Theognis and Solon. Cf. Works and Days 698 and Kinkel epic frag. No. 248 (τέττορες). Hesiod, as a rule, was not popular with the Ionians of Asia Minor. There is scarcely a trace of an Hesiodic formula in Kallinos or Minnermos.

Kallinos was not troubled by the thought that the form did not belong to the Ionic element in the Iliad.

54.] The chief feature in the linguistic character of the elegy that permits a line of division to be drawn between the older elegists Kallinos, Archilochos, Mimnermos, and Tyrtaios on the one hand, and the later Xenophanes, Phokylides, and Theognis on the other, is the presence of a greater number of Homeric Aiolisms in the latter class. These Aiolisms will be discussed under the head of Aiolic.

A few noteworthy marks of the Ionic of the elegists are here recorded.

55.] Vowels. The indubitable Ionic form $\lambda \eta \delta s$ (see § 160) is unknown to the elegy, despite the fact that it must have existed as early as the Ephesian poet Kallinos. From his time to that of Xenophanes, $\lambda a \delta s$ was regularly used, if we accept the testimony of the MSS. It is inconceivable that it can have been employed in the sixth century as a living Ionic form. The preservation of each archaic word must have its special history. $\lambda a \delta s$ may have been archaic, as folk is, but with more distinctive dialectal colour. Archilochos may have used \bar{a} in proper names at a time when Ionic η before vowels had passed or was passing into ϵ .

56.] Consonants. Xenophanes and Phokylides show no trace of the influence of the spiritus lenis.

Though Mimnermos probably adopted κότε, κῶς, &c. (whereas Tyrtaios could not adopt so peculiarly Ionic a phonetic change), yet our MSS. treat both poets alike in presenting only the form with the labial.

f is practically dead in the elegists of Ionic extraction. In Mimn. 211, Bergk writes ἄλλοτε οἶκος, where the hiatus can be explained on the same view as Solon's ἄλλοτε ἄλλος and Archilochos' Ενυαλίοιο ἄτακτος. On Mimn. Για οἱ 129, Xenophanes' ὅ οἱ 29 (which recall φ 9), see § 389. ἐξηκονταίτη Mimn. 62 is a prose as well as a poetical form. Tyrtaios has, in comparison with Kallinos and Mimnermos, more traces of the labial spirant, while in Theognis the retention of the f was facilitated by the speech of his ungrateful fatherland.

Assimilation of the final consonant of a preposition which has suffered apocope occurs but rarely (Arch. 6₂, Mimn. 12₂, 14₄) and savours of Aiolic, though evidence from prose may be adduced in support of its Ionic character. Tyrt. 11₁₉ may be epic or Doric.

Fick's explanation of the presence of λωός in Homer is that the Ionization of the poems did not take place until about 540 B.C. when ληός was antiquated. With this view I do not agree, nor with that of Monro, H. G. p. 390. See ΑΙΟΙΙC, § 10 ff.

57.] Declension. Ionic -εω and -εων are to be read with synizesis, -οιο occurs twice in the elegies of Archilochos, four times in Mimnermos and in Tyrtaios, -αις and -οις are not to be removed from Tyrtaios and Theognis. Their expulsion from the Ionic elegists can be accomplished only with great difficulties.

The inflection of πόλιs shows forms of various ages. Xenoph. 2_0 has πόλεωs, Tyrtaios πόληῖ 12_{15} but πόλει 4_{10} , Theognis πόληοs 757 but πόλεοs 56. Archilochos has the old Ionic νηόs. Kallinos preserves the old form of ην stems in Ἡσιονῆαs, which has its parallel in φονῆεs Arch. tetr. 59. Tyrtaios and Theognis admit the η forms more freely. Phokyl. 1_2 professes to have Προκλέονs, an impossible Ionic form. ἔρωs, which is stamped as Ionic by Archilochos (ep. 103), is also Theognideian.

58.] Pronouns. σαντοῦ is read Mimn. 73, though Bekker's σ' αὐτοῦ shows that the critic could not reconcile himself to so early an appearance of the pronoun. σαντοῦ Theog. 795 is generally declared to be Attic, while for ἐμαντόν Χεπορh., which Bergk (II p. 116) retains, Schneidewin proposed ἐμεωντόν.

59.] Vowel combinations are contracted in the elegy with almost as much freedom as in iambic or trochaic poetry. An $-\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ from $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs is unknown. $\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\omega\nu$ Mimn. 113, $\kappa\lambda\sigma\nu\epsilon\delta\nu\tau\alpha$ 143, Xenophanes $\kappa\alpha\lambda\epsilon\sigma\nu\sigma\nu$ 25 and $\delta\sigma\kappa\epsilon\sigma\nu\sigma\nu$ Phokyl. 9, are the only examples of vowels uncontracted in verbs upon the disappearance of yod. Forms from adjectives in $-a\lambda\epsilon\sigma$ which occur only in the elegists, likewise remain open. $\hbar\epsilon\lambda\nu\sigma$ is not displaced by the prose form. Contraction is not imperative upon the loss of F or σ .

60.] Particles. δv is regularly employed by the Ionians, except in a single instance when Kallinos uses $\kappa \epsilon v$. In the latter part of the sixth century (Theognis) $\kappa \epsilon v$ is more frequently

employed.

The second book of the Theognideian collection contains many forms which must be allowed to stand, though inconsistent with those that are usual in the earlier portion. So too in all portions which can be shown to be the result of later imitation, Attic forms must be allowed a place. This may excuse such forms as ϵt 456, but is chiefly applicable to the contraction of $\epsilon + o$ to ov which occurs in the Alexandrine elegy in conjunction with the Ionic ϵv . The correctness of some Doric forms is not to be impeached because of the adoption of a Doric element by the later elegists. Until it is accurately determined what portions of Theognis are ancient, what of quite recent date, his text is an insufficient criterion in cases where a just doubt may arise as to whether or not a given form is contemporary Ionic.

The Ionic Element in Solon.

61.] In Archilochos no great interval in tone separates the iambic from the elegiac fragments. In Solon, too, the spirit of the elegiacs is not appreciably different from that of the iambic trimeters and tetrameters. Perhaps a greater measure of objectivity is discernible in the former than in the latter species of the lyric art as cultivated by the Athenian lawgiver. In the domain of language, however, each form of composition is subject to its own conditions.

The iambics are composed in the pure dialect of the first half of the sixth century. The pathos of the $\gamma\lambda\hat{\omega}\sigma\sigma\alpha\nu$ où $\kappa\ell\tau'$ 'Attikhu lévtas (369) echoes the spirit of the Athenian, to whom the adoption of an un-Attic idiom was not easy; a fact attested by the language of the epigrams discovered upon Attic soil which almost without exception adopt the contemporary Attic form. Cf. §§ 72, 75, 2, 189.

The fragments of the oldest Attic elegy as represented by Solon, and in fact the remains of the entire Attic elegy to the time of Kritias, have been handed down in a form whose correctness, so far as the interrelation of the Attic ā purum and the Ionic η is concerned, has been disputed, notably by Kirchhoff 1. The form of the Soloneian elegy as presented by the MSS. is practically that of the later epigrams, which do not scruple to use, now the Attic \bar{a} , now the Ionic η^2 . Kirchhoff contends that an Attic elegy with a purum, or an Attic elegy with η throughout, would be conceivable; that we could not take umbrage even at a mixture of Attic and Ionic, provided there were discernible some law governing the interrelation of the two dialects; but that an arbitrary procedure which permits now ā purum, now Ionic n in the same word, is, in the light of the evidence afforded by the contemporary elegiac fragments upon inscriptions, utterly inconceivable.

In § 72 it is shown that the language of the Attic elegy in the inscriptions of the sixth and fifth centuries is, as far as the use of \bar{a} purum is concerned, pure Attic without a single trace of the Ionic η . The evidence of the stone records contemporary with, or subsequent to, Solon speaks therefore with no uncertain voice in favour of the view that would expel all cases of Ionic η from the text of the ancient lawgiver. In confirmation of this opinion may be adduced the fact that the MSS, of Solon have

Zur Geschichte d. attischen Epigramms in Hermes V 48 ff.
 Wagner, Quaestiones de epigrammatis, p. 25.

passed through the hands of scribes who substituted Ionic for Attic forms. In XIII 46 there is no other reading than the hyper-Ionic οὐδεμίην. Similar forms have been dragged into the text of the philosophers (cf. Anaxagoras, 4). With all his dependence upon the diction of Homer, it must therefore be held that all cases of purely Ionic n must be expelled from Solon's

On the other hand the inscriptional evidence does not support the contention of those scholars 1 who would find in the early Athenian elegy nothing but contemporary Attic forms; as it disproves Kirchhoff's view that the Old Attic epigrams contain nothing but Attic forms, the Ionic epigrams nothing but pure Ionic, and that a mixture of Attic and Ionic is unknown in the earliest period. κούρη we find in C. I. A. I 469 (§ 75, 2), еїрека in conjunction with устей С. І. А. IV 477 E (§ 78), 'Αίδαο C. I. A. Ι 481, ἀπο φθιμένοιο C. Ι. Α. ΙΝ 477 C., ποτί C. I. A. I 466. This admixture of the Attic and Homeric dialect which we meet in the sixth century B.C. is the forerunner of that constant juxtaposition of Attic and Ionic which exists in the epigrams of the latest period. With Φρασικλείας, κούρη in C. I. A. I 469, cf. Λυκείας, κούρην Kaibel 152. Kirchhoff indeed holds 2 that κούρη is an Attic form, the 'survival of older phonetic conditions of the Attic idiom.' Even Kretschmer, who contends 3 that Διόσκουροι is genuine Attic, does not venture the assertion that this ov is Attic save in compounds in which the accent preceded the syllable containing the diphthong.

If the Attic elegy, as it found expression among the common people in funereal monuments, did not refuse to own at least a partial allegiance to the epic, it is the more improbable that, in its literary form under the hands of Solon, it should have east off all forms not of Attic colouring. εἰπέμεναι has, indeed, long ago retired before the είπειν μοι of Aristotle; ξμμεναι may only occur in a spurious verse: but all efforts to disturb ήγεμόνεσσιν must be fruitless in the face of the fact that this form comes to light in the elegy upon the deeds of Kimon preserved by

Plutarch (Kimon 7).

In general it may be said of the dialect of Solon that it goes along with that of his Ionic predecessors or contemporaries. Open -εω has ceased to exist in verbal and substantival forms, -εω or -ω being substituted therefor; Ionic -εν is found four, and Attic -ov three, times in the elegies. Verbs in aw, ew, ow are always contracted. Upon the disappearance of intervocalie or

¹ Notably Fick, B. B. XIV 252.
² Hermes, V 54.

³ K. Z., XXXI 442.

whereas Archilochos had mainova, but there are cases where vowels originally separated by F are kept apart. initial f do not exist. The Ionic form in $\sigma\sigma$ seems to have forced its way in, to the entire exclusion of the native TT. Apocope of and occurs once (112). -o10 is found but twice, while -ois and -ais are so rare that their existence has been denied. Wherever there is a variation in the MSS. between Attic and Ionic forms the former should be adopted.

On Solon's trochaics, see § 52.

Ionisms of Melic Poetry.

62.] Archilochos (Epodes). Forms not in consonance with the native dialect of the poet are: κόρης 120 (iobacchics), ὀρέων 115, a fragment of like metre with 114, if the final syllable of δυσπαιπάλους be regarded as anceps. In 114 (asynartetic, dactylic tetrapoly + ithyphallicus) we find $\lambda i \pi \epsilon$, a case of omitted augment which is not analogous to κιχήσατο 73 and ποτατο 186, where hyphaeresis may account for the unusual form. The hiatus in i dé oi 97 recalls that of 29 (iambic), and is probably stereotyped.

Of the lesser trochaic rhythms 1 Archilochos manifests a preference for the ithyphallicus both in conjunction with the dactylic tetrapody, as in 114 and 115, and also when the paroemiacus

precedes, as in 79, a fragment containing Χαρίλαε.

The trochaic tripody installed itself early in favour with the purely melic poets. Sappho united two ithyphallies to form a single verse, Anakreon employed the tripody after an iambic dimeter. Whether the Hail to the Chief of Archilochos (119) contains a catalectic trochaic tetrapody is doubtful. occurrence of the form 'Ιόλαος (in the iambic trimeter) is at least worthy of note. Aao's does not appear in the pure iambics of Archilochos.

63.] Anakreon. The dialect of Anakreon is the Ionic 2 of his time with an admixture of Aiolisms (see under Melic Aiolisms) sufficient to indicate the debt his genius owed to the Lesbian school. These Aiolisms are not rigorously confined to the metres inherited by the Teian bard from his Mitylenaian predecessors. Dorisms, though found in the fragments handed down by Hephaistion, held to exist by Eustathios (1862,,) and suggested by Bergk in his emendations, are totally foreign to the atmo-

On the tetrameter, see § 52.
 δγραφεν όλογεῖα καὶ ἰάμβους, 'Ιάδι πάντα διαλέκτψ, Suidas.

sphere of the poet. The following Ionisms attest the character of his language: κ for π in κού, κώ, ἐσκατοράς 16, ἐπίστιου 904. κάθοδος 43e is not a proof of the presence of the initial asper in the sixth century. δχάνοιο in 91 is the only example of the archaic ending in the Ionic melos 1; τιθέμεναι in the same fragment is another example of the persistence of the Homeric form (though both might be classed with the Aiolisms). Another older form is Ποσιδηϊών 6. The shorter forms -ais and -ois (e.g. 24, 6411) cannot be conjectured out of existence. Anakreon is of great importance for the study of the supposed fondness of Ionic for open vowels. In vocalic contraction Anakreon followed his predecessors in the treatment of vowels originally separated by yod. φιλέει 70, δοκέεις 752 written with scriptio plena are due to Hephaistion and Heraklides Pontikos respectively. When F or σ intervened, Anakreon adopted the open or the contracted form. In a considerable number of instances the uncontracted forms appear in the MSS, despite the necessity of contraction or at least synizesis. Forms that are certainly open are rare, e.g. Θρηϊκίης 96 eleg. (but cf. 49, 75), πάϊς 2113. In 45 we even find $\tilde{a}\delta\omega$ (cf. 65), and in 63_3 $\epsilon\gamma\chi\epsilon\alpha$! Initial F is extinct. The genitives in $-\epsilon\omega$ and $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ are monosyllabic. The expulsion of the second element of the diphthongs et and ot occurs chiefly in Anakreon and Hipponax, and reminds us of the approach of the later prose usage. Crasis is not often expressed graphically (83, 217, 88, cf. 44a).

The Ionic Element in the Epigram and in Melic Poetry (Alkman, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Simonides, Pindar, Bacchylides).

64.] The nature of the mixed dialect adopted by Alkman, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Simonides of Keos, Pindar, Bacchylides, &c., who made use of Doric, Aiolic and Ionic, will be discussed in a later volume of this work in the chapter treating of the mixture of dialects in the earlier choral poetry and in the later universal melic.

The Ionisms which constituted a portion of the poetical apparatus of choral poetry, are drawn chiefly from the Homeric, less frequently from the Hesiodic epos.

Regard to the virtue of each of the component parts 2 of the melic art dictated the presence of epic forms in varying degree.

¹ This fragment is the only example of an acatal, iamb, dimeter with an anapaestic anacrusis.

² Plato, Rep. III 398 D: τὸ μέλος ἐκ τριῶν ἐστὶ συγκείμενον, λόγου τε καὶ ἀρμονίας καὶ ἐρυθμοῦ.

When the substructure of the poem is Ionic and we find superimposed both Doric and Aiolic, Doric is the heavier, Aiolic the lighter element. When Doric lies at the base, the purely Ionic framework is more noticeable than the Aiolic.

- 65.] Forms of distinctly Ionic colouring are exceedingly rare in Alkman. In fr. 30 the MS. has γούνατα for which γώνατα is to be written with Hiller; so Dor. δωρί for δουρί fr. 68. In είαρος 26, τρεῖς 76, δρνεις 28, ἀγεῖται (-ῆται Schneid.) 93, the ει is Ionic, as is the case in εἰμένα 97 (Hiller ἡμένα). The ει of εἶπατε 47, 56 B is pan-Hellenic.
- 66.] In the following sections are examined the occurrences of the purely Ionic forms in the melic poets, Stesichoros, Ibykos, Pindar, Simonides, and Bacchylides. In the case of the epigrams of Simonides the occurrences of \bar{a} are noticed. Since a registration of such Homeric forms as are not absolutely Ionic is not attempted, all Aiolo-Ionic forms are excluded.

In order not to break the light thrown upon the dialect of the different varieties of lyric verse cultivated by Simonides, the epigram has been noticed here rather than in conjunction with the elegy (see § 53 ff.).

67.] The epigram was originally completely local in colouring and not restricted to the elegiac distich as a vehicle of expression. In the oldest monuments we find the hexameter 1, a metre which still proved serviceable after the distich had long been in vogue. Homer indeed was styled the first epigrammatist on the strength of H 89—

ἀνδρὸς μὲν τόδε σῆμα πάλαι κατατεθνηῶτος, ὄν ποτ' ἀριστεύοντα κατέκτανε φαίδιμος "Εκτωρ.

Epigraphical monuments of the seventh century such as the Korkyraian inscriptions in honour of Polynovas, Menekrates, Arniadas (C. D. I. 3186, 3188, 3189) are composed in hexameters, but in the Korinthian dialect. Attic epigrams in hexametrical form are to be found C. I. A. I 468, cf. 465, 476, 478.

One of the earliest Doric epigrams in the distich form-

εί μη έγων ωναξ παγχρύσεός είμι κολοσσός εξώλης είη Κυψελιδάν γενεά

³ Cf. Hdt. V 59, Plato, Laws XII 958 E. Epigrams in lambic or trochaic metre are rare in all periods.

was designed for the colossus of Zeus, consecrated by Kypselos not long after Ol. 331. An early epigram in Boiotian is found

in I. G. A. 146.

If the epigram was originally couched in the dialect of the person in whose honour it was composed, the rise of the elegiac distich 2 as the instrument for the expression of grief or of sententious thought, changed in course of time its linguistic framework. Instead of representing a purely local idiom in its literary form, the epigram often accepts the Ionic of the elegy as an ingredient. Antiquated terminations such as -σθα, -μεσθα, $-\theta \epsilon \nu$, $-\phi \iota \nu$ are rejected, though $-o\iota o$ is retained from the fact that it is well adapted to come immediately before the first caesura,

and at the end of the verse.

With Simonides the epigram widens its horizon, does not disdain ornament, and admits Doric and Attic forms as a constituent part of a diction that is not a local, but an epic, Ionic. Some portions of Ionic territory such as Chios, where no trace of an admixture of Doric may be discovered, have yielded epigrams containing a slight infusion of Doric forms. The Athenian epigram, however, displays a repugnance to forms alien to Attic. This consciousness of the duty to the mother tongue finds expression as early as Solon (γλώσσαν (γλώτταν?) οὐκέτ' 'Αττικήν ίέντας). Epigrams that have come to light upon the soil of Attika generally contain nothing that is not pure Attic. But when a Dorian or an Ionian caused a monument to be erected in Attika in memory of a fellow countryman, we observe the introduction of Doric or Ionic forms. So in Simonides Dorisms or Atticisms are admissible in case Dorians or inhabitants of Attika are the cynosure of the poet's eye. These Dorisms must not be too remote, that is, specifically local in tone.

In the course of time, as the individuality of dialect life disappeared, the strictness of the principles regulating the diction of the ancient epigram relaxed. In late inscriptional epigrams from Attika we find Ionic and Attic forms commingling, much in the same manner as in the MSS, of the old-time epigrammatists, whose texts have suffered no little depravation from the hand of time. A παιδείαι καὶ σοφίηι is not an unusual Even when the general frame-work is Attic or Doric, Ionic forms continue to appear. Nor are these Ionisms restricted, as might be expected, to those enfranchised by the The New Ionic occasionally makes itself Homeric poems. Errors of the stone cutters in the direction of the insertion of familiar forms become more and more frequent as

¹ Bergk Gr. Lit.-Gesch. II 174.

² Cf. Mackail, Anthology, p. 5.

time advances. The poet even ventures upon dialect collocations which would have been avoided at an earlier date. In an execrable elegy commemorating the exploits of a Megarian in the Korinthian war, the Doric is contaminated by $A\theta \eta \nu as$ (which is pardonable enough), and by $\delta \eta \mu \omega \iota$. We also meet with a Doric epigram in honour of an Ionian, whose name, however, still retains its Ionic stamp. In the epigrams of peoples who once spoke Ionic the admixture of Ionic forms is not more surprising than in those monuments which commemorate Dorians. Dialect epigrams became a matter of personal predilection dependent more or less upon the skill and taste of the local poet.

The investigation of the epigram at the period of its highest artistic excellence is beset with the difficulty that there has been fathered upon Simonides no inconsiderable number of creations of a later date (Bergk 178-188), whose spuriousness is not always easy to demonstrate. Junghahn's 1 criterion of the use of obe and ouros is here of no avail. The possibility of deception was rendered comparatively easy in the case of the epigrammatists because it was not till late, as we learn from inscriptions², that the artist affixed his name to his work as a mark of its genuineness. The fragments of the lyric poets were collected without critical examination at a tolerably early date, and Alexandrian and later learning was impatient of the confession that it could not discover the author of an epigram that professed to have been handed down from the golden age of lyric poetry. The result was that to Archilochos, Pisander, Sappho, Erinna, Anakreon, and especially Simonides, much has been attributed that is the product of mendacious art or scholastic exercise.

- 68.] Ionic H³. The choric poets agree in using \bar{a} for the Ionic η in all passages except those mentioned below, where the reading of the chief MSS. is stated; but pan-Hellenic η is not changed to \bar{a} .
- (1) In the terminations of the first declension. Exceptions are rare, e.g. Sim. 46, 60, 66, 76; Bacch. 131, 24, 26, 271, 39; Stesich. 264. Pind. P. V 67. In several of these passages there is MS. authority for the ā form, as also in Ibyk. 20.

In the epigrams composed in honour of Dorians \tilde{a} is to be

¹ Quaestiones de Simonidis Cei epigrammatis (fourth Jahresbericht über das Luisenstädtische Gymnasium zu Berlin, 1869).

² The source of an epigram may be indicated in inscriptions by other means. In Hicks 11 we have a late restoration of an epigram by Simonides, whose name appears in the introduction.

^{*} See Mucke De dialectis Stesichori, Phyci, Simonidis, Bacchylidis aliorumque penterum choricorum cum Pindurica computatis. Schaumberg Quaestiones de dialecto Sum. Cei, Bacch., Ibyci; Peter De dialecto Pinduri. See A10Lic, § 100.

accepted, e.g. Sim. 99, 103, 141, 160 where Ionic and Doric stand side by side according to the editions. The tendency to adopt epic instead of Doric forms is seen in 138, an epigram quoted by Thukydides, Demosthenes, Plutarch, and by Suidas with the Ionic Έλλήνων ἀρχηγός, $\mu\nu\eta\mu$, though the historian expressly says that the words were inscribed by order of Pausanias. $\epsilon\mu\pi\rho\rho\eta\nu$ in 127 must yield to $\epsilon\mu\pi\rho\rho\eta\nu$ since $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\dot{\alpha}\nu$ precedes. The MSS. vary in the case of Nos. 105, 115, 116, 141. Conversely Doric forms have MS. authority when no reason appears to exist for their presence (e. q. 80, 108).

appears to exist for their presence (e. g. 89, 108).

(2) In forms derived from verbs with stems in -a or from nouns of the declension. Exceptions are δνησίπολις Sim. 53 (ὅνασα 55), ἔστη Bacch. 33 (cf. ἔφα), θνητῶν Sim. 71, Bacch. 3 and θνητοῖς Bacch. 9, 36. θνατός is frequently attested. ἀδμᾶτες Bacch. 34, the conjecture of Bergk, must be adopted in place of Clem. Alex. and Eusebios' ἀδμῆτες (θεόδμητος in a few MSS. Pind. Ol. III 7, elsewhere -δματος). In Sim. epig. 1415 we have νικήσαντα and αλγλήεντα 177 (hexam.); elsewhere the η forms except μνάματα 1342, μνᾶμ' 1382.

Pindar has φώνασε Ol. XIII 67 &c., ἐδινάθην P. XI 38 (B has η), ὧκυδίνατος Isth. V 6, πεποναμένον P. IX 93, ποναθη Ol. VI 11, the first and last verbs having η forms elsewhere. Boeckh's φιλάσαντ' N. VII 88 and φίλασ' N. V 44 have but poor support; ἀπονοστάσαντος N. VI. 50; ὁμνᾶσαι in all MSS. Isth. III 7.

(3) In the augment of verbs whose initial vowel is a. Sim. $\mathring{\eta}\rho\xi$ ατο 46 has long ago been corrected in the light of $\mathring{a}\lambda\lambda$ οντο 4 \circ 3. For $\mathring{a}\rho\theta\eta$ 16 the MSS, have $\mathring{\eta}\epsilon\rho\theta\eta$. In the epigrams Sim. has η (e.g. $\mathring{\eta}\rho\theta\eta$ 1114). Pind. P. IV 119 has

προσηύδα.

(4) Forms with radical ā. S. has ἄπρακτος 516, 39, Bacch. ἄπρακτ' 20, Pindar πρᾶξις &c., but ἀπρήκτων Isthm. VIII 8, which is defended by Boeckh on grounds that fail to produce conviction. Pindar has furthermore η in σιδηρίταν Ν. V 19. ἡσνχία is the better attested reading in six passages, despite the existence of ἀσύχιμον Ol. II 32, ἀσύχιον P. IX 22. Μνημοσύνας is supported by a consensus of all MSS, N. VII 15, and στήλα by the testimony of some in Ol. III 44. Elsewhere η is found only in proper names in Pindar:—Ζηνί fifteen times, Ζηνός four times, Ζῆνα P. IV 194, IX 64; Θρηϊκίων P. IV 205; ᾿Ασκληπιόν Ν. III 54 is condoned by Peter for the strange reason that the ode has an Aiolic colouring (᾿Ασκλα- is Aiolic); an argument put forward by Hermann and Boeckh in defence of πολυμάλφ Ol. I 12, which Gildersleeve regards as = πολυκάρπω, μῆλον sheep has η invariably in Pindar,

Simonides 79 with ηδυμος brings up the question of the origin of the word and its relation to νήδυμος (see Leaf on B 2). 412, 71 and 74 S. has \bar{a} . In the following words η occurs: αμήχανος 511, cf. 43, ήματα 12, ήμερόφωνος 80 B, σηκός 46, κληίς 23, ηλίθιος 55. On δυησίπολις 53, &c. see above (2). In 574 στάλας, not στήλας, is correct. In his epigrams S. has ā, as in Πελοποννάσου 91, (v. l. η), νᾶσος 96,, δάμφ 155,, σᾶμα 126, καρύσσει 182₆ (spurious?).

In a trochaic fragment (28) Bacchylides has ἡδύς, which is

Attic rather than epic. In 24 we find $\pi \hat{\eta} \chi \nu \nu$, in 9 $Z \eta \nu \ell$.

Ibykos offers Θρηίκιος 1, κήπος 1, πεπηγώς 21.

Stesichoros υηυσίν 32, αμήχανα 51 (as Epicharmos and Theokritos) with which cf. S. 511, 43. Pindar has uniformly aµaxavos. Furthermore κήδεα 50, ηλίβατος 83.

(5) In compounds whose prior member ends in o usually. στεφανηφόρον (Bergk, P. L. G. III 734, l. 7) was formerly attributed to Pindar, whereas the correct form appears Ol. VIII 10. In P. XI 8 δμηγερέα or -γυρέα, despite δμάγυριν Isth. VII 46.

- (6) Feminines in -āvā. Pindar's 'Αλκμήνα (e.g. Ol. VII 27) led Schneidewin to correct 'Αλκμάνας Sim. 8. εἰράνα (Lysistr. 1081) should not cause any confusion as to the Doric character of the form εlρήνα, attested by Alkman and containing a pan-Hellenic η. είρανα seems to be due to the influence of σελάνα, yaλάra. In Pindar we have εlρήνα in almost all MSS. Ol. XIII 7, P. IX. 23, N. I 69 (εΙράναν in the pseudo-Pind. adesp. 140). είρήτη in Bacch. 131, needs only the slight change to είρήνα and not Boeckh's more caustic remedy Pindar has both 'Aθάνα (e.g. Ol. XIII 82) and 'Aθηναία¹ (Ol. VII 36) and Sim. in his epigrams has 'Aθάνας 151, and 'Αθηναίης 1432. Compare the use in tragedy. If any change is necessary in Sim. 151, I should prefer 'Aθηνάς to Bergk's 'Αθήνης. This contracted form occurs in Attic as early as the sixth century. ' $A\theta \eta \nu \eta$ is a rare form, if it exists at all, upon old inscriptions. An instance is found Roberts I. No. 26, but at all events is too doubtful to permit us to assume that this form was a part of the poet's apparatus. Sim. has Ἑλλάνων 1084 and 138 (epigr.) as Pindar, e.g. P. I 49, and Timokr. 2 Ελλανας. Pindar has ἀπήνα Ol. V 3, ποτανός often, but ποτηνός P. V 114 (Peter proposes πετηνός οτ πετεινός); Mucquar in P. IV 49 is strange.
- (7) Suffix in -τas = Ionic -της. Bacchyl. 42 άβρότητι, where the Doric form is intentionally excluded by the choice of rhythm and tone of the fragment. Pindar has -\tau\arta\tau- invariably.

¹ Peter thinks the n of 'Adnuala was retained from the epic from a reverential regard for proper names. Cp. the treatment of 'Hpankijs in Boiotian and Themalian. Most editors read 'Asarala in Ol. VII 36, N. X 84.

(8) Other suffixes: Ἰθακήσιος in Bacchyl. 38; καύχημα Is

(9) Ionic $\eta\mu = \text{Doric } \bar{a}\mu = \text{Aiolic } \bar{a}\mu\mu$, $< a\sigma\mu$. Ibykos I₁₁ ł ήμετέρας which was corrected by Hermann. Bacchylides 11 l

ὰμέτερου.

(10) In isolated words (radical syllables): Ibyk. 22 has νήρι: in the MS. which was changed by Boeckh to ἀνηριταν. Ber reads ἀναριτᾶν. In Ib. 1, μηλίδες (despite μᾶλον Stes. 29, Ib. 6) l been corrected by Hiller. πηνέλοψ Stes. 91 (schol. Aves 1302) πρᾶτον in Sim. 182 (probably spurious).

69. Other Ionisms. (1) Cases of the adulterine diphtho ει are as follows.

Pindar: είνάλιος except P. IV 39 where ενάλιος occurs, άλεγ νός, ερατεινός, ποθεινός, σκοτεινός, κλεινός eleven times (elsewh κλεευνός three times, cf. κελαδευνός, φαευνός), κεινός Ol. III and κενεός. In the case of κελαδεινός and φαεινός Homer u the Ionic forms without exception.

The inf. in -ειν occurs besides that in -μεν and in -εν; εἰμέν

III 60.

Stesichoros: κλεινας 5, χειροβρώς 4, κλαίειν 51. Simonides: ποθεινός 71₂ (also in Likymn. 4), εἰαρινός 57₂, (Pind. ηρινός P. IX 46); χείρας 82, χειρών 17 (χέρα 374, χερ In the epigrams Sim. has χείρα 1416, χειρός 1363, χεί 1078, 1151); είροπόλιοι 235 (Bergk αίριπόλιοι). ξείνος occurs or in the epigrams and elegies: Ξεινοφίλου 1473, ξεινοδόκων Ι and as v. l. in 96, 921; κλεινοίο epigr. 941 (κλεεννόν ep. 12κλεεινόν by conjecture). ει also in εἰμί ep. 1521.

Bacchylides: ἱκνεῖσθαι 33.

(2) The adulterine ov and ov due to metrical lengthening oc as follows:—

Pindar: Οὔλυμπος Ol. III 36, XIII 92, P. IV 214, N. 84, Is. IV 55, frag. 304; Οὐλυμπιουίκας Ol. IV 9, Οὐλυμπολ. III 15, V 2, N. IV 75. Elsewhere "Ολυμπος, 'Ολυμπι 'Ολύμπιος.

μοῦνος P. IV 227, IX 27, Is. V 12, elsewhere μόνος; νοῦσος III 7, IV 293, elsewhere νόσος; κούρος κούρα throughout; δούρα P. IV 38, δουρί Ol. VI 17, N. IX 26; γούνασιν Is. II 26; σὶ Is. VI 32, ούρεσι P. VI 21; οὐλόμενον P. Χ 41, -αν P. IV 2 frag. 10710; μουσικάς Ol. I 15, elsewhere Μοΐσα; 'Αρέθουσαν III 69. -ovoa in the participle is found in all MSS. Ol. VII. P. IX 23, Is. VIII 35; in P. VIII 4, Ol. I 31 some MSS. h -010a, others -010a; -010a elsewhere. Pindar uses either -01 or -ovi, as verbal terminations.

Stesichoros: κλείουσα 35; Μοῦσα 35, 44; κούρα 18, 35, κοι δίαν 8; μοῦνος 26.

Ibykos: κούρα 15, and 9 by conjecture (κόρα 45, κόρους 16 for κουρ- of the MSS., according to Dindorf). θαλέθοισι occurs in frag. 1.

Simonides: δούρατι 377, δουρί 531; οὐρείας 18_2 ; κοῦροι ep. 108_2 , κουριδίην ep. 117_4 (but not in the melic fragments); νοῦσε ep. 117_1 ; Οὐλύμποιο ep. 167_1 ('Ολυμπία 125, 'Ολυμπιονίκαν ep. 149, δλυμπιάδας 152_2); μοῦνος 87 (ep. 184_8), μόνος 77, 88_1 el., 46_1 ; ούνομα ep. 110_3 ; Μοῦσα 46_1 , Μουσᾶν 44_2 , Μοισᾶν ep. 148_{12}^{-1} are the MS. readings; στρέφοισαν 30_4 is a conjecture of Wyttenbach for στρέφοιαν; στίζουσα 78, καλέουσι 31_3 , κλέπτουσιν 42 are the MS. readings. Bergk adopts ἀποτρέποισι in 1_2 and or throughout in μοῦσα, in the fem. part and third pl. The MS. evidence for this is very scanty. Pindar certainly extended the range of the Aiolic or wider than Simonides.

Bacchylides: Μοῦσα 282, μαρμαίρουσιν 278, άγουσιν 2710, are Attic; μοῦνος 26 (μόνος 25 was changed by Gaisford to μοῦνος),

νούσος 34, κούρα 48, eleg.

(3) Varia. The inf. in -ναι (δεικνύναι Pind. fr. 424, δοῦναι P. IV 35), a form that prevails in Simonides (-μεν 303, 312, ep. 859, 1374), Ibykos, Bacchylides. ἡμῖν Sim. ep. 891, 975 (Bergk ἄμιν).

προδεδεγμένου Ibyk. 19.

The Homeric genitive in -010, though more frequently retained in Ionic than in Aiolic, is to be regarded as the joint property of the two dialects. It is frequent in Pindar (who has also -01) and is found in Stes. 8, 85, Ibyk. 9 (in C D). On the other hand, Ibyk. 29 has Ένναλίου though Homer has Ένναλίου έλικοβλεφάρου is adopted by Bergk in Pind. P. IV 172, fr. 1238 and Sim. 18. In the epigrams, Sim. has -010 843, 941, 1131, 1291, 1431, 1671 (1791). Christ has collected the traces of Pindaric and Doric -ω (gen. sing.) and -ως (accus. pl.), which may have been original, but supplanted by the Ionic forms.

The Nature of the Ionisms of the Universal Melic.

70.] A study of the dialect preferences in the remains of the melic poets shows that it is hazardous to assert the existence of a dialect that is absolutely uniform even in the adoption of Ionisms, to say nothing of a consistent usage in respect of Aiolisms and Dorisms. Truth lies then on the side of Ahrens and Bergk in denying the existence of a uniform melic dialect, which

¹ The last verse of ep. 148 is in a different metre from the foregoing. Verses 11 and 12 are perhaps spurious.

⁸ Beiträge zum Dialekte Pindars, p. 52 ff.

was advocated by Schneidewin, Boeckh, Neue, and others. On the other hand Ahrens, while holding that Ionic may be found in Pindar, went too far (II 132) in demanding the expulsion of the epic η when it is equivalent to the Doric \bar{a} . The paramount influence of Homer is seen in the fact that all the words containing an Ionic η , with the exception of the Simonideian $\hat{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\nu os$, $\hat{o}\nu\eta\sigma\acute{l}\pio\lambda\iota s$ and $\hat{\eta}\lambda\acute{l}\theta\iota os$, are traceable to an epic source 1 . $\hat{\eta}\mu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}\phi\omega\nu os$ may be an error for $\hat{\iota}\mu\epsilon\rho o$ - (cf. Sappho 39), a form actually found in some MSS. $\hat{o}\nu\eta\sigma\acute{l}\pio\lambda\iota s$ awakens suspicion when confronted with $\check{\omega}\nu a\sigma a$.

The list of Ionisms given above shows that, while certain forms invariably appear in an Ionic dress, in other cases now the Ionic, now the Aiolic or Doric form is found. In general, however, the two latter dialects do not transcend the boundaries established for them by usage. The poets of the sixth century bear witness to the fact that at an extremely early period in the history of the Greek lyric certain words had assumed a fixed form. Departure from the stereotyped form contravened the principles of the melic art.

The following treatises deal chiefly with the stylistic relations between Old Attic and Ionic prose. See also p. 74.

Relation of Old Attic to Ionic.

CYRANKA: De orationum Thucydidearum elocutione cum tragicis comparata, 1875.

DIENER: De sermone Thucydidis quatenus cum Herodoto congruens differat a scriptoribus Atticis, 1889.

NIESCHKE: De Thucydide Antiphontis discipulo et Homeri imitatore, 1885.

C. F. SMITH: Traces of tragic usage in Thucydides. Proceed. Am. Philol. Assoc. Vol. XXII (1891), p. xvi.

71.] The identity of the $\pi a \lambda a i \hat{a}$ ' $\Lambda \tau \theta i \hat{s}$ with the 'Iás as asserted by Strabo², was widely held by the ancients³, by scholars of the

¹ ἀβρότητι in Bacchylides' castigation of the Ionians (frag. 42) is also, despite βασιλῆεs, an exception.

² Strabo VIII, page 333: την μεν 'Ιάδα τῆ παλαιᾶ 'Ατθίδι την αὐτήν φαμεν (και γὰρ "Ιωνες ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τότε 'Αττικοί, και ἐκεῖθέν εἰσιν οἱ την 'Ασίαν ἐποικήσαντες "Ιωνες και χρησάμενοι τῆ νῦν λεγομένη γλώσση 'Ιάδι). Cf. Galen, quoted § 95, Dionys. Perieg. δ1; and § 119 on the dialect of ἄγνια ἀγνιᾶς. Apoll. Dysk. says more cautiously of the Athenians that they are δυνάμει "Ιωνες, περὶ συνδ. p. 228₁₅ Schn. Cf. Anecd. Bachm. I. 265, and above § 24.

³ Joh. Gr. 235, 241, Gram. Leid. 628 δοκεῖ δὲ (ἡ 'Ids) ἀρχαία εἶναι 'Ατθίς accor-

³ Joh. Gr. 235, 241, Gram. Leid. 628 δοκεί δὲ (ἡ Ἰάς) ἀρχαία εἶναι ᾿Ατθίς according to the certain emendation of Koen ad Greg. Kor. p. 383. Dion. Halik. περί τ. Θουκ. χαρ. 23 : οἴ τε τὴν Ἰάδα προελόμενοι διάλεκτον, τἡν τε τοῖς τότε χρόνοις (i.e. of Kadmos and Aristaios) μάλιστ ἀνθοῦσαν, και οἱ τὴν ἀρχαίαν Ὑλτθίδα, μικράς τινας ἔχουσαν διαφορὰς παρὰ τὴν Ἰάδα.

seventeenth 1 and eighteenth 2 centuries and in fact down to comparatively recent times. While the points of contact between the two dialects are patent, the question as to how long they pursued a parallel course of development and the problem as to the period when Attic may be said to have asserted an individual existence, have been answered in various ways.

The view maintained in the present work is that Attic and Ionic, so far as we can trace back their history, are, with all their correspondences, essentially separate and individual dialects; and that the argument which seeks to explain the Ionisms of Attic tragedy as Old Atticisms, that is as survivals of the period when Ionic and Attic were still undistinguished, builds upon a false foundation.

In § 172 the view is upheld that originally in Attic all cases of primary \bar{a} became η , and that at a later period this secondary η after ϵ , ι , υ and ρ became \bar{a} . At what period in the history of the Attic dialect did this recurrence to the original \bar{a} ensue? Furthermore, are there any traces in Old Attic of forms which are distinctly Ionic in colouring, forms which represent a still undivided Ionic-Attic, and which were uniformly abandoned by the later dialect of Attika?

Bergk, who was the first to maintain that Attic \bar{a} after ϵ , ι , v and ρ was a development of η , was of the opinion that shortly before the Soloneian period we may trace the first beginnings of that revolution in Attic which, carried on shortly after Solon, became an accomplished fact by the time of Peisistratos. In Bergk's view then Attic did not receive the stamp of individuality until the sixth century. Gustav Meyer (Gr. Gr., p. xxxii), while less positive as to the date of the separation of Attic from Ionic, makes the statement that it 'appears to be certain that the Attic spoken and written before the foundation of an Attic literature—that is, the Attic as we know it from the fragments of the laws and the inscriptions—was much more closely connected with Ionic than the later form of the language'.

72.] The oldest monuments of Attic dactylic poetry show scarcely a trace of an Ionic η^3 , despite the fact that the elegy was a creation of Ionic genius and specially cultivated by the Ionians. In C. I. A. I 471, dating from the time of Solon or even from an earlier period, we find ανο[ρέ]αν, ἡλικίας; in I 463, of very ancient date, νεαράν, πράγμ'; in C. I. A. I 469 Φρασικλείας; IV C 42213 ἀφθοι[ί]av; in C. I. A. IV 477 E yeveas; in I 468 Λυσέαι; in I 478 A liveίαι. All these inscriptions have η after

¹ For example, Salmasius.

E.g. Bentley, Markland, Koen.
 See Kirchhoff, Zur Geschichte des attischen Epigramms in Hermes V, p. 48.

other sounds than those which caused the Attic a. In inscriptions of the fifth century we find Ποτειδαίας twice in I 442, βίαι 3334, πφετέραν IV B, 446 A 51. The Ionic forms αίδοίην and πατρωτης in I 477, and other occurrences of non-Attic η are due to the fact that the author of the elegy in which they occur is an Ionian.

It is but rarely that a specifically Ionic form has found its way into the oldest poetical monuments preserved in the Attic inscriptions. On κούρη, see § 75, 2. On εΐνεκα C. I. A. IV 477 E, § 78.

73.] The earliest inscriptions of Attic prose show no trace of a residue of Ionisms. In Klein's Vasen we have Έξηκίας, Στησίας Καλ(λ)ιφόρα &c. (seventh or sixth century). Naturally the names of Ionic peoples such as Αὐλιῆται, Ἰῆται, Ναξιῆται, Πριηνῆς upon the Attic tribute lists from 456-424 B.C. are no exception to the rule. Oftentimes these very names have been Atticized. Ionic names may retain, non-Ionic names assume, the Ionic form, which is due in each case to peculiar reasons, e.g. Ἐφύρη Thuk. I 46, 4¹, Θαλέω Plato Rep. X 600 A, Τήρεω, Πυθέω Thuk. II 29, Καμβύσεω Xenoph. Kyr. I 2, 1. In V 71 Herodotos speaks of the πρυτάνιες τῶν νανκράρων. The ναύκρᾶροι were instituted before the time of Solon. In the laws of Solon as adduced in Lysias' κατά Θεομν. we find ήλιαία, θύρα. οἰκῆος ib. § 19, would, if correct, be the only example of an Old Attic - nos. But an olkEOs might readily have been transcribed olkηos because this word was antiquated even in Solon's time, and in Homer only forms with η are found 2. $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu(\epsilon)\omega s$ is read C. I. A. I 467.

74.] Against this mass of evidence, the counter testimony in favour of the view that Old Attic was essentially identical with Ionic can make no stand.

In addition to the four cases of 'Aθηναίη in archaic inscriptions held by Bergk and others to be the stronghold of the identity of Old Attic and Ionic, but which have been disposed of by Cauer (Curtius' Studien, VIII 244-2493), the following instances of supposed Ionic-Attic forms are to be examined :-

(1) The genitive in -εων in the psephism of Themistokles (Plutarch Them. 10): την μεν πόλιν παρακαταθέσθαι τη 'Αθηνά τη Αθηνέων μεδεούση. On this passage Siefert and Blass remark that the expression τη 'Aθ. μεδ. was drawn from the original document by Plutarch's source, and that its Ionic colouring is due to the fact that the Ionic of the time of Themistokles was

¹ Cf. Choirob. in Bekk. An. III 1173, Hdn. I 340.

Cf. Dittenberger Hermes XVII 36 ff., Wackernagel K. Z. XXVII 263.
 Cf. Kirchhoff, Hermes V 53.

nearly allied to Attic. The phrase is primarily epic but adopted not only by the poets (Aristoph. Knights 763 'Αθηναίη τῆ τῆς πόλεως μεδεούση; cf. 560, 585, Lysistr. 834), but also in ordinary speech, as on a term-stone in Samos (Bechtel No. 216), which contains the inscription: οὖρος τεμένεος 'Αθηνᾶς 'Αθηνῶν μεδεούσης. Here the mixture of Attic and Ionic shows that the phrase was familiar to the Attic cleruchs of the island. μεδέουσα occurs in inscriptions in Ionic colonies (Latyschev, II 19, 28, 343).

'Αθηνέων in Aristophanes' Clouds 401 is found in a phrase of Homeric texture; in Thesm. 329 the MSS. have 'Αθηναίων, but Bergk's -εων is admissible, the passage being choral. In Knights 159 MSS. -αιων, Bergk -εων on the ground of the

character of the passage and the metrical difficulty.

Furthermore, an Attic genitive in $-\epsilon \omega \nu^{-1}$ in the declension was an impossibility even in the seventh century (cf. $\delta \rho \chi \eta \sigma \tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ Milth. VI p. 106, cf. p. 118—the oldest known Attic inscription). In the decree concerning Arthmios, Demosth. Phil. III 42 we find 'Aθηναίων.

- (2) That the accent of such Attic forms as μυριαδῶν, χιλιαδῶν (Choirob. in Bekk. Anecd. III 1263, Arkad. 136, Hdn. I 4289) makes for the existence of an Ionic-Attic -ϵων in consonantal stems is incredible. In Herodoteian MSS, the insertion of the hyper-Ionic ϵ occurs, though not so commonly as in Hippokrates and the Pseudo-Ionists. If even in Hdt. both χιλιαδέων and μυριαδέων may be shown to be unwarrantable (§ 428), it is impossible that Attic -ῶν in these forms should be a survival of a period when both Attic and Ionic had -ϵων in -δ-stems. The sole means of rescuing the perispomenon accent is to assume that the della stems have adopted the genitive ending of the Å declension, for which procedure a parallel may be found in Hesiod's θεμιστέων Theog. 235 (-ίστων in M 3). See § 480.
- 75.] In the chapter of his New Phrynichus entitled the Growth of the Attic Dialect, Mr. Rutherford has advanced a theory as to the genesis of the language of tragedy which deserves notice, inasmuch as it trenches upon the question as to the interrelation of Old Attic and Ionic. Recognizing the fact that in Greece different kinds of composition had a tendency to adhere generally to the dialect in which they started, and that even in comedy, when there was occasion to use hexameters, old words and forms were introduced, because 'epic verse did not deviate from that use of words which Homer had discovered to be most suitable to the genius of hexameter verse,' he holds—despite the obvious

^{1 -}os is found in C. I. A. II 4, B 19 (400 B. c.), but it occurs in the name of a Thasiote exile.

objection that the Athenians were not the inventors of the lambic line—that 'the basis of the language of tragedy is the Attic of the time when tragedy sprang into life.' On this view. Mr. Rutherford proposes to account for the discrepancy which exists, both in vocabulary and in accidence, between tragedi

and comedies of the same date.

The chief argument advanced in support of this theory is the whatever is peculiar to Herodoteian Ionic and to the Attic tragedy is Attic of the sixth century, then, it is held, no distinguished from the Ionic of Asia Minor. That certa words in use in the time of Thespis have become obsolescent entirely obsolete in the age of Perikles is due, it is claimed, the extraordinary revolution undergone by the language und the influence of democratic institutions. And again: wor whose lease of life was expiring in the sixth century we rescued from oblivion by their absorption into the literary diale of tragedy.

The objections to this theory on the score of the differences accidence between Old Attic and Ionic have been ignored (No Phrynichus, p. 5). The argument in its favour on the side similarity of vocabulary cannot claim our unqualified assent if can be shown that the dialect of tragedy contains forms of the most ordinary occurrence which never existed in Attic in ar stage of its development. Some of these forms which may be mentioned will necessitate the modification of important particulars, if they do not tend to overthrow a considerable part of the entire theory brought forward by Mr. Rutherford.

If the language of tragedy is the Old Attic of the six century, how are we to account for μοῦνος, γούνατος, ξεῖνος, wor which are pure Ionic, and at no time Attic? F disappeared fro *μόνΓος, *γόνΓατος, ξένΓος in an extremely early period of Attic In C. I. A. I 463 (sixth century) we find ξένος, in I 20 (midd of the fifth century) ξένια. Solon's μοῦνον 2 336 is an instan

The Attic Μουνιχία Μουνιχίων &c., are ascribed by Meisterhans to dialmixture, which no doubt often occurs in proper names. It may doubted whether μοῦνος is connected. That the ov is not Attic is cle

of the retention of an epic form in trochaic verse; cf. κέν 33₈. In his senarii, which represent contemporary Attic, Solon has

δρους 36₄ (Ionic ούρους).

(2) κούρη in C. I. Á. I 469, 355, IV C 373a⁵, 373²⁸, cannot outweigh the Old Attic character of κόρη. Θόρη is the correct reading in an inscription of the sixth or even the seventh century (C. I. A. IV B 373, No. 97 B), and Κόρει occurs C. I. A. II Add. 57 B 8 (362 B. C.). In the second of the instances of κούρη quoted above, the words Διὸς γ(λ)αυκώπιδι κούρηι indicate sufficiently the source of the form. In the first instance, κούρη occurs in direct conjunction with Φρασικλείας which is Attic beyond dispute. See § 61. Κόρη in the later Attic documents (always in this form) is restricted to official decrees, whereas vase inscriptions and others of like character always use Φερρέφαττα.

(3) In Aischylos ην 1 occurs but twice (Pers. 708 troch. tetr., Sept. 1027 trim.), in Sophokles it has so gained on εάν as to be met with over twenty times, but never except in dialogue. επήν is found in Aristophanes (Birds 983, 1355, Lysis. 1175). This form is Ionic, not Attic. In C. I. G. I 8 B 7 (before 570 B.C.), in Mitth. IX p. 117 (between 570 and 560) and in numerous instances in inscriptions of the fifth century, εάν is the prevailing form. So too in the fragments of the ancient laws; Hicks 59 (Drako's law taken from the first axon of Solon), Lysias' Theomestos § 16, Demosthenes' Lept. 102. ην occurs nowhere in the Attic inscriptions.

These facts speak clearly against the assumption that the $\eta\nu$ found in early Attic prose is an Attic form. The testimony of the $\sigma\tau\sigma\iota\chi\eta\delta\delta\nu$ inscription C. I. A. IV p. 14, No. 46 B proves that the official text of the treaty given by Thuk. V 47 had $\epsilon\delta\nu$ (cf. line 28 of the inscr.), not $\eta\nu$ which is read in all the MSS. The solution of the problem as to the variations between the stone

from the fact that it occurs in inscriptions from the fifth century B. C. to the third century A. D. Munichia, not Munychia, is the proper English form. That no case of Mor- occurs should warn against adopting Kretschmer's conclusion $(K.\ Z.\ XXXI 442)$, that, with the accent removed from the syllable preceding F, $\mu or F$ - yielded $\mu ov r$ -; or that for the ov of $\Delta i \delta \sigma \kappa ov \rho o i$ no other explanation is to be sought than a purely phonetic cause acting within the confines of the Attic dialect.

the confines of the Attic dialect.

Notwithstanding Brugmann's suggestion, Grundr. II p. 627, that dåv is from 1-åv and 1/5v from el-åv (though el-åv after sal could become åv) the peculiar position of 1/5v in Attic literature justifies our refusal to admit that it

is an Attic word and the result of an Attic phonetic change.

I find ην but twice in the de republ. Athen. (II 17, III 3), whereas ddv occurs I 4, 15; II 3, 4, 11 bis, 17, 18, III 5 bis, III 7.; καν II 19, αν I 11, 17. In Antiphon there appears to be no case of ην; αν occurs καν. φαρ. 23, Tetral. I A, 1. Isokrates made use of ην (Benseler ad Arrop. p. 146 ff.). The speech of Gorgias on Palamedes circa 411 B.C., which is genuine according to Mass, contains a case of ddν (§ 36).

record and the text of the historian does not concern us here 1. Perhaps the presence of \(\tilde{\eta}\)\varphi\) in early Attic prose is due to the influence of Gorgias, who gave the impetus to the formation of a tragic prose dialogue as a counterpart of tragedy itself2. Ionisms were adopted by Thukydides, not because they were also Old Atticisms, but because they were the result of certain stylistic tendencies in vogue at Athens before his exile, tendencies which ran their course in so brief a period of time that they were out of date upon the return of the expatriated historian. The later disciples of Gorgias made great concessions to the Attic norm.

76.] So long as the morphological and inflectional side of language constitutes the standard of exact dialectical differentiation, so long must Mr. Rutherford's theory as to the identity of Old Attic and Ionic be pronounced superficial. While the language of tragedy is replete with forms that are the common property of Attic and Ionic (e.g. -oισι, -ησι after consonants except ρ), forms that are also contemporary Attic, there yet remains a residue of pure Ionisms. These were not drawn directly from the epos, nor from the melic³ art of Simonides and Pindar 4, though both epos and lyric may have indirectly contributed their quota of influence towards the adoption of forms which they had consecrated to the poet's use.

The occasional Ionic colouring of the dialogue portions of tragedy affords another proof of that artistic conservatism which forms so prominent a feature of the development of the Greek lyric and prose writing5. The dialogue of tragedy records the fact that the iambic trimeter was first cultivated by the Ionic race 6, as its choruses record the fact that the choral ode was a creation of Doric genius. The bulk of the diction of tragic dialogue, so far from being solely contemporary Attic, reaches back into that obscure domain which lies beyond the awaken-

¹ Croiset (Pracf. XX) thinks that # was introduced into the text of Thuk. by the scribes who recognized that #\nu was the genuine Thukydideian form.

Cf. Wilamowitz, Hom. Unters., p. 313; Diels Sitzungsberichte d. Berl. Akad, 1884, p. 367; Maass Hermes XXII p. 566.

Gerth in Curtius' Studien, I B 269 contends that, as all the epic forms in the dialogue and lyric parts of tragedy are found in Pindar, the diction of tragedy has an exclusively lyric background.

⁴ It is noticeable that tragedy has more intimate connection, as regards myth and form, with Ibykos and Stesichoros than with Pindar and Simo-

nides, though no great chasm in dialect separates the Eastern melic poets from the Chalkidian of the West.

Wilamowitz, Hom. Unters., p. 310 ff.
 It is not surprising that there are but few traces of literary reminiscence of the Ionic iambic poetry in Attic tragedy, e.g. Eurip. Or. 1547 = Sim. Am. I I. The ethical intent, the political and social horizon were entirely different. So in the case of Pindar, who uses Aiolisms without regard to the distinctive character of the Lesbian poetry.

ing of Attic genius. The coincidences in vocabulary between the New Ionic of Herodotos and the Attic of the drama are indications that both Ionic and Attic had preserved to a large extent the old-time wealth of words with their raciness, picturesqueness, and vividness, the sonantia verba et antiqua. But how much is contemporary Attic, how much archaic Attic in the vocabulary of the dramatists, cannot be discovered, because we are ignorant of the nature of the ordinary speech of the men of the time of Thespis.

A considerable portion of the words which Mr. Rutherford says were cast aside by the innovating spirit of democratical and imperial Athens may have been outworn, or at least found a resting-place in poetry, in the days of the Peisistratidai. Their retention at the same time by Herodotos is only another instance of the conservatism in language manifested by the colony, a conservatism which finds expression in the retention in the dialectal speech of America of many vocables that were part of the ordinary speech of the England of the seventeenth and earlier centuries. It is inconceivable that such a revolution in vocabulary, as is a necessary feature of Mr. Rutherford's theory, can have occurred between the birth of Aischylos and the death of Sophokles.

The beginnings of Attic comedy are not so far removed in point of time from the age which witnessed the dawn of tragedy that, had comedy not from the first breathed a different air from its sister art, it too might have preserved here and there survivals of that Old Attic-Ionic whose retention Mr. Rutherford regards as the prerogative of tragedy. The diction of Kratinos, whose Wineflank gained the day over Aristophanes' Clouds, cannot have been less redolent of the popular speech than that of his rival; yet the youth of Kratinos must have been passed under the same linguistic influences as those under which, on the view that the Attic of tragedy is the Attic of the sixth century, the vocabulary of Aischylos was formed.

The atmosphere of comedy was from the first local and foreign to the admission of old-time phraseology. Pointing their wit with the idiom of the soil, Deinolochos, Epicharmos and Sophron created a chasm which was always to intervene between the diction of the comic and the diction of the tragic art.

¹ The notes to Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's Herakles often comment upon Ionic words in tragedy.

³ Many examples might be given: In South Carolina was in the Spenserian and Miltonic sense may still be heard, in the Cumberland mountains in East Tennessee contrary in the Chaucerian sense ('For sothe I wol no lenger you contrarie').

Ionisms of Tragedy.

Althaus: De tragicorum Graecorum dialecto curae secundae, 1870. Barler: De vocalis a pro η in trag. Gr. versibus trimetris usu, 1872.

Dressel: De Dorismi natura atque usu in trag. Graec. diverbiis et anapaestis, 1868.

Eichler: De formarum quas dicunt epicarum in tragoediis Aeschyli atque Sophoclis usu, 1873.

Gerth: Quaestiones de Graecae tragoediae dialecto, in Curtius' Studien I, 2, 193 ff.
1868.

KUEHISTAEDT: Observ. crit. de tragicorum Gr. dialecto, 1832.

LECHNER: De Aeschyli studio Homerico, 1862. De Sophocle poeta 'Ομηρικωτάτφ, 1859.

RUTHERFORD: The New Phrynichus, pp. 1-31, 1881.

SCHNEIDER: De dialecto Sophoclis, 1822.

VERRALL: On some Ionic elements in Attic tragedy in J. H. S. I 260, II 179.

Weiden: Qua ratione Euripides in carminibus melicis Doridem, in anapaestis Atticam dialectam temperaverit, 1874.

Other treatises, dealing with the Doric elements in tragedy, will be mentioned under Doric.

77.] The following list contains a selection of such forms as bear an unmistakable Ionic mark. Epic forms not thus characterized are not mentioned. The diction of Tragedy does not adopt New Ionic forms when they differ from those in vogue in Homer.

1. H1.

 $\Theta_{\rho \hat{\eta} \xi}$ and congeners occur, not only in dialogue, but also in

choral parts. Opplaces is also Pindaric.

Θρηξ Ant. 969 (ch.), Tereus fr. 523; Hek. 19, 428 (Θραξι), 682 (ch.), 774, 873, 1036, Alk. 483; Rh. 379 (ch.), 394, 409, 429, 522, 662, 732 (ch.), 733 (ch.), 744 (ch.), 804, 924; Θρηξ Erech. 362₄₈ (D).

Θρήσσα Ant. 589 (ch.), Tham. fr. 229; Alk. 967 (ch.).

Θρήκη Pers. 509, 566 (ch.); Hek. 75 (lyr.), 81 (lyr.), 856, 963, 1090 (lyr.), 1142, Alk. 67, Andr. 215, Rh. 279, 381 (ch.), 931.

Θρηκιος Pers. 870 (ch.); Ag. 654, 1418; O. R. 197 (ch.); Kykl. 329, Erech. 3704 (Θρηίκιου D), Hek. 7, 36, 710, Alk. 498, 1021, Rh. 297, 302, 313, 440, 616, 622, 651, 670, 745 (ch. iamb.), 950.

After ι we find Ionic η in proper names such as 'Ασιήτις, 'Αδριηνός, and in foreign words such as ἰήλεμος, τιήρα. πολιήτις is also found e.g. Hipp. 1126 (ch.). In the Mediceus we find έδρης Prom. 201 and αlτίην 226, forms that cannot be defended.

 $^{^1}$ Kirchhoff, Hermes V 50, sees in the use of Ionic η a desire to produce an aesthetic effect corresponding to the nature of tragic ethos. The grammatical endings are, on Kirchhoff's view, unaffected by this movement in the direction of Ionic.

Mr. Verrall does not scruple to introduce Ionic -ιη into passages which are tinged with Ionisms and which contain -σύνη, e.g. σὐρανίην Hipp. 166, 'Ασίην Persai 584, (Weil 'Ασιηνάν), despite the fact of their occurrence in choral parts. The occurrences of -συνη in tragedy are inherited, on Mr. Verrall's view, from Ionic poetry, and carried as a rule associations that were literary, not local.

Ionic η frequently appears in choral passages, as in $\mu\eta\lambda v\phi\delta\rho\omega\nu$ Eurip. H. F. 396, with which compare Mηλίs, never Mαλίs, in tragedy. On πλήκτρφ Eurip. H. F. 350, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff ad loc. $Z\eta\nu\delta s$, $Z\eta\nu l$, $Z\eta\nu a$ as in Pindar, according to the best MS. testimony; $\sigma\kappa\eta\pi\tau\rho\nu$ Prom. 171 and other forms in lyrical passages where the Doric form is not admitted. The choral lyric had $\sigma\kappa\alpha\pi\tau\nu$ (Pind. Ol. I 12). η furthermore in $\Pi\alpha\rho\nu\eta\sigma\omega$ Choeph. 563 (cf. 953), $\pi\rho\nu\mu\nu\eta\nu$ Philokt. 482 (§ 420).

2. ϵv . (a) by contraction:—

πωλεύμεναι Prom. 645, in the recital of Io (only one MS. πολούμεναι); cf. Od. 2, 55.

elσοιχνεῦσιν Prom. 122 (anap.), cf. Od. 9, 120.

μυθεῦσαι Ι. Α. 790 (ch.) in MSS.

ύμτεῦσαι Med. 422 (ch.).

αυτευν Hipp. 167 (ch.).

- (b) From ηυ in πρευμευής Aisch., Soph., Eur., cf. Hdt. πρηύτερος, Plato πραότερος.
- 3. Forms containing Ionic $\epsilon\iota$. $\xi\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu$ os occurs but once in Aischylos—Sept. 942 (ch.) with 40 cases of $\xi\ell\nu$ os. Aischylos uses the Attic form of the vocative, whereas Sophokles merely prefers $\xi\ell\nu$ (about 40 times) to the Ionic $\xi\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu$. In opposition to the view defended by Elmsley, that $\xi\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu$ is only then permissible when required by the metre, Hermann argued justly that since in Iph. Taur. 798 the vocative $\xi\ell\nu$ would almost disappear, metrical considerations may be outweighed by rhetorical reasons. The first foot in the iambic trimeter line bears the burden of the chief emphasis. $\hat{\omega}$ $\xi\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu\epsilon$ occurs in the dialogue portions of Soph. 7 times (O. K. 33, 49, 856, 1096, 1119, El. 675, 1119). In three passages the non-vocative form $\xi\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu$ os has the support of the best MSS.:—
- Ο. Κ. 1014 δ ξείνος, ωναξ, χρηστός· al δε συμφοραί | αὐτοῦ πανώλεις.
 - Ο. Κ. 928 ξείνου παρ' αστοίς ως διαιτάσθαι χρεών.

Frag. 153 ev "Apyet feîvos wu olkiserat.

Cf. Jobb on O. R. 1418. 3 fére occurs when 3 feire was possible (O. K. 62, 492, El. 662, 1112). Eust. 13967 3 feire (Phil. 791) cannot stand.

In these passages the occurrence of the Ionic form is defended by Gerth on the ground that there is a direct contrast of thought, while in such passages as O. R. 817, El. 975, Tr. 187 $\xi \dot{\epsilon} voi \ \dot{\eta} \ \dot{\alpha} \sigma roi$ has become a mere phrase. In none of these passages, it may be remarked, is $\xi \dot{\epsilon} \iota v$ - metrically permissible. Ellendt, on the other hand, can discover no passage in Soph. analogous to the $\xi \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\iota} v$ of Iph. Taur. 798; and Jebb in O. K. 928 prefers $\xi \dot{\epsilon} vov$ of the Vat. to $\xi \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\iota} vov$ of L and A, which is adopted and defended by Wunder in his excursus. Here at least there is no such contrast as that found in 1014, and it is the only place except I. T. 798 where the diphthong is not under the ictus.

In choral passages in Sophokles we find ξείνοι O. K. 174 (ξένοι MSS.), 184 ξείνοι ἐπὶ ξένηι (ξείνηι MSS.), 518 ξείν (ξέν MSS. see Jebb), 530 ὧ ξείν, cf. 510 and 215. Euripides uses ξείνοι in the senarii but rarely (I. T. 798, El. 247), much more frequently in lyric passages (Hek. 82, 479, Alk. 598, Kykl. 510, Herakl. 355, I. T. 218, 226, I. A. 606); ξειναπάτον Med. 1392, ἄξεινον Andr. 793 in all MSS. except C, Πολυξείνη Hek. 76,

πολύξεινος Alk. 568.

In Antig. 1241, L² has ϵlv , for which some editors substitute Heath's ϵv γ '. In Trach. 495 $\kappa \epsilon v \delta v$ has been substituted for $\kappa \epsilon \iota v \delta v$, though Aisch. Pers. 761 has $\epsilon \xi \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \ell v \omega \sigma \epsilon v$. $\kappa \epsilon \iota v \delta s$ is both Pindaric and Euripideian (ch.). $\hat{v} \pi \epsilon \ell \rho o \chi o s$ Prom. 428 (ch.), Trach.

1096 cannot stand.

If εἰλίσσω is from ΓελΓικιω we expect in Attic prose ἐλίσσω, which is Sophokleian. In Aisch. we find εἰλίσσω only in lyric passages. In sixteen passages in the extant dramas, Eurip. has

ten cases of είλίσσω.

εἴνεκα (see below § 78) does not occur in the Laurentianus of Sophokles. In the same MS. of Aischylos it is met with Prom. 345, Suppl. 188 (οἵνεκα 4 times). None of the best MSS. of Euripides have this form, which stands in MSS. of the second class H. F. 210, Hek. 137, Andr. 251, 408, frag. 4993.

Aischylos has δέρη, Euripides δειρή in lyrics.

Only in choral passages do the following words with Ionic ει occur: εἰνάλιος Ant. 346, Eur. Elekt. 450, I. T. 1240 (Kirchhoff), Troad. 1095, Hel. 526 (Herm.), εἰνόδιος Ιοπ 1048.

4. Forms containing Ionic ov. μοῦνος occurs 13 times in the dialogue portions, twice in choral, and twice in anapaestic passages of Sophokles. Aischylos has μουνῶπα Prom. 804, but never μοῦνος. In the Rhesos 31 μούναρχοι is generally abandoned for μόναρχοι, Euripides having invariably μόνος. Gerth calls attention to the fact that in S. we never find οὐ μοῦνον ἀλλά but always οὐ μόνον ἀλλά. The necessities of the trimeter, not the requirements of emphasis, decided the question as to

whether the Ionic or the Attic form should be admitted. Cases of the emphatic use of $\mu o \hat{\nu} \nu o s$ (as Antig. 308), may be confronted with others where no emphasis is discernible. In Antig. 308 it is the word, not the form of the word, which adds emphasis; $\mu \acute{o} \nu o s$ would have been equally effective.

Other cases of ov are γούνατα O. K. 1607 in the speech of the messenger (γόνασι Phil. 485). Aischylos has no instance of the ov forms, which in Euripides occur with the same freedom as the Attic (in the senarii Andr. 892, Hek. 839, Alk. 947, in

lyrics Andr. 529).

δουρ-. Aisch. δουρικλύτοις Pers. 85 (ch.), δουρικμήτι Ch. 365 (ch.), δουρίπηχθ' in dialogue, Sept. 278. Sophokles δουρίληπτον Aias 894 (ch. iamb.), δορίληπτος Ai. 146 (anap.), δουριάλωτον Ai. 211 (anap.), δούρατι Phil. 722 (lyr.), δούρειος ἵππος Troad. 14 (sen.) and in comedy (see below).

ούρειος in choral passages Ant. 353, I. T. 127, 162, 1126, Troad. 533, Phoin. 232, 806, Elekt. 210 (δρειος Hipp. 144), οὐρεσιβώτας Phil. 1148, οὐριθρέπταν Hek. 204 (ὀριδρόμων Bacch.

986 Kirch. and Sandys).

Ούλυμπος but once Her. F. 872 (troch. tetr.).

ούνυμα is not found in tragedy despite Markland on I. T. 36. In Phil. 251 ούν- of the MSS. is rejected by all, so Bacch. 320, where ούν- is found in P C (see Elmsley).

rούσων Aisch. Suppl. 684 (ch.) where νόσων is possible.

πούρη has been seen (above § 75, 2) to occur upon Old Attic poetical inscriptions of the sixth century. In the Septem 149 Dindorf rejects κούρα, a form whose enfranchisement in choral diction is clear from κουροβόρφ Ag. 1512 and κούρα O. K. 180, where the metre requires the diphthong, though elsewhere the half Attic, half Doric κόρα, κόρας prevails in lyrical passages. κοιρος is an error Trach. 644 (ch.). Euripides has κούρα in lyrical passages Hipp. 141, Alk. 410, I. T. 210, 217, 402, Hel. 382, 1307, 1314, El. 481 MSS. (cf. 117), 1184, Hek. 462. In Υ. Τ. 1114 Kirch. reads κόραν; in Androm. 1224 κόρη, Troad. 144 κύραι: in El. 481 κόρα is due to Dindorf. In dialogue portions κούρη does not occur (κόρη is now read in Hel. 1098)1. κούρος is met with nowhere out of lyrical passages (7 times). The same holds good of the Euripideian compounds κουροτόκος Suppl. 957, κουροτρόφος 2 Tr. 566, Bacch. 420. Neither Διόσκοροι nor Διόσκουροι appears in Aisch, or Soph. Eurip, uses the o form in the senarii eight times. In Hek. 943 (ch.) F has the ου form, which is rejected by Kirchhoff. Διοσκούρων Ι. Α. 769

¹ zápos also frag. 5344.

³ In regard to the retention in prose of *kouporphops* and similar polysyllabic words, we should not fail to regard the distaste manifested by Attic towards a succession of many short syllables.

(ch.) is defensible. κούρω was formerly held to exist in a supposed formulaic ¹ κούρω καὶ κόρη (Plato Laws VI 785 A, where it has the support of but one MS.; cf. κόρου καὶ κόρης VII 793 E, κόρους καὶ κόρας 796 C). Since in proper names forms alien to the native dialect are not uncommon, and since [Δι]ο[σκ]ουρίδου is found C. I. A. II 66, 4 (356 B. c.) and Dittenb. Syll. 418, 2 (not before 292 B.c.) it need not surprise us that Διοσκούρων is met with Plato Euthyd. 293 A, Thuk. III 753 τὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων (-κόρων in only two MSS.) ἱερόν, IV 110 τὸ Διοσκούρειου² (thus the MSS.). Phrynichos says that those who use the Ionic form are open to ridicule. κουρεῖον, κουρεῶτις, which Mr. Rutherford quotes from Lobeck's note, have nothing to do with κοῦρος. Their ουρ is from ορσ (cf. κορσοῦν' κείρευ, and κορσωτεύς, ἀκερσεκόμης). ἐπίκουρος has probably nothing to do with κοῦρος, κόρος; cf. W. Schulze Quaest. Hom. 17.

Jonic forms in Declension. φύσιος, πρήξιας (Ambr.)
 Eurip. fr. 902, δήριος Agam. 942. ὅρνῖς Eurip. H. F. 72, is regarded as Ionic for ὅρνιθας by Wilamowitz, for what reason I

do not know.

The forms of $va\hat{v}_s$ with η are rejected by the editors despite their not infrequent occurrence (Kühner-Blass, p. 463). On $v\eta\delta s$

in New Ionic see § 170.

6. Varia. κεῖνος for Attic ἐκεῖνος (also in Attic prose after η or rarely after a short vowel or diphthong); σσ for ττ; on ᾿Αίδης with long α see § 160; on ἰρός see § 300. ζόη for ζωή; πολλός; ποτί a form that, however, never appears in any New Ionic monument. ρσ in θαρσεῖν, ἄρσην, &c. is possibly Ionic, cf. Θαρρίας C. I. A. I 445 (middle of the fifth century).

The Ionisms of Attic Comedy.

RUTHERFORD: The New Phrynichus, 32-52, 1881.

Setti: Il linguaggio dell' uso comune presso Aristofane in Museo di antich, class.,

I 113-130.

SPECK : De Aristophanis dialecto, 1878.

78.] Ionisms are admissible in the lyric parts of comedy, not excluding those of anapaestic movement. Even in the

1 Cf. Pollux VIII 107, Apollod, III 122, 15s, Schol. Acharn. 146, Diod. Sik.

IV 61 κούρους καὶ κόρας.

² Hdn. II 8484 - κορεῖον, I 37512 - κούρειον, II 86434 Διοσκούρων κώμη Λιβύης.

The treatise under Herodian's name (Moiris p. 445) eites Διόσκουροι but Διοσκόρω; a differentiation that could not last. That in one and the same dialect two different forms of the name of a divinity may occur is evident from Κόραι and Κοῦραι in Knidos (C. D. I. 35381, 2) and often in 3539-3544, 3546-48.

trochaics of the parabasis there is a well-attested case of an Ionic termination. Koch and Humphreys contend that the occurrences in anapaestic parts ('Αθηναίη Knights 763, Τριτογενείης Clouds 989) and in the parabasis (Σεληναίης Clouds 614, Dindorf -as), are instances of the survival in the popular dialect of older, more poetical forms. That this is an erroneous position is clear from an examination of all the Attic inscriptions previous to the Peloponnesian War. In no inscription, whose genuineness has not been universally suspected, or whose Attic character has not successfully been disputed, is there a single occurrence of Ionic -ιη. It is therefore impossible that 'Αθηναίη and a fortiori Τριτογενείης are Attic. Plato's 'Αθηναίη (Euthyd. 302 D) does not alter this conclusion in the least. The three instances quoted above are taken from an Ionic, and poetic source. On 'Αθηνέων see § 74, 11.

In the dialogue portions Ionisms are not admissible save when the speaker is an Ionian, in paratragedic passages, or when proper names have been preserved in an Ionic form by the pressure of Ionic tradition.

Peace 46: Ἰωνικός τίς φησι παρακαθήμενος δοκέω μέν, ες Κλέωνα τοῦτ᾽ αἰνίσσεται, ὡς κεῖνος ἀναιδέως (τὴν) σπατίλην ἐσθίει

where δοκέω and κείνος hit off the Ionian. Phrynichos II 583 (2)² is either corrupt or the line was spoken by, or of, an Ionian. On κείνος in Eupolis see Koch I 294 (139). Eurip. Orestes 742 σὐκ ἐκείνος, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη κείνου ἐνθάδ' ἤγαγεν was parodied according to the Schol. κείνος appears in lyrical passages Thesm. 784, Wasps 751.

Keiveov is not adopted by Koch I 50, in his attempted restora-

tion of Kratin. II 83 (6).

civera is well attested in Aristophanes, Timokles, Plato, Philemo. That it was an Ionism adopted in Attic literature is evident from its occurrence in Thukydides, Plato, Isaios and Demosthenes (at least 20 times in Σ). In Old Attic poetry it is found in one passage (C. I. A. IV 477 E). By the period of the empire it has fully established itself in popular speech, to which it was heretofore more or less a stranger. See Wackernagel K. Z. XXVIII 109-130.

κούρος, κούρη. Aristoph. has κούρε Birds 977 (hex.), κούραι Thesm. 102, κούρην 1139 (lyr.).

In senarii κουρίδιον λέχος Peace 844, κουροτρόφος Plato II 674,

See Cauer l. l. p. 246, Speck De Aristoph. dial. 15 ff., 29.
References are given to the paging of Meinecke's Fragmenta when his reading is that accepted by Koch.

cf. Κουροτρόφω in the Herald's proclamation Thesm. 297. Aristoph. has always Διοσκόρω, as Amphis and Menander. Chionides' Διόσκουροι II 8 (Koch I 5), if actually used by the poet, occurred in anapaests.

δούριος Birds 1128 (ἵππων ὑπόντων μέγεθος ὅσον ὁ δ.), cf. Plato II 688 (24), Diphilos IV 419 (7). All these passages refer to the Trojan Horse. Cf. Eurip. Tr. 14, Plato Theait. 184 D.

Οὐλύμπου Knights 9, where Dindorf suggests that the line may be a quotation or adaptation from a poetical source. Perhaps

Οὐλύμπου νόμος had become a technical phrase.

Homeric in colouring are οὐλοχύτας Strato IV 546 (v. 34); γούνατα in the hexameters of Metag. II 751 or of Aristagoras II 761 (Krat. II 207 (91) has γόνατα); παρέοντα in the Cheiron of Pherekrates, II 335 (3); μεδέουσα Knights 585 (ch.), 763, Lysist. 834 (sen.), μεδέων Knights 560 (ch.) (cf. above § 74, 1). οὐρείαις occurs in Birds 1098 (lyr.).

In Thesm, 878 the use of the Ionic πεπλώκαμεν (πεπλεύκα-

μεν D) is a jeer on Euripides (Hel. 461, 532).

In Birds 867 (herald), Peace 1064 (hex.), -ησι is found after ι; in Wasps 399 πρύμνην (§ 420). ὀτ Peace 930 is called by the poet Ἰωνικὸν ῥῆμα. It is also Aristotelian. ἀρχηγέτῖ Lys. 642 (lyr.) may be noted in connection with this.

őκως, Krates II 233 (1).

Dialect of Ionic Prose. 'Pure' and 'Mixed' Ionic.

79.] The criterion by which the ancient rhetoricians distinguished the varying aspects presented by the dialect of the early prosaists was its purity, that is to say, they sought to discover whether their Ionic was ἄκρατος οτ μεμιγμένη. Upon the basis of this standard of comparison, Herodotos was placed in the second, Hekataios and Anaximenes of Miletos, and Hippo-

² Of Anaximenes, Diog. Laert. II 2 says κέχρηταί τε γλώσση 'Ιάδι ἀπλη καὶ ἀπερίττψ.

¹ Hermogen. De Ideis III 399, W (cf. Strabo I, 7, 18): 'Εκαταῖος δὲ δ Μιλήσιος, παρ' οὖ δὴ μάλιστα ὡφέληται ὁ 'Ηρόδ. (cf. Suidas s.v. 'Εκατ.), καθαρὸς μέν ἐστι καὶ σαφής, ἐν δέ τισι καὶ ἡδὺς οὐ μετρίως, τῆ διαλέκτψ δὲ ἀκράτψ 'Ιάδι καὶ οὐ μεμιγμένη χρησάμενος, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸν 'Ηρόδ. ποικίλη, ἦττόν ἐστιν ἔνεκὰ γε τῆς λέξεως ποιητικός. καὶ ἡ ἐπιμέλεια δὲ αὐτῷ οὐ τοιαύτη, οὐδ' ὅμοιος ὁ κόσμος ὁ περὶ αὐτήν. διὰ καὶ ταῖς ἡδοναῖς ἐλαττοῦται πολλῷ τοῦ 'Ηροδ., ἀλλὰ πάνν πολλῷ. III 319, W: ἐκείθεν δὲ μάλιστα διαρκῆ ἔσχε ('Ηρόδ.) τὴν γλυκύτητα, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὴν εὐθὺς τὴν διάλεκτον ποιητικῶς προείλετο εἰπεῖν. ἡ γὰρ 'Ιὰς οὕσα ποιητικὴ φύσει ἐστὶν ἡῦδιὰ εἰ ἐλλως διαλέκτων ἐχρήσατό τισι λέξεσιν, οὐδὲν τοῦτο, ἐπεὶ γὰρ "Ομηρος καὶ 'Ησίοδος καὶ ἄλλοι οὐκ ὀλίγοι τῶν ποιητῶν ἐχρήσαντο μὲν καὶ ἄλλαις τισὶ λέξεσιν ἔτέρων διαλέκτων, τὸ πλεῖστον μὴν ἰάζουσι.

krates of Kos 1 in the first division. Herodotos stands alone, in the view of the ancients, as the representative of 'mixed' or 'variegated' Ionic, though Ktesias of Knidos, whose fragments have not been utilized in the present treatise, followed in the wake of Herodotos 2.

To the students of Greek style under Augustus, Herodotos had become the canon of the Ionic dialect 3. The term apparos 'lds, when applied by the rhetoricians to the other Ionic prosaists, seems to have been employed with direct or indirect reference to the historian of Halikarnassos. It is instructive, however, to notice, in connection with this, the judgment of a grammarian, the greatest authority on syntax of his age, who was himself the author of a treatise On the Ionic Dialect, and hence more cautious than the rhetoricians whose criticism often lacks perspective. Apollonios Dyskolos pronounced against the claims of Herodotos and Hippokrates to be regarded as representatives of Ionic, and elevated to that position Hekataios, Pherekydes and Demokritos 4.

Now if it could be shown that by 'pure' Ionic the critics of antiquity meant a dialect vigorous enough to repel the encroachments of a non-Ionic idiom such as Doric or even Attic. a dialect that preserves its native system of phonetics and inflections, the value of their criticism would be inestimable; and command the greater respect in view of the fact that many

Έπαταίφ διοιος τοῖς καταβαλοῦσι τὸ τῆς ποιήσεως εὐδόκιμον.

³ ΟΓ Κτειίακ, Photios (p. 45 a 7. 20 Bekk.) καγς: κέχρηται δὲ τῆ Ἰωνικῆ διαλέπτψ, εἰ καὶ μὴ δι ὅλου καθάπερ Ἡρόδοτος, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐνίας τινὰς λέξεις. ἀνεγνώσθη δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἐν ἐνὶ βιβλίφ, ἐν οῖς μᾶλλον Ιωνίζει. The last words indicate that in Ktesias' time a partial Ionism was held to be sufficient to maintain the tradition of the Ionic origin of the historian's art. Ionic obtained a foothold in the Doris before the birth of the author of the Repaired. Herodotos and Hippokrates felt the pressure of the Ionic atmosphere of their -urroundings

Bachm Anecd. II 367, cf. Cod. Parisinus, p.679 in Schaefer's Greg. Korinth.: Ἡρόδοτος γὰρ διφροφορευμένους λόγει τοὺς φορείοις φερομένους, καὶ Ἱπποκράτης πολλάκις χρήται τούτο τῷ τρόπο, δε ἀκράτο τῷ Ἰάδι χρήται ὁ γὰρ Ἡρόδι συμμίγει αὐτὴν τῷ ποιητικῆ. See Ilberg Studia pseudippocratea p. 33. Lobeck Philologus VIII, p. 14 ff. Of the λέξις of the logographers Dion. Hal. (de Thuc. jud. VI 865, 819 R.) says: κ**αὶ γὰρ καθαρὰ** καὶ σαφής καὶ σύντομός έστιν, ἀποχρώντως σώζουσα τον ίδιον έκάστης και γωρ καιστρά και σασης και συντομος εστις, ανοχρωντώς σοξούσα τον ισιον εκαστης διαλέπτου χαρακτήρα. Α grammarian quoted in Schaefer's Greg. Kor. p. 910 ασγε that for έω, έσκω is used, οὐ κατὰ διάλεκτόν τινα, άλλά κατὰ σχηματισμόν σωητικόν, ἀφ' ἐτέρου ἐφ' ὅτερον τύπον ρήματος. ὅτι Ἡρόδ. χρῆται τοιούτοις μετα-σχηματισμοῖς. κλέπτεσκε γάρ φησι καὶ ἄγεσκον. μήποτε γοῦν ἰωνικά εἰσι ταῦτα μᾶλλον. ἀλλ' ἀναμφίβολον πάλιν τοῦτο ποιεῖ, τὸ μὴ τὸν Ἡρόδ. ἀκράτω τῆ Ἰάδι χρῆτθαι, ἀλλά μεμιγμένη τῆ ποιητική. Longinos calls Herodotos Όμηρικώτατος (Subl. 12. Eustathios Iliad A p. 9, says: ἔοικε δὲ καὶ Ἡρόδ. τῷ Φερεκύδη καὶ Πποπείω διαρια τοῦν κοταβελοῦνι τὸ τῶν πούσσων εἰδλυμον.

² Tis lides apieres кагы́г Dion. Hal., Photios l. l., and in the epigram in St.

Ήρόδοτον Λύξου κρύπτοι κόνις ήδο θανόντα 'Ιάδος άρχαίης ίστορικής πρότανιν.

⁴ De Pron. 118 B.

of the fragments of the logographers and philosophers have either perished completely or have been forced to submit to a more or less thoroughgoing depravation of their original form. Unfortunately, however, this judgment of antiquity respecting 'pure' as distinguished from 'mixed' Ionic means no such thing. Its value is vitiated for the purpose of dialectology because it is a verdict based upon the insecure premise that vocabulary and style are essentially determinative of dialect character. So far removed from the immediate purpose of the rhetoricians was the conception that purity of dialect consists in the unimpeded transmission of an indigenous vowel and consonantal system and in a native method of inflection, that they are constantly exposed to the danger of not distinguishing dialect from diction. Exceptions are rare. When Dionysios of Halikarnassos wishes to display the power of the Herodoteian style in its marshalling of words, his first thought is to cast aside the veil of the dialect that no extraneous charm may reinforce his argument as to the perfect disposition of the tale of Gyges or of the descent of Kroisos 1.

The grammarians rarely ², the rhetoricians never, busied themselves with any possibility of difference between the idiom of the soil and that of Ionic prose literature, filled from the horn of plenty of the epos. The nature of the inflections, the character of word forms, fail to trouble Hermogenes when he sets Hekataios ³ off against Herodotos, or characterizes the poetical nature of the latter's diction ⁴.

80.] The distinction between pure and mixed Ionic is therefore, in view of the attitude of the rhetoricians towards the creations of Ionic prose literature, a distinction destitute of authority for us in respect of matters of phonology and inflection. Whatever significance it may possess can be understood only in relation to the genesis and stylistic development of prose as a literary instrument.

Two views have been advanced in ancient as well as in modern times, which seek to penetrate into the obscurity enveloping the dawn of Greek prose.

¹ Cf. Quint. IX 4, 18.

² Dionysios Thrax ch. 1 illustrates the horizon of the grammarians:
γραμματική ἐστιν ἐμπειρία τῶν παρὰ ποιηταῖς τε καὶ συγγραφεῦσιν ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὸ
λεγομένων.

λεγομένων.

In the passage n. 1, p. 80, Hekataios' style is described as simple, in contradistinction to the parti-coloured diction of Herodotos. The passage ending with ποιητικόs may have reference to epic style and vocabulary. See Zarneke Literatursprachen, note 32.

Hermog. II 395: καὶ γὰρ ταῖς ἐννοίαις μυθικαῖς σχεδὸν ἀπάσαις, καὶ τῆ λέξει ποιητικῆ κέχρηται διόλου... οἱ γὰρ πλεῖστοι τῶν ρυθμῶν αὐτῷ κατά τε τὰς συνθήκας καὶ τὰς βάσεις δακτυλικοί τε εἰσὶ καὶ ἀναπαιστικοί, σπουδειακοί τε καὶ ὅλως σεμνοί.

81.] The ancients with scarcely a dissenting voice, and the moderns in the early part of the nineteenth century under the leadership of Heyne especially, held that the rise of Ionic prose was due to a gradual abandonment of the metrical form, though at the same time the word structure that belonged to poetry was retained. Dealing with local myths at the outset, but continually widening its horizon, it nevertheless retained some of that poetical colouring which had proved so splendid an ornament to the tale of the Trojan war. Strabo is the chief authority in ancient times for this view 1.

In confirmation of this side of the controversy it was urged that the connection between the epic and the earliest literary prose was most intimate 2, an inference suggested by the tradition that Akusilaos transferred Hesiod to prose, and because of a similar legend attaching itself to the name of The language of Anaximander is replete with poetic reminiscences³; and the diction of Herakleitos⁴ and Demokritos⁵ has not lost traces of its affiliation with the poetic past 6. Doubtless some part of the poetic flavour of Platonic prose is not entirely due to the vivid imagination of the artist, but is the result of a more or less conscious reproduction of the philosophic diction of the Ionians (e. g. εγκρίνω Rep. VI 486 D).

The bond of sympathy between archaic literary prose and verse, the refusal to abandon the medium of metre after a philosophical prose had won a place in the literary circles of Ionia, the analogy of the diction of Pythagoreian prose, proved powerful factors in gaining the suffrage of scholars to the view that Strabo was substantially correct.

82.] If modern criticism does not actually overthrow the Strabonian explanation of the genesis of prose writing, it at

¹ I 18: ως 8 είπεῖν, ὁ πεζὸς λόγος, δ γε κατεσκευασμένος, μίμημα τοῦ ποιητικοῦ έστί. πρώτιστα γαρ ή ποιητική κατασκευή παρήλθεν els το μέσον και ευδοκίμησεν, elta δκείνην μιμούμενοι, λύσαντες το μέτρον, τάλλα δε φυλάξαντες τα ποιητικά, συνόγραψαν οἱ περὶ Κάδμον καὶ Φερεκύδη (i.e. of Syros), καὶ Εκαταῖον εἶτα οἰ δυτερον ἀφαιροῦντες ἀεί τι τῶν τοιούνων εἰς τὸ νῦν είδος κατί,γαγον ὡς ἀν ἀπὸ δψους τικός. The passage from Strabo reappears in Eust. II. p. 9. With this statement may be associated the remark of Aristotle Poet. 1. 8; that the language of Empedokles was in no wise different from prose, save in the fact that it

⁸ See throughout Zarncke's Entstehung der gr. Literatursprachen, which contains the best defence of the older view, though the part dealing with the rise of proce is the weakest part of the article.

Theophraston, apud Simpl. phys. 6 r 42.

^{*} Strabo, p. 3, βελτίων δ' Ήρακλ. και δμηρικώτερος.

¹ Cicero, Oral 67.

⁴ Anaximenes, according to one witness at least, seems to have been less constant in his adherence to the poetic element in philosophical style, Diog. Lacrt. II 2, cited above, § 79.
The Karneonikai of Hellanikos was written in proce and verse.

least demands its modification in several important particulars. It is maintained that the foundation of Ionic prose is to be sought in the local dialects (notably the Milesian), and that the diction of historical, philosophical and scientific writing can have come into being only after the labours of successive generations had succeeded in rendering the rude idiom of the registers and decrees capable of being a vehicle of literary expression. Those of this second school emphasize the fact that even in antiquity there was no consensus of opinion, and bring forward at least two utterances making in favour of their view: (1) Cicero (De Orat. II 12, § 53), in speaking of the earliest Roman annalists who made no use of poetical ornament, compares them with Pherekydes, Hellanikos and Akusilaos. (2) After describing what manner of men the older local historians were, Dionysios of Halikarnassos 1 says that their style was clear and intelligible to all, pure and precise. Of the moderns, no less an authority than Bergk says: 'it is remarkable how slight has been the influence of poetry upon the prose of the earlier period, though poetry attained at an early date to a periodic connection of sentences. Prose, originally a totally different species of composition, intentionally renounces the artistic means adopted by poetry 2.

83.] In all this speculation, both of the moderns and of the ancients (who possessed a greater wealth of material, but not the horizon enabling them to estimate its dialectal value), a vital fact has been ignored. Style is one thing, phonetics and inflections something quite different. Poetical ornament or poetical reminiscence, the recourse to archaic or obsolescent words, be they never so frequent, are not incompatible with a contemporaneous system of inflection and phonetics. The substitution of prose for the $\lambda \dot{\epsilon} \xi_{is} \epsilon i \rho o \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \eta$ by the logographers of the sixth (or fifth) centuries is not identical with the adoption of an Homeric scheme of declension. The various dialects of Hellas, in which are preserved early dedicatory or laudatory hexameters of epic tone, have no scruple in adopting inflections proper either to an archaic or to a contemporaneous form of the language, while at the same time the words are borrowed to a greater

¹ D. H. de Thuc, judic, 819 R.: σαφή καὶ κοινήν, καὶ καθαρὰν καὶ σύντομον. Before he says: κατ' ἔθνη καὶ κατὰ πόλεις διαιροῦντες, καὶ χωρίς ἐκφέροντες, ἔνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν φυλάπτοντες σκοπόν, ὅσαι διεσώζοντο παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις μνῆμαι κατὰ ἔθνη τε καὶ κατὰ πόλεις, εἴτ' ἐν leροῖς εἰτ' ἐν βεβήλοις ἀποκείμεναι γραφαί, ταύτας εἰς τὴν κοινὴν ἀπάντων γνῶσιν ἐξενεγκεῖν, οἶας παρέλαβον μήτε προστιθέντες αὐταῖς τι, μήτ' ἀφαιροῦντες, ἐν αἰς καὶ μιθοί τινες ἐνήσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πεπιστευμένοι χρόνου καὶ θεατρικαί τινες περιπέτειαι, πολὺ τὸ ἡλίθιον ἔχειν τοῖς νῦν ὅοκοῦσαι. Demetrios, de Eloc, 12, vol. IX, p. 9 W says of the style of the older prosaists: ὅιηρημένη, εἰς κῶλα λελυμένη οὺ μάλα ἀλλήλοις συνηρτημένα, ὡς ἡ Ἑκαταίου, καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα τῶν Ἡροδότου.

* Bergk, Gr. Literaturgeschichte, II 394, note.

or less extent from Homer. So in the domain of prose. The archaic words employed in Herodotos' vocabulary, when it is identical with that of Homer and divergent from that of Attic prose, may coexist with contemporaneous inflections. Even in the vocabulary of Ionic prose, much of what has been regarded as poetical is in fact nothing more than old-time Ionic, a survival of the time when the Ionians did not dwell over-sea, and cherished with all the fervour which unites the speech of the colony to that of the metropolis. In the America of to-day there survive words drawn from the treasure-house of Chaucerian, Spenserian and Shakesperian English, words which were still vigorous with life in England in the seventeenth century, but which have since been permitted to starve. The Tennessean says suddint for quick-tempered, as Chaucer said sodern Diomede.

On the one hand then, the utterances of antiquity and the hypotheses of the moderns in reference to the difference between the Herodoteian and non-Herodoteian dialect lead to no result, since they proceed on the lines of discriminating one style from another. On the other hand, we find in the extant fragments no answer to the much-vexed question whether there was any radical difference in the dialect of the various writers of early Ionic prose.

84.] Upon turning to the existing monuments of Ionic prose, we confront the fact that, so far as the fragments of the logographers permit a comparison of their dialect with that of Herodotos, there is no appreciable difference between the two. These fragments are but few, and even these bear the touch of Attic or pseudo-Ionic hands. Of Kadmos and Dionysios. Deiochos and Bion of Prokonnesos, Eugeon of Samos, nothing has been preserved. Akusilaos of Argos, the first writer not of Ionic stock who pursued the genealogical enquiries of the Ionians, must have written in Ionic, though the fragments extant in antiquity were branded as spurious by Suidas. The Σικελιώτις συγγραφή of Antiochos of Syrakuse, utilized by Thukydides, offers no picture of the form assumed by the literary Ionic of the Western colonies. Charon of Lampsakos has ἀπίξεται, and a few cases of -in, which was the feature of the dialect which resisted dislodgment most obstinately. In frag. 2 Plutarch has βασιληίου together with τείχους and επαναχωρούσι. Of Xanthos nothing worthy of note is preserved.

Even the fragments of Hekataios yield no result commensurate with their greater number. In the field of vocabulary we notice here and there a peculiar word, but even upon the basis of the study of vocabulary and style, we have not material sufficient to test the criticism of Hermogenes. It is only occasionally that Ionic forms appear in Steph. of Byzant, and in Athenaios 1, whose texts present now the Attic, now a partial Ionic form. The pseudo-Longinos always Atticizes. δοκέω rests upon the authority of Hdn. π. μ. λ. I p. 13. There is no

example of an open ee or eei.

Direct quotations from Pherekydes are extremely rare. Some Ionic forms are preserved by the schol. on Apoll. Rhod. III 1178 (= Pherek. 44): 'Αθηναίη, όφιος, λίθοισιν, δοκέοντες, κρατέουσιν; by the schol. on Pind. P. IV 75=133 (= 60): μαντήϊον, Αἰήτεω, "Ήρη, νόον; by the schol. on Eurip. Alk. 1 (= 76): Βρόντεω, Στερό-πεω, "Αργεω; and by Dion. Halik. Arch. I 13 (= 85): καλέονται, οίκέοντες, Δηιανείρης. All of these citations contain in addition Attic forms.

In Ion of Chios as quoted by Athenaios I find the Attic verbal forms except in δοκέον, αφαιρετέοντα. The adjectives of colour and material appear in the open form (πορφυρέω, -έας, χρυσέας).

85.] The vigour displayed by Ionic as the language of the scientists of the day, not merely Ionians of Ephesos, Samos, Klazomenai or of the Thrakian Abdera 2, but thinkers from Krete, or cosmopolitans, puts to confusion the aesthetic-physiclogical vapidity of many older, and some modern, books on Greek. The mollient harmonies of the Ionic vowel system were applied, even at the period of the destruction of effeminate Ionia upon the fall of Miletos, to give expression to the hardest thinking that the Hellenic world had witnessed. So far from the Ionic dialect in early prose always appearing in the easy-flowing, anecdotal style of an Herodotos: it is the idiom which has to express the resplendent subtleties of Herakleitos. tales' are exchanged for the crabbedness of an Obscurantist, or for the defence of the all-pervading power of causality by the Atomic philosopher; and finally for the picturesque yet terse and nervous style of the Father of Medicine.

And yet, however different the styles in vogue among the thinkers of the sixth and fifth centuries, styles ranging from the poetic prose of the speculative thinker Pherekydes of Syros to the powerful compression or unadorned simplicity (as in the 'Επιδημίαι) of Hippokrates, we are unable to bring together

¹ In Steph. Byz. -εου- appears fr. 67, 78, 114, 135, 189, 190, 193, 195; contracted -ου- 105, 186. Athen. has open -εου- 290, -εο- 172, -ου- 173, 341; ee and eet are always contracted.

In connection with this, reference may be made to the view upheld by Gomperz that the pseudo-Hippocratic tract περὶ τέχνης is the work of an Abderite, and also to the view of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff that the pseudo-Hippokratic Nόμος is the production of Demokritos.

enough material to warrant the conclusion that there was any thoroughgoing differentiation between the dialect of historical and that of scientific writing. Apart from the question of the relation of Herodotos to Hippokrates, which will be considered in § 100, there is scarcely a trace which points to a difference in dialect between Anaxagoras, Herakleitos, Demokritos, Diogenes, Melissos, Apollonios, or Protagoras 1. While tradition has not been impartial in its dealings with the original colouring of their dialect, it nevertheless appears tolerably certain that they all made use of the inflections belonging to the accepted idiom of the day, which was common alike to the logographer and to the scientist. Radical differences in phraseology, sentence arrangement or syntax 2 may have existed, it is true, though in the scanty material at command, they elude our powers of observation.

Scientific writing gradually passed over into the hands of the Athenians. Archelaos of Miletos, the pupil of Anaxagoras, was in the view of Diogenes Laertios the first who transferred from Ionia to Attika the study of the philosophy of nature. Anaxagoras himself was banished from Athens, and a like fate befell the cosmopolitan Protagoras. Though none of these thinkers deserted the literary form established by their predecessors, we find that Bion, the pupil of Demokritos, wrote partly in Ionic, partly in Attic. This procedure may have given a start to that paraphrasing of the old Ionic texts which in course of time won for itself a place even among the critics who were not unsusceptible to the charm of dialect.

On the Transmission of the Text of the Ionic Philosophers.

For pseudo-Ionisms and hyper-Ionisms see § 113.

86.] 1. No fragments in dialect have been preserved of Anaximander or of Anaximenes (on whose dialect see note 2, page 80). Anaxagoras is known to us solely from the citations made by

^{&#}x27;Some have held that Melissos imitated Hdt., Demokritos Hippokrates & Mullach (Vulgarsprache p. 10' notes that Demokritos often agrees with neither Hdt. nor Hipp., but with the epic poets or inscriptions. He is unique for his 'pregnant brevity, poetic colour, and independent boldness in word formation.'

 $^{^3}$ $\mu e \tau d$ with the genitive (in the singular) of things, especially of an abstract character, occurs, probably for the first time in Ionic prose, in Demokritos, who has $\mu e \tau^*$ dwode($\mu e \tau d$). Mommsen (Gr. Praep. p. 112, note 50) says that the use of $\mu e \tau d$ with plural nouns is almost entirely avoided before Euripides; but cf. Hippokrates, $\pi e \rho l d \rho \chi$. I 612 (§ 17). See Gomperz, Apologie d. Heilkunst, note 2 on p. 92.

Simplicius, who has turned into Attic many of the essential features of the original language of the philosophers. Thus ϵ_0 is contracted into ϵ_0 , the κ pronominal forms have given place to those in π , the Ionic forms of the reflexive pronouns have completely disappeared.

2. Melissos has been treated more kindly by Simplicius. εοι is retained in the optative, and εο has not entirely disappeared. The retention of κενεός and κενεώτερος is noteworthy. In one instance a pronominal form in κ has escaped the levelling.

process.

3. Herakleitos has fared better at the hands of his excerptors than most of his contemporaries. The compression of his style may have prevented too great a deflection from the original. The earliest direct citation (by Theophrastos) is, however, paraphrazed. The κ pronominal forms are preserved by Clemens, Stobaios, Plutarch, Hippolytos, Origen; the - ωv - forms are found in Strabo, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertios, Julian, &c.; uncontracted - ϵo -, - $\epsilon o v$ - in Clemens of Alexandria (whose MSS., however, are inconsistent in this regard and also in the retention of the characteristic Ionic κ); uncontracted - $\epsilon \omega$ - in Diogenes Laertios, Strabo.

e in place of a in -aω verbs is found in Clemens and

Hippolytos.

ξυνόν for κοινόν in Origen, Plotinos, Porphyrios, Sext. Emp. The ϵ forms in the comparative degree are rarely preserved intact by late writers. $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \zeta o \nu \epsilon_s$ is found in Clemens, $\kappa \rho \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \sigma o \nu$ in Stob. The Ionic η is retained except by those who Atticize outright. Plutarch rarely swerves from the original.

The fragments of Herakleitos found in the Strassburg MS. of Justinian, now destroyed, and dating 474-491 A.D., are completely Atticized with the exception of ὁκοῖον, τουτέοισι.

- 4. The longest single fragment of Diogenes of Apollonia has been paraphrased by Aristotle. In the other fragments as preserved in Simplicius we notice the retention of the Ionic declension of iota stems, except in $-\epsilon\omega\nu$. ϵo is kept open in $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon os$, a genitive form which is as unique in Simplicius as is his retention of $\delta\kappa\eta$ in Melissos 14. The reflexive pronouns conform to the Attic standard.
- 5. The Moralia of Demokritos, handed down chiefly by Stobaios, present the features of Ionic distorted by Atticisms, which at times completely overshadow the original lineaments of the dialect. Within one and the same fragment (e.g. 70) we find the same word now in Attic, now in Ionic, guise. The characteristic features of the dialect of the Abderite philosopher emerge often

enough to permit the reconstruction of the whole, though not always in the form adopted by Mullach. The -ωυ- forms of the reflexive pronoun are tolerably common (e.g. 92, 100, 188); κρέσσον we find in 94; ολκήιος (94); -ιος and -ιας in -ι- stems (20); the a pronominal forms have often given place to the Attic #, but the guttural appears (13, 20, 41); retention of ψίλωσις (92) is as rare as the open -εο- and -εω- are common. These forms appear with greater consistency than any other deflection from the Attic usage. There is a constant fluctuation between ξύν and σύν, and between the longer and shorter forms of the dative plural of the A and O declensions. Mullach has edited ξύν and τοίσι and τῆσι indefensibly. τοίς and ταίς occur even when, as is rarely the case, the nouns end in $-\sigma \iota$. The articular τοῖσι, however, occurs in 41, the relatival in 47; τῆσιν **ἐπιθυμίησι** in 46. τολμέωσι is found in 215.

The *Physika*, as cited by Sextus Empiricus, are almost completely Atticized. Ionic η is occasionally preserved; $\delta\rho\hat{\eta}\nu$ occurs

in § 139 (frag. 1).

On the Style of Early Ionic Prose Writing.

87.] Among the early logographers who raised the edifice of their recitals upon the simple annals of the Ionic cities, genealogies, priestly records, &c., some would seem to have adopted a plain and homely style, ungarnished by that admixture of epic colouring which distinguished the work of others. Both styles, however, had their roots in the local idioms in which subsisted variations to some slight degree. No Ionic prose in fact held itself aloof from the idiom of the soil. the epos, rather than to the unaided efforts of the early worthies, is due the creation of what might fairly be called a literary The influence of the epos cannot be conceived save instrument. upon the supposition that the ruder prose had of itself been already elaborated to a degree enabling it to make a distinct advance under the inspiration of a poetic model. There seem to be certain indications making for the conclusion that the language of the earliest logographers was in closer touch with the idiom of the soil than that of Herodotos. In this view 'unmixed' Ionic would show less of that conscious recourse to the epos and other literature (cf. § 89) which characterizes the dialect of Herodotos, and which in fact constituted his ποικιλία.

It is wide of the mark to extend the application of the words of Hermogenes: 'Εκαταΐος παρ' οῦ δὴ μάλιστα ἀφέληται ὁ 'Ηρόδοτος cf. above § 79 so as to find in them a confirmation of the belief, whether well founded or not,

Pherekydes and Hekataios dwelt within a narrower circle, while Herodotos extended the boundaries not only of subject-matter

but also of style.

It is often a matter of dubitation what is the contemporaneous Ionic form which deserves a place in Herodotos, so scanty are our epigraphic materials and so perverse the confusion in the grammarians between the different strata of Ionic forms, Yet it is nevertheless certain that, save in passages which bear the unmistakable stamp of deliberate recurrence to Epic formulae, the system of phonology and inflection is that of the soil. If it

that Herodotos purloined from his predecessor much of his subject-matter. The tone of the passage in Hermogenes indicates the belief of the rhetorician that Herodotos owed a debt in matters of style to Hekataios, notwithstanding that the latter used the ἄκρατος, οὐ μεμιγμένη Ids. A hard and fast line between the Milesian and the Halikarnassian cannot well be drawn. I am indebted to Diels, Hermes XXII 426, for reference to a passage in Eusebios, Pr. Er. X 3, p. 466 B, to the effect that Porphyrios in his Φιλόλογος ἀκρόσσις, following Polio περὶ τῆς Ἡροδότου κλοπῆς, showed that Hdt. transferred from Hekseveral passages without material change (βραχέα παραποιήσας). Diels does not hesitate to regard the ποικιλία of Hdt. as due to the wider horizon of the historian, which embraces not only description of all manner of things but

also stylistic affinities with the epos, tragedy, &c.

In connection with this, reference may be made to a treatise which has generally escaped the notice of scholars: Peyron's Origine dei tre illustri dialetti Greci paragonata con quella dell' eloquio illustre Italiano, first published in 1838, and now accessible as the 12th appendix to his Tucidide, Turin, 1861. In §§ 49-56 he treats of Ionic, chiefly in regard to the relation of Herodotos to his predecessors and to the statements of Hermogenes (above § 79) and Dionysios of Halikarnassos (above § 82). His views are, briefly, as follows: the language of Hekataios and that of the early logographers was that of the native city of each, here and there ennobled by a slight admixture of the poetic element. An ἄκρατος dialect is a dialect spoken by the common-folk in a single city or district and not yet elaborated by literary artists; the words οὐ μεμιγμένη refer to a diction uncontaminated by the adoption of Homeric or other species of Ionic; and ποικιλία is used of a speech which seeks to avoid the monotony incidental to the use of a single dialectal idiom, by having recourse to forms and inflections other than those native to a single locality. Pseudo-Plutarch used ποικίλος in this sense when speaking of Homer (λέξει δὲ ποικίλη κεχρημένος τοὺς ἀπὸ πάσης διαλέκτου τῶν Ἑλλήνων χαρακτήρας ἐγκατέμιξεν). In confirmation of the view that the diction of Hekataios was essentially plebeian, the following words are cited: béas for κρέας, αίμον for alμος, γέγειος, ἐπίσσαι, κίβωτος, σκορπίζεσθαι = σκεδάννυσθαι, ἀδελφίζειν. In general the predecessors of Herodotos wrote as they spoke, but gradually it fraseggiarre del volgo si innalzava verso la dignità ed il ritmo della grave prosa. Hekataios and his compeers were not absolutely intolerant of the dialect of other localities than their own, nor were they invariably studious of the avoidance of Homeric phraseology. They only essayed a unification of elements, whose fusion was reserved for the genius of Herodotos. Herodotos took as the foundation for his dialect the language of Homer, as the successors of Danto regarded his diction as their sovereign norm. The ποικιλία of Hdt. is the result of the superimposing upon Homeric Greek of the Ionic of Herodotos' own day and of other non-Ionic elements.

Latterly the ancient qualifications of the style of Hdt. have been regarded as covering loan-forms from non-Ionic dialects, which, it is assumed, were foreign to the writers of the 'pure' Ionic. Cf. K. Z. XXX 572.

is erroneous to regard Ionic prose as naught save the epic done into prose, to ruthlessly expel all Homeric forms from the text of Herodotos or of any of the early Ionic prosaists is to blind oneself to the true character of the genesis of prose in Ionia.

The presence of distinctly Homeric forms in Herodotos is due to the literary complexion of his history and is explained in part by his relationship to Panyassis. It is implied also in great measure by the after history of the text itself. It was the existence of an admixture of a poetic element which gave room and verge enough for the later redactors to erect the structure of an hyper-Ionism, whose creed licensed an indiscriminate substitution of epic forms in place of those of the living speech of Herodotos' day.

What may have been the distinctive virtue of the diction of the many representatives of Ionic prose classed by the ancients as writers of pure Ionic, it is now beyond our power to discover. Certainly if the ποικιλία peculiar to Herodotos has been correctly explained above, the bipartite division of antiquity does not rest upon differences of dialect in the strict sense of the word, and dialectal 'purity' is to be kept apart from stylistic

' purity.'

The Dialect of Herodotos.

ABICHT: Quaestionum de dialecto Herodolea specimen prim. 1859; Philol. XI 275 (On -ara, -aro for -rra, -rro).

BREDOW: De dialecto Herodolea, 1846.

DINDORF: Dissertatio de dialecto Herod. in the Didot edition, 1844.

FRITECH: Critique of Merzdorf's De dialecto Herodolea, in Jahrbücher für kl. Phil. 1876, p. 105 ff.

LEARDY: Quaestionum de dial. Herod. cap. I and II, 1844-46.

MERZDORF: Quaest, gramm, de voculium in dialecto Herodotea concursu in Curtius'
Studien VIII 127-222, 1875. Vocalverkürzung und Molathesis im Ionischen,
ibid. IX 201-244, 1876.

MEYER, W. L.: Ueber die Contraction der Verba auf -6u, Programm des Paedagog, zu Ilfeld, 1868.

Nonics: De contractis verbis in - les apud Herodolum.

SPREER: Le verbis contractis apud Herodotum, 1874.

STEER: in the Practatio to the first volume of his critical edition (1869), p. xliv ff.

STRACMAN: in the Introduction to his edition of Book VI, 1891.

STRUVE: Quaestionum de dial. Herodoti specimina III, 1828-30 (in the second volume of his Opuscula).

The following i.a. deal with the relation of Hdt. to Homer:

BORTTIGER: De Herod. Historia ad epici carminis indolem propius accedente, 1792.

Horza: Ueber die Verscandtschaft d. herod. Stiles mit dem homerischen, 1878.

HOELSCHER: Die Entwickelung u. d. Zusammenhang d. ionischen Prosa mit den komerischen Epen, 1875.

Pichler: Ueber syntaktische Beziehungen Herodots zu Homer, 1882 (Jahresbericht d. philol. Vereins zu Berlin, X (1884), p. 366).

STADELMANN: Dissertat. de Herodoto ejusque dialecto, 1830-32.

Stephanus: Herodotus 1570, p. 18 ff. (contains a collection of expressions in which Hdt. and Homer agree).

See also Zannoke's Entstehung der griech. Literatursprachen, 1890, pp. 38-45.

88.] Within less than a century after Herodotos had concluded his history, the epitome of its contents by Theopompos became a possibility. The construction and continuance of an Athenian empire, whose reason for existence was the presence of the barbarian in the home of the Ionic Greeks; the rise of an artistic Attic prose as a more facile and more highly elaborated organ for the expression of trained political thought; the unexampled rapidity of development displayed by this new creation of Greek literature; the extinction of the easily flowing and loosely joined style of the Ionic narrative prose; the absorption of the fourth century in the process of perfecting the rhythmic and periodic style; and finally the continual widening of the chasm that separated the Eastern Greeks from those of Hellas proper; -all these factors contributed to the speedy decay of interest in the Herodoteian work. this unpopularity of the Father of History, lasting from the extinction of Ionic literature to the time of Dionysios of Halikarnassos, is due in large measure the absence of a definite tradition of his original text. The disturbance of the current of Ionic tradition by the appearance of Attic worked to the prejudice of Herodotos. The impoverishment of the dialect and the deflection of literary curiosity to other quarters prevented a constant modernization of the original text, and ensured a speedy obscuration of the original complexion of so unique a literary product. When the interest in Ionic literature revived during the Augustan age, the seeds of corruption had borne their fruit; and it was impossible to reconstitute the genuine tradition of Herodotos as of other Ionic prose writers, who from this time onward continue to excite an attention in the rhetorical schools which they had failed to obtain in a more creative period of Greek literature.

The MSS. of no other prose writers exhibit such a wilderness of various readings and so complete an inability to transmit the original form as do those of Herodotos and Hippokrates. Fortunately in the case of Herodotos, with whom we are here more immediately concerned, this aberration affects not the sense, but the external form. No single dialectal canon seems to have

guided the copyists, who adopt now one standard as regards one set of forms, now another as regards a set completely analogous. The absence of any scholia makes for the view that Alexandrian learning did not (as it did in the case of Homer, the lyric and tragic poets), by means of critical studies devoted to the dialect, erect a bulwark against the gradual transformation of that part of the authentic text in which Later Ionic was exposed to contamination with Homeric Ionic.

The incoherency of the Herodoteian scheme as it appears in the MSS, is evident from many considerations. If $o \in$ and even on are contracted, is it conceivable that oo should remain open?

Despite the general acquiescence in the traditional belief that the open forms of the $-\epsilon \omega$ verbs are genuine Herodoteian and Hippokratic, there are not wanting signs of a more rational view even in circles that do not despise the evidence of the MSS. in all matters pertaining to the contraction or non-contraction of vowels. Gomperz in his Apologie der Heilkunst does not scruple to adopt the closed forms, though the Paris MS. A has only 18 instances against 21 instances of the open forms in the pseudo-Hippokratic $\pi\epsilon\rho$ i $\tau\epsilon\chi \nu\eta s$.

Neither of the two classes of MSS. of Herodotos (the older represented by ABC, the younger by RPVS) succeeds in carrying us to a period antedating the existence of an ignorant speculation as to the original form of the dialect adopted. The Florentine MS. (1) of the tenth century contains a greater farrago of perverse Ionisms than is found in the Romanus (R) of the fourteenth century. Cobet and Gomperz rate higher, for other reasons, the younger family of MSS. to which R belongs. On the one hand the confusion in the mind of the dialectologists between Homeric (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 20, 22) and Later Ionic foisted upon the early MSS. forms that are purely Homeric, and sometimes even such as owe their origin to a depraved Homeric tradition; and on the other the text, like all dialect texts, was exposed to the inroads of paraphrasing Atticists. In the uncertainty as to what was genuine, the dialectological sciolists played havoc with the later Ionic, and their blundering stupidity gave birth to such misshapen creatures as εγενέατο, δεσπότεα, Κροίσεω, Βάττεω, τουτέων,

^{&#}x27;Holder arranges the MSS, as follows: the archetypal MS, split into 1/a = AB, $(2 \cdot R + V' = V + S)$. C and P are placed by Holder among the codices contaminative in mixti. See Kallenberg, Philotogus, 1885, p. 717, who showed that in books I and IX, P belongs to the family ABC, but was corrected from a MS, of the R family; in books II-VIII P belongs to the family R but underwent correction from a MS, of the family ABC. Together with ABC, R is to be cautiously used. Stein held that only when P and R agree is use to be made of their readings. Colect called R at once the best and the worst MS.

αὐτέων (masc. neutr.), τουτέοισι, σταθμεύμενος, ἐδικαίευν, which run riot in the MSS.

89.] The ancient grammarians, to a large extent under the influence of the rhetoricians, neglecting the influence exerted upon Herodotos by tragedy, lyric poetry, and perhaps even by the contemporary Sophistic, regarded his ποικιλία as emanating from his sympathy with the form and complexion of the epos. For Epic diction is characterized by a ποικιλία of its own 1. It was alien to the purpose of the ancient rhetoric to attempt to trace out in Herodotos the possibility of a combination of local idioms, each of which might have been compelled to yield its contribution towards the creation of a prose style, more highly elaborated than that wrought out by the predecessors of the Halikarnassian historian. Such a conception of the Herodoteian style, though not warranted by actual facts, could become possible only in modern times. Various have been the attempts within the past fifty years to explain the ποικιλία of Herodotos. Some, misconceiving the spirit of a Greek historian and the atmosphere of Ionic prose, have regarded it as the result of the fusion of Ionic with Karian, despite the fact that Halikarnassos was Ionized at least by the middle of the fifth century. Others, misconceiving the words of Suidas (ἐν τῆ Σάμφ καὶ τὴν Ἰάδα ἦσκήθη διάλεκτον). have regarded his dialect as Samian, which solely on this account was held to be a mixture of all the Ionic sub-dialects; though in fact, so far as we are acquainted with its structure, Samian Ionic opposes the infusion of alien, non-Ionic words and inflections 2. Most of the modern editors of Herodotos maintain the view that his 'variegated' Ionic is due to the presence of poetical (epic, lyric, elegiac), Doric, and Attic forms and expressions, which arose for the most part from the birth, training and surroundings of the historian. The present treatise, while professing allegiance to a view which holds, properly enough, that the personal coefficient has been largely instrumental in giving to Herodoteian style its peculiar virtue, is nevertheless antagonistic to the theory that his ποικιλία permitted Herodotos to adopt, as Homer adopted, now one, now another inflection for one and the same word; and in fact to the conception that the variegated complexion of the MSS. is any indication of a ποικιλία in the form reproduced by Stein and many modern editors. I hold that only in the treatment of proper names and in passages of unmistakably epic colouring is a certain latitude

^{1 &}quot;Ομηρος λέξει ποικίλη κεχρημένος says the author of the tractate περί "Ομηρικής διαλέκτου.
2 Cf. above, § 21.

on the lines of a departure from the contemporary Ionic to be regarded as justifiable.

90.] The language of Herodotos, as reconstructed upon the basis of the best MSS., consists of a mixture of early and late Ionic and a number of Attic forms. Doric forms occur in proper names. Much of what is genuine in Herodotos is likewise Attic, but some of the forms which appear to be found on Ionic soil alone readily admit of explanation by the laws of Greek morphology. Of the Ionic forms the greater part represents the dialect of the historian's time ¹, but of the considerable remainder one part was obsolescent, another obsolete in the fifth century.

91.] The critical canon adopted by many of the editors 2 and by some scholars 3 who have made a special study of certain portions of the diction of Herodotos is as follows: the form to be assumed by a given word in a given passage depends upon a count of its occurrences in the MSS., i.e. if one form has a majority of MS. witnesses in its behalf it is accepted, while the other must be rejected.

This principle, though seemingly the only safe guide, is illusory. Thus on the authority of a majority of the MSS. $\pi o \iota \ell \epsilon \iota$ and $\pi o \iota \ell \epsilon \iota \nu$ are to be adopted, while in the case of $\nu o \ell \omega$, $\nu o \ell \epsilon \iota s$, $-\nu \delta \epsilon \iota$ and $-\nu o \epsilon \ell \nu$ would demand to be accepted. In the case of the subjunctives of $-\epsilon \omega$ verbs the MSS, have the open forms in fourteen instances when a vowel precedes the ending, and the closed form ten times when a consonant is the preceding letter. What system of literary aesthetics can pronounce in favour of $\theta \delta \rho \sigma \epsilon \iota$ but demand $\sigma \tau \rho \alpha \tau \eta \lambda \delta \tau \epsilon \epsilon$; or differentiate the delicate shades of feeling in $\pi \alpha \rho \alpha \ell \nu \epsilon \epsilon$ and $\beta o \eta \theta \epsilon \iota$? Shall we here conclude that there existed a thoroughgoing differentiation between vocalic and consonantal endings, when such a differentiation does not exist in other cases where $-\epsilon \omega$ or $-\omega$ appears? In one instance $\delta o \kappa \epsilon \eta$ has been deemed worthy of a place in the text, though by count in the present subjunctive it has a

¹ That a Dorian of Halikarnassos should have written in Ionic is due not merely to the existence of an Ionic prose at the opening of the fifth century, but also because Halikarnassos had been Ionized before the birth of the historian. Cf. the Lygdamis' inser. No. 238 in Bechtel's collection. The exceedingly old papyrus, published in *Philologus* XLI 748, dating probably from the fourth century B.c. and referred to Halikarnassos, contains several Dorians.

³ Holder, because more amenable to inscriptional authority, is much more radical than Stein in his refusal to accept MS, testimony.

Notably Bredow. In justice to the memory of a careful scholar, it should be stated that Merzdorf abandoned in Curtius Studien IX 201, the position assumed by him in the Studien VIII 127. The futility of the principle of majority rule was shown by Fritsch in Fleckeisen's Jahrb. 1876, p. 108, and in his Vokalismus d. herod. Dialekts, pp. 1 ff. Cf. Kratylos 437 D.

majority of but one over ποιῆ. In VIII 76 all MSS, have περιποιῶσι, though they have ποιέωσι IV 111, εἰδῶ II 114, but εἰδέω III 140, ἀποδεχθῶ I 124, but ἀπαιρεθέω III 65, ἀδικοῖεν V 84, but δοκέοι I 24, ποιοῖ or -οίη VI 35, but ποιέοιεν IX 104. In the case of thirteen verba contracta the closed forms prevail, in the case of two others, though the MSS, prefer the contraction, Stein capriciously edits the open forms; in thirty-eight verbs only the contracted forms appear, and in the case

of ὁράω, εἰρωτάω and φοιτάω the wildest license reigns.

The adoption of the modern canon of criticism thus leads, as regards contraction or non-contraction (where the greatest lack of uniformity prevails), to a dissolution of a uniform system of inflection, and in fact to a conglomerate of inconsistencies such as is not found in any other prose author, with the possible exception of Hippokrates, whose text has met in great measure the same fate as that which has befallen the Herodoteian. From a survey of MS. evidence the conclusion is irresistible that this confusion is at least as old as the archetypal MS., which is held by some to be found in the conjunction of the readings of ABR. Whether the lack of uniformity displayed by the archetypal MS, is the echo of a similar lack dating from Herodotos (as some would maintain), or whether it is the result of a disturbance of the original tradition, are, it is scarcely necessary to remark, two totally different questions. The view reached in this work is that no agreement of MS. testimony in respect of contract verbs, unless it is an absolute consensus, is authoritative in the determination of the original text of the early Ionic prosaists. To establish an absolute consensus is often an impossibility. There are indications that different views as to the proper form of reconstructing certain parts of the Ionic verbal system obtained foothold at a very early period in the history of the transmission of the text. Thus as regards the 'pure' verbs, ABR often agree as to the necessity of contraction, CP^1 more frequently than the others (though not consistently) treat the -aw verbs as if they had passed into -εω verbs, the Florentinus C having -εω, the Parisinus P having eo, eou and ew for ao, aou and aw.

The attitude of the MSS. towards the question of the character of the dialect of Herodotos, can be accounted for only upon the supposition that at an early period, certainly not very long after the decline of literature under Alexander's successors, the knowledge of the text had become obliterated. When the period of reconstruction arrived the dialectological theories which en-

¹ Some of the forms of CP are regarded by Stein and others as due to the grammarians.

deavoured to break through the obscurity succeeded only in perpetuating divergent views as to the nature of prose Ionic. Nor did these theories, which found the chief field for their activity in the text of Herodotos, spare the texts of the lesser lights of the Ionic constellation.

92.] The investigation pursued in the present work proceeds

upon principles which may thus be outlined:-

1. Herodotos made use of a uniform system of phonetics and inflection 1 , i.e. when a word can be shown to be genuine Ionic and Herodoteian, no variation in its form is permissible except in certain special cases, as, for example, those comparatively few epic reminiscences which are so direct as to carry the Homeric form into Herodotos. Nor are we to regard as recalcitrant such variations as $\beta o \eta \theta \ell \omega$, $\beta \omega \sigma a \nu \tau \iota$. Proper names of non-Ionic peoples and personages are given, now in the Ionic, now in the native, form.

2. The appellate court for deciding upon impeachable portions of the Herodoteian system of phonetics and inflection is composed of the inscriptions and the poets of Ionic birth. Herein we attribute greater weight to the writers of iambics and trochaics than to the elegists. The language of the inscriptions alone is not an absolute criterion of the genuineness of an Ionic form unless the inscription is older than 400 B.C. and contains no trace whatsoever of that which is specifically Attic. When the language of the inscriptions, with this limitation, agrees with that of the poets, we possess in their agreement the surest test possible under the circumstances by which to examine the credentials of any disputable form; and against the united voice of iambists and stone records the fluctuating orthography of Herodoteian or Hippokratic MSS. can make no stand. On the other hand, it is necessary to insist upon the fact, too often forgotten by some of the radical German scholars, that because a form is found in iambic poetry, or in the inscriptions, it does not follow that this form must be Herodoteian.

In the course of the detailed examination of Ionic my primary purpose has been to let the facts themselves show how great or how small is the difference between the actual speech of

^{&#}x27;Stein, whose principle it is to follow the best MSS. in each passage, and who admits the doctrine of manifold forms, quotes with approval Orator 156: alias its loquor ut concessum est, ut how ret proh deum dice vel proh decrum, alias ut necesse est, cum trium virum non virorum, cum sestertium nummum, non nummorum, quod in his consuctudo varia non est. But, as has long ago been remarked, this by no means implies that a writer has the liberty of mixing archaic and modern forms at will. There are not wanting in Herodotos, or even in inscriptions, analogues of the retention of the old gen. in -um, while cases similar to the younger-orum had elsewhere gained a place in the language of the day.

Herodotos' time and that which is ordinarily proclaimed as fifth century Ionic, the rules for which, as formulated by Dindorf 1 in the Didot edition, upon the authority of Herodoteian MSS., have proved for nearly two generations a treacherous guide to editors 2 of the Ionic writers of the Hadrianic Renascence and of the authors quoting early Ionic literature. I have endeavoured not to advance any theory, either of the development of Ionic prose literature or of the nature of the Herodoteian dialect, which might throw into a false light the explanation of the life of the individual form; but to present the material in such bulk and in such shape that the theory advanced in this part of the volume, when supported by the facts as given in another, cannot be dislodged by the arguments of those of different belief.

The view of the dialect of Herodotos which, on the whole,

seems most probable is as follows:-

The 'Ιστορίης ἀπόδεξις was originally composed, not in the pure Milesian dialect as spoken in ordinary life by the Milesians of the fifth century, but in an ennobled form of the Milesian dialect which, gradually perfected by the predecessors of Herodotos, had received under the hands of the historian an impress due to the peculiar virtue of his genius. This literary Milesian idiom had its roots in the soil. Its inflections and phonetics were those of the common speech. If this common speech did not invariably and at once reject all older forms that were brought face to face with those of more recent origin, à fortiori the literary dialect did not keep pace with the innovations of the speech of daily life 3. It confessed the supremacy of the Ionic epos by a frequent reproduction of Homeric sentiment and phraseology, chiefly for the purpose of ornament. An additional lustre was shed

² The dialectologist is hampered at every turn by this dependence upon a long established code which results in grafting upon such authors as Stobaios all sorts of hyper-Ionic forms. Especially is this to be deplored in the case of the many editions which do not give a full conspectus of various readings. Such a book as Diel's Simplicius is a notable exception.

For example, if in Halikarnassos or in Miletos the form of the article was τοῦs about the year 450 B.C., it does not follow that in Herodotos the longer form should be displaced, provided, as is the case, τοῦσι existed in Miletos in the sixth century. For τοῦσι in Hdt. to be correct, it is necessary that it should have existed at a time when the Milesian literary dialect was

forming.
 Demetr. de Eloc. § 51: πλην οί μεν γυμνη πάνυ χρώνται τη μιμήσει τών ποιητών, μάλλον δε οὐ μιμήσει, άλλα μεταθέσει καθάπερ "Ηρόδοτος. Θουκυδίδης μέντοι καν λάβη παρά τοῦ ποιητοῦ τι, ίδίως αὐτῷ χρώμενος ίδιον τὸ ληφθέν ποιεῖ.

¹ Dindorf, it is true, uttered a warning against a superstitious reverence for the authority of the MSS.: quorum auctoritate sola qui regi judicium suum patiuntur perinde faciunt ac si quis tesserarum jactu decernendum esse contendat quibus quoque in loco vocabulorum formis usus esse putandus sit Herodotus. But Dindorf lived in a state of primeval innocence in respect of epigraphy. The iambographers have in his view no voice at all, the pseudo-Ionists an all important voice in shaping the form of Herodoteian Ionic.

upon the heroes of the Ionic Revolt and of Marathon by the recital of their deeds in a language whose tone recalled that in which the poet had recounted the story of Achilles and of Odysseus. But in its external form, save in those passages which were imbued with epic colour, it was the dialect of the sixth and fifth centuries, such as is in part presented in the language of the epigraphic monuments and in part to be reconstructed by the aid of the living speech of a slightly older date, found in its purest form in the fragments of Archilochos, Simonides of Amorgos, and Hipponax, and in the elegists after a considerable subtraction of epic forms has been made. And furthermore, this Milesian dialect must not be thought of as a highly artificial idiom, hostile to natural and spontaneous variation.

The practical effect of this theory, if applied to a reconstruction of the Herodoteian text, would leave undisturbed by far the greater part of the dialect. The system of declension unfolded in the best MSS. would be preserved, the traces of ψίλωσις vouched for, while its absence in compounds would not be branded as spurious. But in one particular which for years has been proclaimed a distinguishing feature of Later Ionic—the entire absence of contraction of the -ew verbs—the testimony of the stone records and of the iambists is fatal to the assumption that Herodoteian Ionic is fifth century Ionic. The evidence as to the scheme of inflection of the contracted verbs is so complete that those who maintain the genuineness of the readings of the ordinary editions must take refuge in the conclusion that the historian deliberately resuscitated an entire system of inflection which had passed out of actual speech nearly a century before his time. The artificiality of style which adopts obsolete, or gives renewed life to obsolescent words is essentially different from a prose diction which reproduces a whole scheme of dead Even on the view that Herodotos' prose, like that of Hekataios, was derived immediately from poetry, its inflection of the verba pura is not the inflection found in iambic or elegiac I can find no cause for Herodotos' adoption of Homeric inflections in the fact that the elegy of the fifth century shows a marked increase, as contrasted with the elegy of Kallinos and Mimnermos or that of Tyrtaios and Solon, in respect of the appearance of Homeric forms. It might well be asked whether there was any tie connecting the elegy with the other Ionic prosaists whose MSS, display the same forms as those of Herodotos. And it should be noted that in these elegists there is scarcely a trace of pseudo-Ionisms, of which the MSS. of Hdt. are full.

Though as regards the contraction of $-\epsilon \omega$ verbs the evidence points in but one direction, there are several other cases where

we are unable to bring into court harmonious testimony to affect the evidence of Herodoteian MSS. Here the degree of certainty attainable is of necessity reduced, and each case must stand upon its own merits.

Thus where there is a direct conflict between the Herodoteian form and that of the inscriptions, as in the case of the specifically Ionic κ forms ($\kappa \hat{\omega} s$, $\kappa \hat{\sigma} \tau \epsilon \rho o s$), Archilochos and Simonides of Amorgos show that such forms existed in their day. Conversely the inscriptions often vouch for the validity of a form in Herodotos which is absent from the Ionic poets.

Where Herodotos has a form which is unattested both by inscriptions and lyric poets, its spuriousness is not thereby proven, unless it is diametrically opposed to known laws of Greek morphology, and is beyond the recognized influence of analogy.

Thus ἐωυτῶν may readily be defended.

93.

Though this treatise does not propose to lay down the principles governing the construction of a genuine Herodoteian text beyond those already stated, it is appropriate in this connection to quote the words of the eminent editor Stein in reference to the use of inscriptional testimony :- 'In the first place the extent of these inscriptional texts, including those of late date, and their evidence as to language is so fragmentary and scanty, that they can make no reply when questioned as to many of the points in doubt. The provenance and the age of these inscriptions are quite different, the language in which they are couched, far from uniform (herein agreeing with the well-attested division into sub-dialects) and full of all sorts of unevennesses. This lack of uniformity is visible in the monuments of one and the same locality and period, and often in one and the same inscription.' Whether Stein would apply these words, written in 1885, to the present corpus of Ionic inscriptions, I am unable to say. But since they express a wide-spread view as to the applicability of the Ionic inscriptions in questions of Herodoteian criticism, it is appropriate to state here that it has been found impossible to draw distinct lines between sub-dialects of Asiatic Ionic; that variations from an Ionic norm are traceable either in the direction of adventitious Aiolisms or Atticisms; that the differences in form within the confines of Ionic are differences of time, one locality having preserved an ancient form longer than another; and that this 'lack of uniformity in one and the same inscription' is nothing more than a casual variation in orthography (ταῦτα, ταῦτα). It is difficult to discover an actual contradiction upon the same inscription, or upon inscriptions of the same locality and of the same period 1.

The Dialect of Hippokrates.

94.] There is no satisfactory treatise on the dialect of the Hippokratic and pseudo-Hippocratic treatises. Observations more or less fragmentary will be found in:—

¹ Cf. Fritsch V. D. H. p. 4.

GOMPERZ: Die Apologie der Heilkunst, 1890.

ILBERG: Studia Pseudippocratea 1883, p. 32 ff.; and Zur Ueberlieferung des hippokratischen Corpus, R. M. XLII 436, 1889.

KUEHLEWEIN: Observationen de usu particularum in libris qui vulgo Hippocratis nomine circumferuntur, 1870. Die Textesueberlieferung der angeblich hippokratischen Schrift ueber die alte Heilkunde in Hermes XXII 179-193, 1887.

LINDEMANN: De dialecto Ionica recentiore, 1889.

Littraf: in his edition, vol. I 479 ff., 1839.

C. F. LOBECE: Beitraege sur Kenntniss des Dialekts des H. in Philologus, vol. VIII 19 ff., 1853 (on the genitive plural of ā stems).

RENNER: De dialecto antiquioris Graecorum poesis elegiacae et iambicae, in Curtius' Studien I 1, 133 ff., I 2, 1 ff. 1869.

95.] Though a native of the island of Kos and hence of Doric stock I, Hippokrates adopted the dialect which had been handed down as the recognized instrument of scientific thought. It was in Ionic that the speculations of Parmenides, Anaxagoras, Demokritos (the inferior of Aristotle alone in his encyclopaedic grasp of science), Melissos, and Diogenes of Apollonia found expression. But apart from the despotism exercised by literary tradition, it should not be forgotten that the Dorians had not wrought out a literature of their own in the middle of the fifth century. A Dorian prose scarcely existed. Furthermore upon Kos itself the influence of the neighbouring Ionic speech may have made itself felt as early as the time of Hippokrates. In the third century at least we find adventitious Ionisms in the dialect of the island 2.

The dialect of Hippokrates did not receive any very widespread attention in ancient times. Gregory of Corinth rarely cites him³. Some of the lesser commentators commented upon

1 Ailian, V. H. IV 20: λέγουσι δὲ Δωριέα δετα τὸν Ίππ. ἀλλ' οδε καὶ τοῦ Δημοκρίτου χάριε τῷ Ἰάδι φωεῷ συγγράψαι τὰ συγγράμματα. This was making a virtue of necessity. A letter of the pseudo-Hippokr. says: τῷ γένει μὲν οδε ἐστὶ Δωριεύς, πόλεως δὲ Κῶ.

[aro]δεξάντω in No. 260 of Newton's Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum: ενώσσα J. H. S. IX 334, l. 56, 61 (ενεύσα p. 327, l. 2). See Bechtel Gött. Nachr. 1840, p. 31 ff. On the similarity of the Koan dialect of Hippokrates to Asiatic Greek in the use of certain words, cf. Galen XVII A 929, XVIII A 438, 469 (εῆντε), also XV 554, XVIII B 590. Naturally the forger of the response of the Koans to Artaxerxes did not scruple to put Ionic in the mouth of a Doric speaking people. In a late epigram from Kos (first or second century A. D. according to Kaibel Epigr. No. 202) we find larρῶν of the vulgar dialect in the first part of the inscription. In the last part (εἰς ἐωντόν) the physician Melanthios, of Kos, is called laγτῶρα. 'Αίδας, in l. 3, is due to a Doric stone cutter. In Kaibel 254 from Paphos, third or fourth century B.C., we find Doric forms. Doric forms are not infrequent upon late epigrams in relation to medical matters. As a rule, however, Ionic was the dialect appropriate to the commemoration of physician or poet. On the other hand the form Δρετά shows that there existed a tendency to emphasize this conception as Doric.

' bolow, their xportyet deterreptyetr . . . equelor, policies, request are quoted by Grogory.

the Hippokratic use of words, in researches devoted more particularly to the investigation of his vocabulary 1. Galen is, so far as we know, the only ancient who devoted himself to the study of the dialect of Hippokrates, having written a special treatise 2 containing in part his views upon the subject. Though Galen was doubtless no critical dialectologist, the loss of this tractate is greatly to be deplored, for Galen knew of readings in the possession of the ancient commentators 3; he sometimes calls attention to the fact that Sabinius and Rufus*, who on his view was a conservative critic, mention the oldest readings; and is himself acquainted with MS, tradition antedating his own period by three or four hundred years 5. As a compensation for the loss of this dialectological study we have side-lights thrown out in the course of the commentary, most of which are illustrative of the indifference displayed by his predecessors 6 and contemporaries to the general form of the dialect of the great Asklepiad.

Galen says that some write δσησι, others ὁκόσησι, others όπόσησι with π instead of κ, which is the procedure of Capito in all similar cases. Then, as if to belie that philological zeal which incited him to an investigation of the dialect of Hippokrates, he adds that it makes no difference to science which spelling one may adopt, that he had devoted himself to showing up only those lapses in form which were destructive of the sense; and as for those changes which were merely verbal, he bids every one write as he pleases?. Galen was himself not above giving credence to hyper-Ionic formations, as is shown in \$ 116.

It has been widely held, and last of all by Christ, in his History of Greek Literature, that some at least of the Atticisms of Hippokrates are due to the influence exercised by the editions of

Dioskorides and Artemidorus Capito under Hadrian. The latter

Bacchios in his Λέξεις noticed that ποταίνια in Ionic denoted everything given for food or drink. The first glossator of Hippokrates, Xenokritos, a compatriot of the physician, called attention to the fact that the locution

ἀλλοφάσσω (Progn. 44) referred, not to language, but to intelligence (delirium).

² ένίων μέν γραφόντων ' ἔχρην τὸν Ιητρόν,' ἐνίων δὲ χωρίς τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν ε 'χρῆν τὸν Ιητρόν.' ἔστι γὰρ ἀμέλει καὶ τοῦτο σύνηθες τοῖς 'Αττικοῖς, ὧν τῆ διαλέκτω χρῆται κατά τι καὶ ὁ 'Ιππ., ὡς ἀποφήνασθαὶ τινας αὐτὴν ἀρχαίαν 'Ατθίδα. ἐμοὶ δὲ καθ' ἔτερον Ιδία γράμμα μικρὸν ἃ φρονῶ περὶ τῆς 'Ιππ. διαλέκτου δεδήλωται, XVIII B 322. There is no period of Old Attic which presents a dialect like that of Hippokrates.

Cf. XVII A 1005.

Of Rufus he says: ἀνὴρ φυλάσσειν . . . del πειρώμενος τὰς παλαιάς γραφάς: ef.

XV 21-22 (Peripatetics), XVIII B 630.

Rufus and Sabinius, XVI 474, XV 22, XVIII B 631.

⁷ XVII A 798; cf. also XVI 474.

edition is censured by Galen as deliberately setting aside the ancient readings. The recent researches of Ilberg have, however, shown that these Atticizing editions have left no trace of their influence upon the vulgate. Whatever the source of the Atticisms which have supplanted the Ionic element in the Hippokratic corpus, their presence testifies to a deterioration of the dialectological conscience of early transcribers and editors.

As if there were not already sufficient provocation for Atticizing texts, whose subject-matter, not whose external form, had ensured their renown, an additional reason for the displacement of the original Ionic may have been found by the ancients in the belief to which Galen gives expression when he states that Hippokrates made use of the Attic dialect up to a certain point. Some even regarded his dialect as the $d\rho\chi aia$ 'A $\tau\theta is$. The existence of such an opinion in scientific circles only added force to the movement which obscured the original form of the dialect.

96.] A thoroughgoing examination of the dialect of Hippokrates is not attempted in this work, for the reason that the avenues of approach are barred by the uncritical character of our editions. Though Littré has the honour of recognizing for the first time the value of the Paris codex 2253 (A) of the eleventh or, as Ilberg thinks, of the tenth century, he did not make it the sole basis for his text. He merely utilized its readings for the correction of the vulgate of the more recent MSS. and of the edition by Cornarius. The edition of Ermerins, though adhering more closely to A than that of Littré, labours under the disadvantage of having had recourse only spasmodically to the Marcianus (M of the eleventh century). The projected edition of Ilberg and Kuehlewein will be based upon a more careful examination of A and θ (the Vienna MS, of the tenth century), upon a collation of M, the Vaticanus 276, and several Paris codices (E, D, H, F, J), and upon researches in the indifferently edited or still unpublished treatises of Galen 1.

Until this edition appears I deem it unadvisable to venture upon so elaborate a study of Hippokrates' dialect as has been thought proper in the case of Herodotos, where full and exact MS. testimony is in our hands. The Ionic forms as found in A have nevertheless been given with some detail, especially in respect of the contract verbs in $-\epsilon \omega$ and other crucial points. So far as I have followed the recent researches into the history of the transmission of the Hippokratic text, I conclude that it will be

^{&#}x27; Ilberg has already shown, upon the basis of a collation of some Venetian MSS., that the text of Hippokrates in the hands of Galen was less dissimilar to the best traditional text than scholars are wont to imagine.

unlikely that a complete collation of M will necessitate other readings of the Ionisms than those found in A and θ . It must be borne in mind throughout that even A is not free from the constantly recurring inconsistencies presented by the recentiores, of whose variants Gomperz says that they are worth not a whit more than a series of modern conjectures. Like M, A contains not only a very considerable number of Atticisms which have obscured the original Ionisms, but also many pseudo-Ionisms, such as the open $\epsilon\epsilon$ in forms of the $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs, where A and M are often no better than the recentiores. The Vienna MS. θ often adopts the contracted, where the recentiores have the open, forms; A has even such hyper-Ionic forms as $air\dot{\epsilon}\omega$, $\tau ovr\dot{\epsilon}\omega$, though much less frequently than the inferior MSS.

97.]

Ilberg has shown (R. M. XLII 443) that θ and A agree in opposition to most of the other MSS. in the following cases: νόσημα but νοῦσος; often ὅταν, ὁπόταν, ὁπότε, ὅθεν &c., together with the κ forms; αδτις and αδθις; πυριῶν, διαιτᾶσθαι where the Vulgate has πυριῆν, διαιτῆσθαι (διαιτεῖσθαι); χρῆσθαι has contracted forms generally; often κεῖται not κέεται; Ιδεῖν not Ιδέειν; ἀρκεῖ, δυσσεβεῖν, κρατῆ, καλοῦσι; ἀσθενῆ, ξυνεχῶς; -οις and -αις in dat. plural.

- 98.] The mint-marks of the Hippokratic dialect are not confined to the genuine writings, but are spread over the entire Hippokratic corpus. The criterion of dialect does not enable us to detect traces of spuriousness, nor does it display any considerable diminution in the amount of Ionisms in those treatises which diplomatic criticism has referred to the period following that of the founder of Greek medicine. Since several of these treatises are contemporaneous with, or slightly older than, Ktesias or Aristotle, it is idle to expect any thoroughgoing difference in the use of Ionic forms between these later treatises and those proceeding directly from Hippokrates himself.
- 99.] The chief mint-marks of Hippokrates' Ionism are as follows:—
 - 1. Vowels.

η for \tilde{a} after ϵ , ι , ρ , as in νεηνίσκος, καρδίη, λητρός, πρηθς, ἄκρητος.

e for et in ès, éow.

ov for o in μοῦνος, νοῦσος (but νοσέω); οὕνομα is not to be adopted, though frequently occurring in the MSS.

ω and not av in τρώμα.

ων has generally been displaced in favour of Attic οῦν.
ων for αν in ἐωντοῦ.

¹ See below, § 116,

 ϵ is expelled in $\partial \epsilon \ell$. The $\epsilon \iota$ forms in $\pi \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota} o \nu$, &c., outweigh, as in Herodotos, those without the ι .

ηι for ει in suffixes is extremely rare. σημήτον is claimed as a certain case of ητ.

o+η is uncontracted (as in Herodotos) in βοηθέω. In De Arte, νοῆσαι occurs despite the νω- form in Herodotos, Theognis, and, according to Philodemos in Demokritos.

In the forms of the $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs, the recentiores have almost invariably the open forms which appear to a very considerable extent in A and M. θ often has the contracted forms where the recentiores adopt $\epsilon\epsilon$, $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$. Littré holds to the non-contraction, while admitting the presence of $\epsilon\nu$ in present and participle. Second agrists such as $l\delta\epsilon\epsilon\nu$ have gained a position in the MSS. Adjectives in $-\nu$ s have open $\epsilon\epsilon$ ($\delta\xi\epsilon$, $\pi\rho\eta\epsilon\epsilon$), adverbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ s are uncontracted; $\eta\rho$ is more frequently attested than $\epsilon\alpha\rho$.

2. Consonants.

Littré decides in favour of the κ forms in $\delta\kappa$ oîos, &c.; while Gomperz (Apologie der Heilkunst p. 87) holds that the interrelation of A and the recentiores, notably in the case of De Flatibus and De Natura Hom., makes for the conclusion that the κ forms were smuggled in through a belief that the π forms were not Ionic. Cf. Galen XVIII B 669.

In respect of the adoption of $\xi \acute{\nu} \nu$ or $\sigma \acute{\nu} r$, Littré argues in favour of the former, Gomperz in favour of the latter form. The recentiores prefer the Attic form, A has both with a preference for $\sigma \acute{\nu} \nu$, which is the only genuine Ionic form.

Traces of Ionic ψίλωσις are rare, having been obliterated by conjecture at an early period. Gomperz restores ἀπ' ὅτεων in II 74, cf. De Natura Hominis 2 (VI 34), De Flatibus (VI 98). αὖτις is found De Flatibus (VI 92), μετεωϋτοῦ in M (VI 114), ἀπικνέεται De Sacro Morbo 16 (VI 390), ἐπόδοισι in De Diaeta A 32 (VI 508), ἀπίκηται in H in De Morbis 1 (VII 8), ἐντός De Carnibus (VIII 588).

3. Declension.

The genitive plural of the declension ends in $-\epsilon\omega\nu$, the dative plural in $-\eta\sigma\iota$ or sometimes in $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$; in the O declension $-\alpha\iota\sigma\iota$, but $\tau\sigma\iota$ s according to Littré. Most of the cases of $-\alpha\iota$ s occur before a vowel. The *iola* stems preserve the *iola* throughout. Neuters in $-\alpha\iota$ s and $-\alpha\iota$ s have uncontracted $\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\iota$, $\epsilon\iota$. In respect of the variation between $\epsilon\iota$ and $\epsilon\iota$ in the MSS., the former is to be adopted.

4. Conjugation.

On -ew verbs, see under 1. The participle of elul is always ews. -eatal appears in the perfect (elpéatal for elphural) and -olato in the optative (yevolato for yévoluto).

For other features, see § 97.

100.] The attitude of scholars towards the question of the original dialect of Hippokrates has been far from uniform. Heringa, holding that Herodoteian usage was that of Hippokrates, demanded that the texts of both Herodotos and Hippokrates should be so emended as to present the picture of one and the same dialect. Koraës recognised the desirability of assimilating Hippokratic to Herodoteian usage, though at the same time he adopted Homeric 1 and other forms. Struve first called attention to the existence of differences between the language of Herodotos and Hippokrates. Eight of these differences, as formulated by Littré (together with the testimony of the pseudo-Ionists which I have added), are as follows:—

δέκομαι in Hdt. Luk. (Arr. doubtful) = δέχομαι Hipp. Aret.

2. Hdt. and imitators frequently show traces of the Ionic ψίλωσις (ἀπικνέομαι, οὐκ οἶος); neither Hipp. nor his imitators follow Herodoteian usage herein.

3. ἱερόs and ἱρόs in Hdt. Luk. Arr. = ἱερόs Hipp. Aret.

4. $\theta \hat{\omega} \mu a^2$ Hdt. Arr. = $\theta a \hat{v} \mu a$ Hipp.

5. $\frac{\partial \pi \delta \delta \epsilon \xi_{is}}{\partial t}$ Hdt. = $\frac{\partial \pi \delta \delta \epsilon_{i} \xi_{is}}{\partial t}$ Hipp. The words are in reality from different roots.

σύν Hdt. and imitators = ξύν Hipp. and imitators.

 -ηϊ- in Hdt. and imitators occurs far more frequently than in Hipp. The imitators of Hipp. follow their model herein.

8. The demonstrative pronoun (article) is used by Hdt. in place of the pure relative. Hipp. and imitators adopt the Attic usage. Lukian has many exceptions to the Herodoteian

In addition to these marks of divergence we may add the following:-

μέγαθος Hdt. and imit. = μέγεθος Hipp. and Aretaios.

10. πολλός Hdt. and imit. = πουλύς or πολύς Hipp. and Aretaios. Hdt. has but few cases of πολύς.

11. Hdt. and his imitators have ἐνεικ-, Hipp. and Aretaios ἐνεγκ-.

Hdt. has ἔρσην, Hipp. (Lukian and Arrian) have ἄρσην.
 Hdt. has ἀρρωδέω, Aretaios (and Lukian) have ὀρρωδέω.

14. Hdt. &v (Luk. Arrian), Hipp. ovv, Aret. both.

The Hippokratic Ionic 3" is, if these differences are valid, a much milder form of the dialect than that used either by the iambographers or historians, that is, a dialect which is essentially

² According to Littre θωῦμα was the preferable reading. But cf. §§ 205, 258. Lukian inclines to θωῦμα.

¹ That Hippokrates is often in touch with Homer affords no support for this view: cf. for example, ἐπὴν τὸ ἔλκος ἀλθαίνηται with Θ 405 (Leaf).

³ Under the head of word formation it may be noted that Hdt. has far fewer cases of -ηεις, -οεις than Hippokrates.

Ionic but admits numerous Attic forms. A parallel picture is presented by those inscriptions from Ionic territory which have

adopted some Attic forms.

101.] Basing his position upon the fact that the dialect of the treatises current under the name of Hippokrates, but not emanating from the master himself, is practically the same as that of those free from all suspicion of spuriousness, Gomperz argues that, of the eight marks of differentiation between the Hippokratic and the Herodoteian dialect, six can be shown not to exist, that in the case of $-\eta i$ and $-\epsilon i$ the difference is gradual, as it is in that of $\xi \acute{\nu} \nu$ and $\sigma \acute{\nu} \nu$; and that in one point only—Hippokratic $\delta \acute{\epsilon} \chi o \mu a \iota$, Herodoteian $\delta \acute{\epsilon} \kappa o \mu a \iota$ —is Littré substantially correct. Of the six additional marks of difference brought forward Gomperz is ignorant, as was Littré.

In his attack upon Littre's position, which has been conceded by later scholars (though doubtless without personal examination of the question), Gomperz admits that the presence of an isolated Herodoteian Ionism, even though it has been obscured in the course of transmission to the time of our best MSS. (the tenth and eleventh centuries), may justify us in holding that originally the area of its extension was much wider. Thus in § 11 of the tract De Arte he reads $\xi\pi\epsilon i$ τi $\theta\hat{\omega}\mu a^2$ for the $\xi\pi\iota\tau i\theta\epsilon\tau a\iota$ of A, in § 10 he upholds $\delta \xi\delta\epsilon\kappa\tau a\iota$ of M; $i\rho\delta$ s he finds in De Sacro Morbo, De Diaeta, and in De Flatibus; in De Diaeta 5 (VI 476) $\tau\hat{a}$ used as a relative, De Prisca Medicina 8 (I 586) $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$. So in regard to the Ionic psilosis, and the use of $\xi\hat{\nu}\nu$ and $\sigma\hat{\nu}\nu$, of which mention has been made above § 99, 2.

102.] So intricate is the problem of the complexion of the Hippokratic dialect and of its place in the history of Ionic, that we may well apply to it the words of Hippokrates himself $-\dot{\eta} \kappa \rho i \sigma i s \chi \alpha \lambda \epsilon \pi \dot{\eta}$. Two of the conclusions reached by Littré must not pass unchallenged, though no positive advance toward the solution of the main question is gained by their overthrow.

1. The dialect of the undoubtedly spurious writings of Hippokrates is nearly, if not quite, the same as that of the genuine treatises and of those whose spuriousness is still unproven. This fact, in Littré's view, can be understood solely upon the supposition that the dialect was a living idiom. The minor variations which come to light reflect, he argues, the spoken language; for if the dialect existed solely for literary or scientific purposes, the Ionisms of the genuine Hippokrates would have been copied with

¹ Apologie der Heilkunst, 1890, p. 82.

³ This form is generally adopted by editors of Hdt.

rigorous precision by his successors, none of whom is later than the age of Aristotle 1. These minor variations, it should be noted, are almost invariably in the direction of the adoption of the Attic forms.

2. This actual dialect made use of by Hippokrates and his successors was one of the four sub-dialects of Ionic recognised by Herodotos, a sub-dialect in fact closely allied to Old Attic 2. One of these sub-dialects was according to Littré the 'pure' Ionic of Hekataios, another, the 'variegated,' that of Herodotos, the third, that of Hippokrates,

It is evident that the overthrow of the second does not carry

with it the abandonment of the first proposition.

In answer to these hypotheses of Littré, I hold that it nowise follows in the first instance that, because the successors of Hippokrates, his sons, his sons-in-law 3 or other upholders of his school, made use of the same dialect, this dialect was a living idiom intact till the age of Aristotle 4. If literary tradition enforced in the fifth century the writing in Ionic by those who were not of Ionic stock, for example, Diogenes of Apollonia; if literary imitation at a much later date among the pseudo-Ionizers enforced a reproduction of Hippokratic Ionic; if the 'minor variations' make more and more in the direction of Attic, which by the year 400 had largely checked the production of Ionic literature and in the middle of the fourth century rendered impossible all creativeness in Ionic: it is, in view of these considerations, well-nigh incredible that a sub-dialect should have lived on, a Sprachinsel untouched by the waves which in the fourth century washed away so many of the landmarks of Ionic speech.

Littre's comparison of Ktesias 5 with Hippokrates, on the ground that both admit only a partial Ionism, is vicious.

language of Ktesias is not that of a living sub-dialect.

Still more destructive to the conclusions of Littré is the impossibility of localizing this sub-dialect of the Asklepiads. In the island of Kos, despite occasional Ionic ingressions, Doric

¹ This terminus ante quem may readily be disputed.

² Herein Littré follows in the wake of certain unknown ancient students of the Hippokratic diction ; cf. § 95.

3 Aristotle quotes the περί φύσιος ἀνθρώπου under the name of Polybos,

Hippokrates' son-in-law.

Hoc veri simillimum videbitur originem collectionis consideranti, non conscriptam eam fuisse dialecto prorsus eadem, sed eos sequiorum temporum medicos, qui H. sibi proposuissent imitandum, non semper exemplar assecutos formas adhibuisse interdum, quas aut apud alios Iadis scriptores legissent aut Ionicas esse falso sibi persuassisent, qua re concessum esset fortasse, temporum nisi nocuisset invidia, ut non solum scripta vere Hippocratea multa facilius secerneremus a spuriis, verum etiam pseudepigraphorum auctores diversos dignosceremus ; Ilberg, Pseudippoer. p. 33.

⁵ Ktesjas used fewer Ionisms in his Persika than in his Indika; see § 79.

held its ground at least to the second century B.C. Hippokrates' dialect shows no trace of the Doric of his native speech.

It is of course no wonder that Littré failed to find the fourth sub-dialect of Herodotos' quadrilateral division. The Herodoteian sub-dialects are neither artificial variations of a 'normal' Ionic constructed for the purpose of giving diversity to literary expression, nor are they living sub-dialects ennobled and transfigured by Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates. The application by the ancients of the term 'unmixed' Ionic to the dialect of both Hekataios and Hippokrates cannot be tortured into a proof of the existence of two sub-dialects. The phonetics and inflections of Hekataios are practically identical with those of Hippokrates (except the Atticisms referred to § 100), as they are with those of Herodotos. If 'pure' Ionic, on the ancients' view, referred to matters of sound and inflection, and these Atticisms are a genuine survival of Hippokratic usage, it is difficult to discover how the dialects of Hekataios and Hippokrates are both 'pure,' in opposition to Herodotos' 'mixed' Ionic. And if these Atticisms should ultimately prove to be adventitious (as the epithet 'pure' Ionic does not prove them to be), we can then discover in the MSS. no difference between the dialects of the three prosaists so far as morphology is The close interrelation between the dialects of Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates makes for the conclusion reached above § 79, that the terms 'mixed' and 'pure' Ionic refer to stylistic differences, and that, emanating from the later rhetorical study of Ionic prose, they are useless as guides in the search for actual dialectal differentiation.

- 103.] On the basis of an actual count of occurrences of the forms in question, there is in the Hippokratic MSS. a not inconsiderable number of phenomena of Attic rather than Ionic mould. That the list given in § 100 is to be reduced on the lines of attack followed by Gomperz is not probable, despite the temptation to assimilate the Hippokratic to the Herodoteian dialect, and thus establish one literary dialect of Ionic, varying widely as to style but essentially the same in matters of phonetics and inflections. I do not think the existence of Attic element can be said to be imperilled until the following questions are decided:—
- 1. Is the presence of an isolated Ionism in the best MSS., or even in the recentiores, to be accounted for as a chance survival of an original wider extension, or as a form that has been snuggled in under the cover of a mistaken attempt to restore the original?
 - 2. Does the entire absence of an Ionic form in A or M in

the case of a pseudo-Hippokratic treatise indicate that it was not Hippokratic, when this Ionic form occurs to any extent whatsoever in the same MSS, of a genuine treatise?

3. Is the critical principle to be applied in the case of the genuine, different from that to be applied in the case of the

spurious, treatises?

Pseudo-Ionism.

ALLINSON, Pseudo-Ionism in the Second Century, A.D., A. J. P. VII 203, 1886. LINDEMANN, De dialecto Ionica recentiore, 1889.

104.] The conflict between the Asianic and the Attic rhetoric in the first century before Christ not only led to a purification of contemporary ideals of style, but drew attention to the charm and grace of the history of Herodotos, whose fame, already imperilled in the fourth century, had suffered eclipse on the advent of that tasteless artificiality which dominated the period intervening between the death of Aristotle and the appearance of Dionysios of Halikarnassos. In calling Herodotos the 'best canon' of Ionic Dionysios at once represented the clarified stylistic sense of his age, and lent an impetus to that appreciative study of the historian which bore its own peculiar and engrafted fruit in the

Hadrianic period.

The first tokens of the revival of interest in Ionic are, in general, synchronous with the regeneration of Aiolic. The literature of the declining days of the Roman Republic led the way to a deeper study of the style and linguistic apparatus of the two dialects in which were preserved some of the most splendid achievements of Greek genius, dialects whose actual life was now tarnished and outworn. The Sophistic Renascence under Hadrian presupposes the existence of the pseudo-Ionic movement, which, having won for itself a recognised place in the literature of the early Empire, advanced with such rapid strides that writing in Ionic became a reproach by the time of Lukian 1; who was, however, not above displaying his talents at the occupation he vilipended.

105.] The date of the first traces of the Ionic Revival and the aspect presented by the rehabilitated dialect are matters of no

¹ An interesting statement in reference to the Ionic of the doctors is found in πῶς δεῖ ἰστ. συγγρ. 16: (τοῦτο ἢτιασάμην αὐτοῦ), ὅτι ἀρξάμενος ἐν τῷ 'lάδι γράφειν οὐκ οίδ ὅ τι δόξαν αὐτίκα μάλα ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν μετῆλθεν, ἰητρείην μὲν λέγων καὶ πείρην καὶ ὀκόσα καὶ νοῦσοι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὁμοδίαιτα τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ τὰ πλεῖστα οία ἐκ τριόδου. Late epigrams upon inscriptions confirm the judgment of Lukian in selecting νοῦσος and ἰητρείην as sample words.

little uncertainty. Nikander's imitations of the logographers are lost, otherwise we might gain an insight into the complexion of Ionic prose in the period of Attalos III. Whether the Xanthian Menekrates, quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos, was a predecessor or contemporary of the rhetorician, I have been unable to determine. Of the pseudo-Herakleiteian letters, which contain a slight admixture of Ionism, some at least (the eighth and ninth) may be referred to the closing years of the first century before Christ, though the remainder belong to the following century 1. Whether the Periplous of Menippos (under Augustus) was written in Ionic is uncertain. In this period of Ionic writing hyper-Ionisms do not occur. The open forms ee and ees in -εω verbs do not come to light in Dionysios, who has -εοside by side with -et-. Significant for the date of medical Ionism is the fact that of all the epigrams containing laudations of successful treatment of disease, &c., scarcely one that is tinged with such Ionisms as νοῦσος, λητήρ is antecedent to the time of Christ.

106.] The character of certain portions of the inflectional system of the old Ionic prose writers as found in the MSS. is due, in part, to the gradual divorcement of the traditional from the original form incidental to the transmission through centuries of dialect texts, and partly to a μεταχαρακτηρισμός which has left distinct traces of its existence in the peculiar complexion assumed by Ionic under the hands of Lukian, Arrian, Aretaios, and their contemporaries and successors.

The term μεταχαρακτηρισμός, as applied to certain mutations of form undergone by words upon passing from the orthography of the Attic to that of the Ionic alphabet, does not concern us here. The Ionic poets² (perhaps some of the elegists and lyrists not of Ionic birth), Hekataios, Herodotos and Hippokrates³ made use of the Ionic alphabet, doubtless in its Milesian form 4. All Ionic literature was in fact free from the possibility of the depravation which threatened to impair the purity of that of Attika in its passage from the old to the new alphabet 5.

² Mimnermos may have made use of the signs H and Ω to represent t and δ .

⁴ In his commentary on the κατ' Ιητρεΐον, when speaking of the old alphabet (II 23), Galen does not cite any example of MS. corruption due to this species of μεταγραμένησης.

this species of μεταχαρακτηρισμός.

On this point, see Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's chapter on the μεταγραφάμετοι in his Homerische Untersuchungen.

¹ See Bernays' Die pseudo-heraklitischen Briefe, Pfeiderer, R. M. XLII 153, Bywater p. vii.

¹ The distinction between the Ionic alphabet of the islands and Euboia, and that of the Asiatic mainland is of no importance as regards the transmission of early Ionic literature.

There is, however, another species of μεταχαρακτηρισμός which is less a transformation of the isolated word than of the entire dialectal spirit. It proceeds on two lines: (1) either in the direction of the Atticizing of the dialect texts, a fact patent to every student of Greek dialectal literature, and of itself probable enough, since to a later age the matter, not the form, was of supreme interest. This is vouched for as regards Hippokrates by Galen himself. The Athenians were accustomed at a very early period to have a copy in Attic, sometimes on the same stone, of a document in another dialect. For example, the stelè of Sigeion. The Atticizing of dialect authors in the form of paraphrases which we meet in Plato, Aristotle, Theophrastos and others, was precedent enough for the later generations of a people whose standard in matters of quotation was not so exacting as that of modern times. This Atticization is not confined to those authors who quote a passage merely for the sake of the matter it contains. It attacks professed scientific treatises or grammatical commentaries 1. A δδέ πως did not disturb the ancient conscience.

(2) This μεταχαρακτηρισμός proceeded in the direction of the substitution of forms of the same dialect in the light of contemporaneous dialectological theories. Thus in Bechtel's collection, No. 108 B, we find an attempt at renewing the dialect of an Ionic inscription (108 A) at least five hundred years older. The texts of Homer, Alkman², Korinna, Pindar, Epicharmos and others bear testimony to the activity of the modernizing μεταγραψάμενοι. This second kind of μεταχαρακτηρισμός leads either to the substitution of forms of a much later, for those of an earlier, date (as witness σιός in Alkman, οὐμές, κή in Korinna) or to the reverse process, which imparts an archaic colouring to texts which were originally composed in the dialect of the writer's own time.

The investigation of the vagaries of the MSS. of early Ionic prosaists affords ample evidence that this second type of μετα-χαρακτηρισμός has left its impress upon the transmission of the texts of the logographers, of Herodotos and Hippokrates, as well as upon those of some of the monuments of Ionic poetry. The Ionic of these texts has either been Atticized outright, or it has been transformed in a greater or less degree under the influence of grammarians' speculation and copyists' ignorance.

A text of Alkman in a Late Lakonian form must have been the only

avenue of approach to the study of the poet.

¹ The schol, Ven. A is sometimes guilty of Atticizing, e.g. on IX 7, where ξθνονς is quoted as Herodoteian. The Ionic contributors to the Geoponika, prepared by Cassianus Bassus at the command of Constantinus Porphyrogenitus, all appeared in Attic dress.

The study of this μεταχαρακτηρισμός points in the direction of the view that it had its commencement probably in the first century before Christ and that its influence grew apace, until after the third century it resulted in producing a chasm between what was genuine Ionic and that which was thought to be Ionic by successive generations till the sixth century A.D. Finally, when the depravation from the hand of antiquity had done its work, the last blow to the text of Herodotos was dealt by the Aldine edition, which gave the widest scope to hyper-Ionisms. The result was that, as some one has said, the History of Herodotos is as perverse a mixture as a compound of Middle High German and Low German, created by a New High German writer.

107.] The writers of the Empire, and chiefly those of the age of Hadrian, received the full shock of that wave of speculation concerning the original form of the Herodoteian and Hippokratic dialect which was set in motion by the revival of interest in Ionic and its monuments. The pseudo-Ionists, whether they wrote entirely in Ionic or merely applied enough of Ionic colour to indicate their sympathy with the literary canons of the day, intended that their reproductions of the language of Herodotos or of Hippokrates should conform to the dialect of their exemplars. But from the point of view of higher criticism many of the pseudo-Ionisms of Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios are on a different footing from the identical forms adopted in Stein's or Holder's text. In the one case they are the result of a generous impulse to reproduce what was deemed Herodoteian or Hippokratic; in the other, they never existed in the original text of Herodotos or Hippokrates, but are the result of meraχαρακτηρισμός, the coinage of a period far later than that of the historian and physician, and yet about two centuries antecedent to Lukian. This fact alone is sufficient to neutralize what little value the texts of the pseudo-Ionists might possess in the attempt to reorganize the disordered monuments of early Ionic prose. Struve saw long ago that recourse to Lukian and Arrian was unproductive of result for the student of Herodotos' dialect. We might almost say that the Ionisms of the pseudo-Ionic literature, so far from enhancing, tend rather to obscure our knowledge of the Ionic of the fifth century B. C.

108.] The endeavour, which we observe in the pseudo-Ionists, to present a correct picture of Herodoteian Ionism failed because of the uncertainty attendant upon the reconstruction of a dialect which had been corrupted by the turbid current of tradition. The Homeric Ionisms in Lukian and Arrian attest the fact of a confusion, persistent in the MSS. of Herodotos, between two species of Ionic widely separated in point of time; and the presence

of hyper-Ionic malformation is evidence that the Ionism of the Hadrianic age rests upon an insecure speculation as to the original form of the literary Ionic of the fifth century. This speculation vented itself in such forms as masculine and neuter τουτέων, αὐτέων, τουτέου, ἐωυτέου, αὐτέω, τουτέοισιν (Lukian and Aretaios), ὧυτέον, ὧυτέοισιν, ὧυτή, ὧυτή, ἡ ὧυτή, ἡ ἐωυτή, ταυτέης, αὐτίη (Aretaios), δεσπότεα, μηνέων (Lukian), ἡμερέη (Abydenos), μοίρη,

θηλέην (Lukian), βαθέη (Arrian).

In these forms the essential feature is either the misapplication of the specifically Ionic diphthong ωυ, or the insertion of an ε before a vowel or diphthong with which it is not contracted, a characteristic of hyper-Ionism which at times outdoes that of the most lax MSS. of Herodotos. A feminine τουτέων was correct enough, but, its origin being misunderstood, the µεταγραψάμενοι conceived the erroneous notion that this ε, which in this case distinguished the Ionic from the Attic form, was a special peculiarity of the dialect which had gradually been abandoned. Hence they not only inserted an ε in αὐτέω, in ρινέων, &c., which are purely hyper-Ionic forms, but they demanded the visible presence of an ε in -εεις, -εει, -εεσθαι, &c., which are anachronistic, though not historically impossible. Uncontracted forms were the shibboleth of the pseudo-Ionic sciolists who gave to Herodotos the form which served Arrian and Lukian for purposes of imitation. Their cardinal error was the foisting of such forms upon the MSS. of Herodotos, Hippokrates and other early Ionians. Confused by an inability to distinguish between Homeric and the Later Ionic; ignorant of the fact that some vocalic combinations normally remained uncontracted, while others had suffered contraction by the fifth century; unable to recognize the phonetic value of the conjunction of certain vowels which, though written apart, had nevertheless been fused as early as the seventh century, the µεταγραψάμενοι reached the conclusion that vowels of the same vocal line had the same claim to be kept separated as those of a different vocal line. Hence they wrote εε 1, εη, εει, &c., without compunction. Even èvelx ee Hdt. I 118 (in all MSS.) was ventured. It is not impossible that the earliest MSS. of Herodotos preserved an orthographical system of non-contraction of similar vowels which may have descended from the conservative literary circles of the fifth century, though in actual speech the contraction actually ensued. Be this as it may, the pseudo-Ionists accepted as genuine a scheme of inflections that can scarcely be claimed to be Herodoteian, and certainly cannot be claimed to be Ionic of

¹ In this connection it may be noticed that a Demetrios, not Ixion or γονύπεσος, did not scruple to write γενέεσθαι in Ξ 221.

the fifth century. The principle once established, and the rage after dialect colouring growing apace, $\ell\omega\nu\tau\ell\sigma\nu$, $\rho\iota\nu\ell\omega\nu$, $\alpha\dot{\nu}\tau\ell\omega$, and all their kinsmen of monstrous birth, come into existence. Some of these hyper-Ionisms that out-Herod Herod are too frequent and too well established to be ascribed solely to the copyists of the Middle Ages or of the Renascence, though we have actual proof that they are responsible for many a case of uncontracted ϵ and for $\eta\ddot{\iota}$ in sigmatic stems.

One of the hyper-Ionisms that occurs chiefly in the MSS. of Hippokrates is η for \tilde{a} in such forms as $l\tilde{\eta}\tau a\iota$, $\delta\pi o\theta\nu\mu\iota\dot{\eta}\sigma\theta\omega$, $\delta\rho\tilde{\eta}\nu$, where the blunder was caused by the stupid comparison of $l\eta\tau\rho\delta s$ &c.

List of Pseudo-Ionic Writers.

109.] The fact of having been born in a locality once Ionic seems to have had no weight in determining whether a writer should adopt Ionic or the $\kappaoi\nu\dot{\eta}$. The Ephesians Rufus and Soranos made use of the latter, while the Kappadokian Aretaios and the Bithynian Arrian preferred the former. That the contiguity to Ionia of the birthplaces of Aretaios and Arrian had, as was formerly believed, any influence in determining their choice of a vehicle of expression may confidently be denied.

The subjoined list falls into two divisions, (1) those pseudo-Ionists whose date is certain or at least may be determined with tolerable accuracy, (2) those whose period is quite unknown.

110.] Pseudo-Ionists, whose date may be approximately fixed:—

- 1. Apollonios of Tyana (under Nero and Domitian), of whom Philostratos says: 'Απολλώνιος δε τας μεν διαθήκας τας εαυτοῦ τὸν 'Ιώνιον ερμηνεύει τρόπον, επιστολή δε Ιαστί ξυγκειμένη οῦπω 'Απολλωνίου προσέτυχον, καίτοι ξυνειλοχώς αὐτοῦ πλείστας.
- 2. Aretaios of Kappadokia is placed by some as early as Nero 1, while others regard him as belonging to the following century. His works περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων ὀξέων παθῶν, περὶ αἰτιῶν καὶ σημείων χρονίων παθῶν, Χρονίων παθῶν σημειωτικόν and ὀξέων νούσων θεραπευτικόν are composed in imitation of Hippokrates. They are quoted from the pages of Kühn.

It is to be noticed that medical writers who lived in the first half of the second century A. D., ϵ . g. Rufus and Soranos, both of Ephesos, wrote in the $\kappa \omega u \dot{\eta}$.

^{&#}x27; That the Ionic fashion had set in by the time of Nero may be learned from the fact that Pamphila epitomized Ktesias' Περσικά.

- 3. Arrian of Nikomedia (under Hadrian): the Ἰνδική alone imitates the dialect of Herodotos; it is quoted from the edition of Hercher-Eberhard ¹.
- 4. Under Lukian's name we have preserved the περὶ ἀστρολογίης, περὶ Συρίης θεοῦ, and the genuine βίων πρῶσις, in which Pythagoras, Demokritos and Herakleitos converse in Ionic. For the study of pseudo-Ionism it is almost a matter of indifference whether these first two treatises are supposititious works of Lukian or not. For a comparison of the Ionism of the first two treatises see Dr. Allinson's paper in Λ. J. P. VII 203 ff. (1886), where the conclusion is reached that the Astrology is the work of some third-class writer, while the Syrian Goddess may be genuine. Christ pronounces against the genuineness of both.
- Kephalion (under Hadrian), author of παντοδαπαὶ ἱστορίαι;
 Müller F. H. G. III 625-631.

To Foerster's essay on Polemon I have not had access. There seems no evidence that the rhetor used Ionic.

6. Abydenos, author of a history of Assyria and Media, is placed by Müller F. H. G. IV 279 in the second or third century, though Kastor made him a contemporary of Apis. The Ionic of the fragment of Megasthenes (Müller No. 9) quoted by Eusebios Pr. Ev. IX p. 456 D is due to Abydenos.

 Uranios' Treatise on Arabia, Müller F. H. G. IV 523, belongs to the third century. Frag. 12 has χώρη, ποίην, κοχλίεω,

but πορφυρην and γεωργούσι.

 Asinius Quadratus (third century), author of a Roman history (Χιλιετηρίς, Χιλιαρχία or Χιλιάς) from the foundation of the city to 248 a. p. See Müller F. H. G. III 659. Traces of Ionic are found in frag. 23 (Ἰβήροισι, πολεμέοντες).

 Eusebios (fourth century) affected Ionic style in his history, beginning with Octavianus and continuing to 283 A.D. The two fragments extant—on the siege of Thessalonika—are found

in Müller F. H. G. V 21-23.

- 10. Of Praxagoras (fourth century) Photios relates that he wrote in Ionic a treatise in two books περὶ τῶν ᾿Αθήνησι βασιλευσάντων, and one in six books εἰς τὸν τῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα ᾿Αλέξανδρον. See Dindorf Hist. Graeci Min. I pp. 438–440. No fragments of these works are preserved.
- 11. Eusebios of Myndos in Karia (fourth century), the neo-Platonist. His fragments, preserved in Stobaios, are collected in Mullach F. P. G. III 5.

¹ See Boehner de Arriani dicendi genere (in vol. IV of the Acta of the Erlangen Seminary) for the relation of Arrian to Herodotos.

111.] Pseudo-Ionists of Uncertain Date. In the case of several of the authors here mentioned only a minute study of the literature of the Hellenistic age can discover whether they may be classed as the direct successors of Herodotos, and preservers of the continuity of literary tradition, or simply as forerunners of the Ionic Revival.

1. On an inscription 1 from Epidauros we find a Doric epigram in honour of Philip of Pergamum, the son of Aristeides, an historian otherwise unknown to fame. Underneath this epigram is placed the following passage in Ionic from his work:—

Έγω παντοίων παθέων καί ξυνεχέος άλληλοφονίης ανά τε την 'Ασίην και την Εὐρώπην και τα Λιβύων έθνεα και Νησιωτέων πόλιας καθ' ήμέας γεγενημένων όσίη χειρι την περι των καινών πρήξεων ιστορίην εξήνεγκα ές τους Έλληνας, ὅκως και δι' ήμέων μανθάνοντες όκόσα δημοκοπίη και κερδέων αμ[ετρίη] και στάσιες εμφύλιοι και πιστίων καταλύσεις γεννωσιν κακά, παρατηρήσει παθέων άλλοτρίων, απενθή(τους) ποιέωνται τας του βίου διορθώσιας.

The fragment is interesting in showing a recurrence to Ionic as the dialect first employed in historical writing. The proclamation of Philip as $\theta \epsilon las$ $\kappa o law o la \tau o \rho las$ betokens a late origin. From the character of the alphabet the inscription cannot well be older than the first century B. C., if indeed it may

be placed before the birth of Christ.

2. The author of the Vita Homeri ascribed to Herodotos was, strangely enough, placed by Bergk as early as the end of the classical period, though § 20 betrays acquaintance with Strabo p. 596. Christ holds that none of the Lives of Homer antedate the reign of Augustus. The late date finds an additional support in the sparse occurrence of Ionisms. Hyper-Ionic formations are very rare.

3. To Philteas, author of the Naξιακά, are attributed by Herakleides of Miletos in Eustath. p. 1885 the hyper-Ionic πεποιέανται, γεγενέανται and έγεντο. It is at least as probable that Herakleides was deceived by pseudo-Ionic texts, as that Philteas (who is called Philetas in Eustathios) was guilty of such grammatical obliquity. The argumentation by which Herakleides introduces these perverse formations is not calculated to prejudice us in his favour. Cf. Frye De Heraclidae Milesii studies Homericis p. 127.

4. Menekrates the Xanthian, quoted by Dionysios of Halikarnassos I p. 76 (Jacoby) has ἀνίη, στρατιῆς, βίη, Αλνείης, Αλνείεω,

έδόκεον, επολέμεον, εγεγόνει, εών.

5. Agathokles the Babylonian, the same as Agathokles of Kyzikos, wrote περὶ Κυζίκου. Cf. Müller F. H. G. IV 288.

6. Demokrates' γνωμαι χρυσαι are found in Opuscula Graec. veterum sententiosa et moralia (I 80-89) of Orelli, who is inclined to refer the author to an earlier date than is at all probable; 65 out of the 86 fragments collected by Orelli are adopted as Demokriteian by Mullach.

7. The spurious letters of Anaximenes, Bias, Demokritos 1, Pherekydes of Syros, Pythagoras, Thrasybulos, Hippokrates 1,

Thessalos, son of Hippokrates.

8. Certainly before Lukian (cf. his πῶς δεῖ ἱστ. συγγρ.) are to be placed Kallimorphos, author of ἱστορίαι Παρθικαί (Müller F. H. G. III 649, 3), and an anonymous pseudo-Ionist (ibid. p. 650, 5) whose tractate on Parthia began: ἔρχομαι ἐρέων περὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Περσέων, and contained the following sentences: ἔδεε γὰρ Πέρσησι γενέσθαι κακῶς; ἦν 'Ορσόης, τὸν οἱ Έλληνες 'Οξυρόην ὀνυμέουσι (cf. Hdt. I 7).

 Alexander of Ephesos wrote under the early emperors a Bellum Marsicum, perhaps in Ionic. See Steph. Byz. s.v. Xaovia.

10. Chariton of Aphrodisias, the novelist of uncertain date, but probably of the fifth century (see Rohde Griech. Roman p. 488), interspersed his tale of the adventures of Chaireas and Kallirhoë with Ionisms borrowed from Herodotos. See Cobet Mnem. VIII 236.

The Pseudo-Ionism of Lukian, Arrian, and Arctaios.

112.] Cases of absolute divergence between the dialect of Aretaios and Hippokrates on the one hand, and that of Lukian, Arrian² and Herodotos on the other, are tabulated in § 100. Points of contact are noticed in the course of the detailed examination of the sounds and inflections of the dialect.

The three Lukianic pieces present in the main a uniform dialect, which, save for the occasional lapses in the direction of Attic and of Homeric Ionic, agrees with that of Herodotos as found in his MSS. Well marked and salient differences between Herodotos and Lukian are difficult to discover. Such minor, but persistent cases of divergence as ἔρσην, ἀρρωδέω (Hdt.), ἄρσην, ὀρρωδέω (Luk.), where the satirist shows a predilection in favour of the Attic form, are very infrequent. As a rule the MSS. of Lukian do not consistently reproduce the Ionic forms, the movement in the direction of Ionism being continually checked by Attic forms³, most of which are doubtless errors

² Cf. Grundmann: Quid in elocutione Arriani Herodolo debeatur, in Berl. Stud. f.

class. Philot. 1885.

Mullach thought that the supposititious letters of Demokritos and of Hippokrates were composed in the third century of our era.

³ For example, Dra Syr. 'Αχιλλέως 40, Νιοέως 40, κινήσεως Λετ. 5, 'Ερμοκλέους Syr. 26, νεώ 39.

of transmission, though there is no reason for believing that Lukian intended his imitation to be pervasive. Thus, for example, we find $\kappa \alpha \tau \epsilon \nu \epsilon \chi \theta \hat{\eta} \nu \alpha \iota$, $-\gamma \epsilon \omega s$ d. S. 8, ovoi Astr. 5.

The Ionism of Arrian is more consistent than that of Lukian and approximates more closely to that of his exemplar. His MSS. refuse to admit some of the most uncouth hyper-Ionic creations which appear in those of Lukian. Arrian's divergences from Herodotos do not proceed on the same lines as those of Lukian, though, like the latter, they are in the direction of Attic. He has the π , not the κ , form; he uses only the relative, not the demonstrative and the relative, as does Herodotos; his use of the temporal augment is that of the $\kappa o \iota \nu \dot{\eta}$. Other differences are less positive: Arrian $\gamma \iota \nu o \mu a \iota \kappa \rho \dot{o}_{s}$, $a \dot{\nu} \theta \iota s$, where Lukian has $\gamma \iota \dot{\gamma} \nu o \mu a \iota$, $\mu \iota \kappa \rho \dot{o}_{s}$, $a \dot{\nu} \tau \iota s$.

In certain cases the rage for Ionisms has extended beyond those adopted by prose literature; as in certain MSS. of Herodotos there is an ever present tendency to adopt Homeric forms. That both Lukian and Arrian draw to a limited extent upon the Homeric dialect shows how ineradicably fixed in the minds even of the cultured was the confusion between Homeric and Herodoteian Ionic.

In Lukian we find $\epsilon lapos d$. S. 49, $\eta \epsilon lapos d$. S. 29, Astr. 3, 5 ('Il $\epsilon lapos lapos$

The Transmission of Early Ionic Texts in its Relation to Pseudo-Ionism.

113.] An examination of the form presented by the quotations made from the Ionic logographers and philosophers by later writers yields some conclusions as regards pseudo-Ionisms and hyper-Ionisms which, though tentative, may not be wholly without foundation. First it appears that in the first century before Christ no hyper-Ionic form, except in Parthenios, was admitted into the Ionic texts; secondly, the grotesque and misshapen forms occurring in the MSS. of Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios do not come to light in citations made from the early Ionic prosaists by any writer who is anterior to Lukian, Arrian and Aretaios. The MSS. of these writers, the flower

of the Ionic Revival, display the rage for hyper-Ionism in its

most pronounced form.

The examination of the channels through which fragments of the Old Ionic philosophy and logography have reached us is not merely hampered by the lack of editions of many of the later writers so constructed as to enable the scholar to obtain a survey of the exact state of MS. tradition; it is confronted with the treachery of MS. tradition in general towards the transmission of such volatile phenomena as dialect forms; and embarrassed by the difficulty of determining whether the MS. form is an Attic equivalent or whether it is the genuine Ionic form of the fifth century, which, by some fortuity, has held to its moorings against the flood of dialectological speculation which swept away the very foundation-stones of parts of the Herodoteian inflectional system. It is only in comparatively recent times that scholars are awaking to the fact that much that has heretofore been cast aside as Attic is in reality pure Ionie.

Thus, for example, in § 9 (12) of the tractate περὶ έρμηνείας (generally ascribed to Demetrios of Phaleron, but the work either of Demetrios of Alexandria under Hadrian, or, and more probably, that of Demetrios Syros, an older contemporary of Cicero) we find quoted the beginning of Hekataios' Genealogies: 'Exaraios Μιλήσιος ώδε μυθείται τὰ δὲ γράφω, ως μοι δοκεί ἀληθέα είναι κτλ. Despite the MSS, which have here δοκεί as well as μυθείται, Müller changes the former to δοκέει, though it is inconceivable that εε should have contracted in μυθείται, while εει remained open in δοκέει. Are these forms, as they stand in the MSS., nothing more than μυθέεται and δοκέει Atticized? Are they survivals of the genuine Ionic of the fifth century, one of which has been displaced by the editor of the Fragm. Histor. Graec, under the stress of current views as to the nature of the Ionic dialect?

In the following section attention has been directed to the light thrown by our sources on the question of the transmission of the -εω verbs, and to the date of the appearance of hyper-Ionic forms, notably those with parasitic ε. Sometimes an author, drawing upon early Ionic history or philosophy, may Atticize, sometimes he may endeavour to reproduce in dialect the very words of his source; at other times the veil of the dialect

is only partially cast aside.

114. The Logographers :-

1. Hekataios: μυθείται and δοκεί (332) in Demetrios περί έρμην. §§ 5 (2), 9 (12); and elsewhere, wherever the authorities quoting the logographer have preserved a form of an -εω verb, εε and εει are invariably contracted. κινέεται in frag. 284, quoted by Müller from Steph. Byz., should be κινείται. Hyper-Ionisms do not occur.

2. In Pherekydes of Leros we find ποιείται in the same fragment with δοκέοντες (44): so too in 85, καλέοντες (twice), ολκέοντες together with καλείται, γαμεῖ. Wherever καλείται occurs it appears in the contracted form (here, in 16 and in 89 and 114 A).

115.] The Philosophers:-

- 1. Herakleitos has come down to us with a text remarkably free from hyper-Ionic forms. By the time of Clemens Alexandrinus and Origenes a τουτέοισι (126) had engrafted itself upon tradition 1; and in Hippolytos, who is slightly later than Clemens, we discover τοιουτέων (2) where Sextus Empiricus has τοιούτων. In 7 of the 21 instances in Bywater's edition of the concurrence of $\epsilon + \epsilon$ or $\epsilon + \epsilon \iota$ in the contract verbs, Bywater edits the contracted form. In the 14 remaining instances where Bywater adopts the open forms, these have MS. support but 3 times: Clemens διαχέεται, μετρέεται in 23; for ἀνέεται in 105, Iamblichos is the authority; Plutarch has ἀνείται. In all other cases Bywater adopts conjectures which desert the vulgate. Obviously there is no probability that Herakleitos used both φιλέει and φιλεί; which appear in the text (117 and 10). Though Plutarch does not appear to have possessed MSS. of Herakleitos, his source was not affected by the vagaries of the pseudo-Ionic movement. All cases of $\epsilon + \epsilon \iota$ are contracted in his citations of Herakleitos.
- 2. For the study of Demokritos' Morals we have to rely to a large extent upon their citation by Stobaios, whose text, as it appears in Gaisford's 2 edition, presents a distorted picture of the original.

The greatest irregularity exists in reference to the treatment of those forms of $-\epsilon \omega$ verbs in which, after disappearance of yod, $\epsilon \epsilon$ and $\epsilon \epsilon \iota$ came into conjunction. The majority of instances is on the side of the contracted forms. In Stobaios there are 5 cases of $-\epsilon \iota$, 16 of $-\epsilon \iota$ in the present indicative; 7 of $-\epsilon \epsilon \iota \nu$, 16 of $-\epsilon \iota \nu$ in the present infinitive active; in the inf. mid. 3 cases of $\epsilon \epsilon$, 9 of $\epsilon \iota$, while there are 2 cases each of $\epsilon \epsilon$ and $\epsilon \iota$ in the present indic. middle. In Orelli's edition of Demokrates, of whose 86 fragments 65 have been claimed as Demokriteian by Mullach, only the open forms are read in the text, and these are not contradicted by any citation of MS. evidence on the part of

Found also in the Justinian MS, formerly in Strassburg.
 Wachsmuth's second volume has not yet appeared.

Orelli. These are: present indic. -εει 3 cases, including δέει, which Stobaios invariably presents in the contracted form; present inf. active 4 cases; present inf. mid. 2 cases; and one case of the imper. act. (fr. 177).

Stobaios is furthermore authority for ἐπιθυμέης fr. 24, though in 188 (twice) and in 213 his text has -η in the subjunctive.

Parasitic ε appears in αὐτέων 20₂₃, in έρπετέων 208, and in the second aorist 20₁₄, 135, 164 (Demokrates). There is no authority for Mullach's -έειν in 70, 188, 213. Parasitic ε in the reflexive

pronouns I have not observed.

3. Anaxagoras appears in Simplicius with only the contracted forms of the $-\epsilon \omega$ verbs, for which Mullach has everywhere substituted the open forms. In frag. 6 (Simpl. 156₂₇) Diels reads $\pi \epsilon \rho \iota \chi \omega \rho \dot{\epsilon} \epsilon \iota$. The presentation of the fragments by Simplicius is not free from the suspicion of having been partially Atticized. $oi\delta \epsilon \mu i \eta$ in 4 is shown to be incorrect.

4. Melissos has been handed down by Simplicius in nearly the same state as Anaxagoras; -εε and -εει are invariably contracted. -εοι is, however, retained as well as εο. Mullach's text of Melissos and Anaxagoras has admitted ὁρέομεν, ὁρεόμενος

without MS. support.

 Diogenes of Apollonia in Simplicius has no case of -εει,
 though Mullach's text has δοκέει, ἐννοέεσθαι. The hyper-Ionic τοντέων in Mullach (frag. 2) is due to conjecture.

116.] Galen's Relation to Hippokrates. Though Galen excoriates Capito and Dioskorides for their depravation of genuine Hippokratic form, he cannot himself be freed from a similar charge. Both in the genuine and the spurious works of Hippokrates we find that Galen was not offended at πηχέει IV 202, βηχέων III 334, IV 540, δινέων I 614, VIII 84, IX 278, 286, χειρέων III 420, 462, ὑπερβαλλέειν IV 92, ἀειρέειν VIII 236, and such monstrosities as αὐτέη, αὐτέοι, τοιοντέον, ἐωντέον. In the De Placitis Hippocr. et Plat. of Müller we read, furthermore, as masc. or neuter τοντέων 698₁₂, 691₄, 700₅, 702₃, αὐτέων 690₈, 692₉, 781₁. It may well be doubted whether Galen himself had access to an uncontaminated source.

Littré's text has adopted (on the authority of the vulgate) a very large number of pseudo-Ionisms, which are but rarely found in the oldest MSS. θ and A. This is specially the case in respect of the parasitic ϵ in the pronominal forms. In the pseudo-Hippokratic $\pi\epsilon\rho$ $l\epsilon\rho\hat{\eta}s$ $v\delta\sigma ov$ the other MSS. agree with θ and A in rejecting the hyper-Ionic ϵ (θ has, however, $\tau av\tau \delta ovs$ VI 354, $\tau ov\tau \delta \omega$ 384, the other MSS. $\tau ov\tau \delta \omega v$ 394).

117.] Ionic Poetry. A pseudo-Ionizing of Archilochos is scarcely noticeable. φιλέειν in 81 is due to Hephaistion; for κερ-

τομέειν in 64, wherein Bergk follows Clemens Alex. and the schol. χ 412, Stobaios has the closed form. The unnecessary longer form is quoted by Clemens of Alexandreia from Aristobulos. Hephaistion is also answerable for Anakreon's φιλέει (70), and Herakleides Pontikos for δοκέεις (752). Hyper-Ionic forms have not found admission to the texts of the early Ionic poets. In Herodas we observe $\chi ειρέων 6_{11}$ (changed from $\chi ειρῶν$) and 7_3 ; $\chi ασκεύση 4_{42}$, $τεμεῦσα 4_{39}$, $δραμεῦσα 5_{54}$. Uncontracted εε, εε, or εη (from $-ε_{4}ω$ verbs) do not occur.

The Ionisms of Theokritos.

118.] The ancient prolegomena to the poems of Theokritos contain brief statements to the effect that the poet made use of two dialects: (1) that species of Doric called by one commentator $\partial \nu \epsilon \iota \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \eta$ $\kappa al \chi \partial a \mu a \lambda \dot{\eta}$, by another $\nu \dot{\epsilon} a$, and (2) Ionic. The discussion of the question as to whether this view refers to the presence of Ionisms in the so-called Doric idylls, may be left to the volume dealing with Doric, in which the perplexing problem of the dialect of Theokritos, so far as it can be treated in a work of this kind, will receive ampler attention.

In the scholia on I-XVIII each poem, with the exception of XII, is classed as Doric without mention of the co-existence of an Ionic element. Of XIX-XXVII the glosses state that all are Doric, save XXIV and XXVII, concerning the dialect of which we have no tradition, and XXII which is Ionic. case of XII, the argument attributed to Eratosthenes as well as the glosses report that this idyll was composed in Ionic. M, D, Junt. state with an unusual attempt at exactness that its dialect is the kown 'lds, a unique expression which recurs in the glosses on XXII, but nowhere else in grammatical literature, so far as I am aware. This 'common' Ionic is that usual, almost stereotyped form of the dialect which was borrowed from Homer and became a recognized implement of the poet's art. case does it contain features that recall the form of the dialect later than the epic, though occasionally isolated words come to light that were not employed by the epic. The κοινή 'Iás included Homeric forms of Aiolic structure (XII 2, XXII 11, 64, 71, 84, 152, 166, 170; σημαίνοισα XXII 22 must be corrected).

The testimony of the scholia and the MSS, point so strongly to the Ionic character of XII and XXII (which I regard as genuine), that we may easily throw overboard the notice in r and N (in XII) and that contained in Calliergi (as regards XXII), which make for the Doric character of the two poems. In the case of XII, r and N have Iddi dialery $\hat{\eta}$ $\Delta \omega \rho l \delta i$, an uncertainty which has found practical expression in the editions of Ziegler

and Paley. Neither of these scholars has ventured to root out the best attested Dorisms, such as ἀοῖ 1, μάλον 3, ἄδιον 4, ἀελίου 9, Κρονίδα 17, εθέλοντι 23, άραιας 24, ωνασας 26, εριδμαίνοντι 31, έαν 33, απηνθεν 33, which are the only Dorisms found in k. p. m. In other cases the Doric form is not supported by a consensus of these three MSS. The restoration of the Ionic forms in the above passages can be accomplished, usually by the adoption of the readings of 6, 16, Y; but in a few places by recourse to conjecture (ευφρανας 8, δκ' 16). Noteworthy Ionisms are ἐπιβῶται 35,

In XXII the Doric forms are accepted by all MSS. in a very few cases: - Λήδας Ι, ύμνέομες 4 (cf. I where K has ὑμνέομεν, the vulgate -μες), κοίλαν 12, γαλάνα 19. In many passages D (Scaliger's MS.) or K are our only authorities for the Ionic forms; in c, η is often superscribed over a which is the common reading. There are also several words whose Ionic dress is vouched for by no other authority than the marginal readings of the Juntina.

In Ποσειδάωνος 97, τάων 111 the ā is Homeric.

ACCENT.

119. Retention of original accent motion:-

In the proethnic period the suffix part of the genitive and dative of feminine nouns, whose nominative terminates in Skt. in -ī, in Greek in -ıä, received the accent, which in the nominative fell upon the radical syllable 1. It is the peculiar distinction of Ionic to have preserved traces of this accent motion, which is, in fact, the only accent principle characterized as Ionic by the ancients.

In the genitive and dative of barytone words in -ıä, the Ionic dialect, according to Herodian 2 (who seems to have accepted herein the guidance of Aristarchos 3), transferred the accent to the suffix syllable. The forms quoted in attestation of this Ionic shifting of the accent are la las la 4, µla µlas µla, ayvıa ayvıas άγυια, όργυια όργυιας, άρπυια άρπυιας and the two proper names Πλάταια Πλαταιάς, Θέσπια Θεσπιάς.

The only forms that bear the distinctive mark of the dialect are the Homeric lis Π 173, li 1 319, Σ 251, X 477, μι S O 416 (Sim. Amorg. 22), αγυιή o 441. δργυια occurs in Homer only in nominative and accusative, but in

Cf. J. Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 36.
 Hdn. I 411₈=Joh. Alex. 10₃₁, II 57₂₂ on Z 422, II 613₂₃=An. Ox. I 134₁₇,
 Theod. 37₇ (Hilg.), Choir. Dict. 405₁₉, Ark. 128₃, Et. M. 14₂₃, 305₃₀, 472₄₆; cf. Schol. Ven. A on II 173, Ark. 98₃, La Roche Hom. Textkridik 177. In I 530₂₉, II 613₂₄, 901₃₁ Hdn. calls the accent of αγυιά, δργυιά Ionic. But cf. I 281₂₄.
 Eust. 652₃₅, Schol. Ven. A on Z 422, Schol. Ven. B on E 502.
 Cf. for fow, but Ja Et. M. 472.

^{*} Cf. for fov, but lo Et. M. 472 16.

Hdt. II 149 we find δργυιῆς. No form of ἄρπυια with Ionic η is met with, Homer having ἄρπυια and ἄρπυιαι (ἄρπυιαι ἀνηρείψαντο α 241, υ 77, read by Fick 'Αρέπυιαι ἀναρέψαντο on the strength of 'Αρεπυια upon a vase Arch. Zeit. XL, p. 203, pl. 9, and ἀνερεψάμενοι Bekk. Anecd. I 401). Homer and Hdt. have Πλάταιαν, the latter also Πλαταιαί²; Homer and Hdt. have Θέσπια (Θέσπειαν). Thuk., who has Πλάταια and Πλαταιαί, has the paroxytone accent in the dative singular II 4, Paus. IX 4, 4 in the genitive. I do not find any example of Θέσπια in the genitive or dative singular. In regard to these names it is to be noted that the accent of their ordinary forms Πλαταιαί, Θεσπιαί follows the lines of such deme names as Κηφισιά, Λουσιά, and Τραγειαί, Κεγχρεαί, Πειρεσιαί, 'Ολμιαί, etc. Names of cities ending in -ειᾶ, if found in the plural only, are οχytone (Βρυσειαί, 'Ορνειαί), though in Hdt. I 149 we find Αίγαῖαι.

Some grammarians³ ventured to claim that this shifting of the accent was not Ionic, but Attic, or more especially Old Attic. Perhaps this divergence in view reflects the broken rays of a tradition that Ionic and Old Attic were one dialect in the preservation of this motion of the accent; as they were identified by the ancients for other reasons.

In the above mentioned words Ionic has allowed scope to the operation of the 'secondary' accent (on which see under Aiolic), though in general less amenable to its influence than Attic. Thus in $\delta\epsilon\iota\rho\dot{\eta}^4$ for Attic $\delta\ell\rho\eta$ and $\dot{\eta}\dot{\omega}s$ for Attic $\ell\omega s$ the original proethnic accent has been preserved by Ionic. Cf. Skt. grīrā and ushās. Examples of the tendency of the later Ionic to admit the recessive accent will be given below, § 123.

120.] In the following sections are collected the statements of the grammarians in reference to the accent of certain forms of Ionic colouring; and under the same heads are mentioned some forms whose accent, as it appears in the books, deserves note, especially in comparison with that in vogue in Attic. It is obviously impossible to attach authority to all the accents handed down in the MSS. unless supported by a definite tradition of Greek grammar. Oftentimes the utterances of the schools are hopelessly confused. The ancients are uniformly silent as regards the accent of Ionic words identical in form with Attic. Hence

¹ Here R has δργυίης. In Aratos 196 δργυίης, Nikander Ther. 169 δργυίῆ (δργυίη: Π

Schol. Ven. A on Z 422 = Hdn. II 5777. The Et. M. 1421 by comparing Ωριβνία seems to take a similar position; but cf. 30534. Eust. 163136 (cf. 1653, calls άγνια and δργνία Old Attic only. In Attic we find άγνια, δργνία Et. M. 1425) though, according to Zonaras 24, some wrote άγνια. These oxytones seem to be due rather to the influence of the plural άγνια!, Πλαταιαί etc. than of the perispomenon genitive.

etc. than of the perispomenon genitive.

* δέρη is called Ionic, Et. M. 257. The form δειρά, referred to Et. M. 256. (cf. Theogn. An. Ox. II 107.) can be only North West Greek or late Doric. Earlier Doric, so far as the radical syllable is concerned, is Δήρη, Ptol. I 15, 11.

the accenting of Ionic texts in the case of words whose accent

varied in Attic is totally uncertain.

Krumbacher has shown K. Z. XXVII 521 ff. that, in its passage to the modern form, ancient Greek was forced to struggle against the depravation of the old-time accent. The removal of the classical accent which comes to light in the mediaeval documents is, however, not comparable with that which is such a striking feature of the modern Greek dialects.

Only the differences between Ionic and Attic are considered below. Some of the following words are discussed by Wheeler

Nominal Accent p. 113 ff.

Accent of Nouns and Adjectives. First Declension.

121.] Masculine. On the accent of ᾿Ατρείδεω, ᾿Ορέστεω, Αἰνείεω, ᾿Ασίεω see Choir. Dict. 39922, 41311, Et. Mag. 15351. In quoting these forms the grammarian in An. Ox. I accents -έω. Instead of Θαλέω from Θαλῆs, the ancients accentuated Θάλεω. If, when the genitive in -εω followed a vowel, syncope ensued, the result was the paroxytone, as in Ἑρμείω, Βορέω, ᾿Ασίω, ἐνμμελίω (Choir., Et. Mag. l. l.).

122.] Feminine. Οπ άγυια, ὅργυια, ἄρπυια, Πλάταια, Θέσπια,

δειρή, see above, § 119.

ποίη is thus accented in Eust. 1851₅₀, Hesychios and Suidas, ποιή in Et. M. 677₅₅. Attie ποιά Et. M. 705₂, 612₄₂, 677₅₆, but ποία Et. M. 770₉, Ark. 100₁₆, πόα when the iota disappears, Doric ποιά and πόα Greg. Kor. 220. The grammarians appear to have set up a difference in meaning between ποία and πόα

(schol. Equites 603).

ροιή in editions of Homer and Hdt.=Attic ροιά Eust. 944, Et. M. 7052, Ark. 100_{14} and so written in Aristotle. ρόα was accented ροά by Arkadios l. l., which accentuation is adopted by G. Meyer Gramm. § 48. Doric ροιά and ρόα Greg. Kor. 220. The loss of the iota cannot change the accent l. Is ρόα due to the desire to differentiate the word from ροή stream (a counter suggestion to that made by L. § S.), or is ρόα to be classed with $\chi \rho \dot{o}a$ as illustrations of the principle that when the accent precedes yod is to be expected, but when the accent follows iota appears?

χροιή Hom. Theogn.=Attic χροιά (Ark. 100₁₈, Eust. 94₂, Et. M. 705₂), but χροία Et. M. 679₃₉, doubtless to account for

¹ Hence Δapeos on a Milesian coin in Mionnet Suppl. VII 276, should be accented Δapeos, not Δάpeos with Pape.

the usual Attic form χρόα. Lobeck Phrynichus p. 496 shows that later writers used χροιά and χρόα on one and the same page. Doric xpoiá and xpóa Greg. Kor. 220.

600n is thus usually accented, according to the ordinary rules,

despite Skt. kshayá.

According to the schol. Ven. A on N 212, who follows Herodian: Ιγυθην' 'Ιωνικώς μετέβαλε τον τόνον, επεί το ακόλουθον lypuá (Lentz lypuá) ἐστιν. Theogn. (An. Ox. II 10621) says that Herodian (I 30310) is authority for the statement that Aristarchos (?) by shortening the a and lengthening the v of iyrva accented iyrva, thus making an enallage of accent and quantity. Cf. Lentz' note, Hdn. I 303, Chandler § 188. Iyiva does not occur, nor do I find the proparoxytone accent in any Greek word in -va ('Ελευθέρυα is doubtful). Did Aristarchos wish to bring his γνυα into line with άγυια, ὄργυια &c.?

The Ionians according to Trypho (4) distinguished, as did Athenians and Dorians, between $\mu \iota \sigma \eta \tau \dot{\eta} = \dot{\eta}$ à $\xi \iota a$ $\mu \iota \sigma \sigma v s$ and μισήτη = ή καταφερής πρὸς συνουσίαν. Cf. Eust. 1650₆₄. In the scholiast on Arist. Aven 1619 we find a verse containing the former form which has been changed to μισήτη by Bergk, who

thinks that the line is Archilocheian (184).

When Ionic has η for Attic \check{a} as in $\epsilon \epsilon \rho \sigma \eta$ the nom. pl. is proparoxytone (ἔερσαι). Ptol. Askalonites proposed to adopt the paroxytone accent (Schol. Ven. A on = 351, Apio and

Herodoros in Eust. 991,4).

There is no trace of Ionic having adopted the proparoxytone in the nom. plur. of words in -ua, as was the case in late Attic (εὐπράξιαι, ὁμίλιαι, τραγώδιαι, &c., also ἥμεραι Choirob. 44916, schol. Ven. A on B 339, E 54, Lentz Hdn. I 423 note, Wheeler Nominal Accent p. 115).

Some distinguished Ἐρυθραί in Ionia from Ἐρύθραι in Boiotia

(Eust. 2676, Choirob. Ep. on Pealme 2710).

The gen. pl. of γη is γέων in ABR, Hdt. IV 198, where P has γέων, C γεων. The first reading is that adopted by the most recent editors, the last by L. & S. with the older editions.

Second Declension.

123.] I. The tendency of the later Ionic to adopt the recessive accent of the later Attic in contrast to the accent of Homer and Old Attic 1, though nowhere expressly sanctioned by tradition, has been tacitly recognized by more recent editors of Herodotos. This is notably the case as regards the following forms, chiefly adjectival :-

ομοιος in Hdt. according to Stein and Holder, as in later 1 Ailion Dionys. apud Eust. 2054.

Attic (Eust. 341₁₇, 531₃₅, 799₄₀, 1817₁₅, Theogn. An. Ox. II 54₃), δμοῖος Homeric and Old Attic (Eust. 206₁), adopted by Schweighäuser as Herodoteian. δμοῖος is stated to be Doric, Greg. Kor. p. 318.

έρημος in Hdt. and in New Attie, ἐρῆμος Old Attie and Homeric (Et. M. 37314, Ark. 616, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 331, Eust. 21746)

34112, 53132, 41, 8225).

ἔτοιμος Hdt, and in New Attic, ἐτοῖμος Old Attic and Homeric (Eust. 206₁, 217₄₅, 341₁₂, 531₄₁, 822₅, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 33₁₀. In

Anakr. 436 the MSS. have έτοιμον, Bergk έτοιμον.

The accent of ἐταῖρος (Hom., Archil., Sim. Amorg., Theog., Hdt.), the by-form of Hom. ἔταρος, is due to the influence of ἐταίρα from ἔταρια < gen. ἐταριᾶς. Cf. ἴα lᾶς above. Homeric ἐτάρη is the parallel fem. of ἔταρος. See Wheeler Nom. Accent p. 59. Hippon. 13 has ἔταιρε, now read ἐταῖρε.

γελοῖος Archil. 79. Of γελοῖος Apoll. De Pron. 63 B says: οὐκ ἐξωμάλισται τὰ τῶν διαλέκτων, μάλιστα δὲ τὰ τῶν ᾿Αττικῶν. The later Attic seems to have accented γέλοιος, the κοινή, γελοῖος Moiris 109, schol. Ranae 6; and so Old Attic, Eust. 206,. See

Chandler § 385.

ἀχρείος in Homer, Attic ἄχρείος according to Eust. 21733.
 An. Ox. II 28419, Hdn. I 13525 = Schol. Ven. A on B 269.
 Arkadios 876 says that ἀχρείος is Attic, ἄχρείος is τὸ κοινόν.
 From Choirob. Ερ. 12325 we learn nothing. The Herodoteian form is ἀχρήιος. On Ionic -ήιος = Attic -είος, see § 231.

πηρός Homer, Sim. Amorg., Hippokr., πήρος Attic according

to Schol. Ven. A on B 599.

μωρός Sim. 57. μώρος is called Attic by Arkad. 69₁₃. Eust. 245₃₇, 1749₃₇ ascribes μώρος to the Attics, μωρός to the νστεροι. στρουθός Hdt., Attic στροῦθος Hdn. I 144₁₇, cf. Schol. Ven. A

on B 311.

2. If the Ionic texts are accentuated correctly, and the following is the correct tradition in reference to Attic, the latter dialect preferred an accent nearer the end in μέδιμνος Hdt., μεδίμνος Attic according to Thom. Mag. p. 602.

κουφότης Hippokr., κουφοτής Attic (Choirob. 35211).

"Iνυκοs Hdt. VI 24 is oxytone in Plato's Hippias Maj. 282 E. ἀττέλεβοs Hdt. IV 172, ἀττελαβόs Attic, 'παραλόγωs' Ark. 46₈ = Hdn. I 139₂. Cf. γέρινοs = Attic γυρίνοs, Eust. 1864₆. Ionic ὅλιζον = Attic ὀλίγον, Herakleides apud Eust. 1643₁.

Attic φαρμᾶκός degenerated, according to Photios 640₈ (cf. Eust. 1935₁₅), into Ion. φάρμᾶκος, the proximity of the barbarians having caused the Ionians to corrupt the ancestral element of their dialect (§ 23). In the fragments of Hipponax (5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 37, 43) the MSS have uniformly φαρμακός, cf. Hesych. s.v. Didymos proposal to write φαρμᾶκος failed to receive recognition in ancient

In fact Hase and Dindorf suggest that he did not write φαρμάκος at all, but that the προπερισπάν of Harpokrat. p. 180 should be read προπαροξύνειν. Herodian seems not to have known of any difference between the Ionic and Attic accent, if we may judge from Arkadios' statement (519): φαρμακός, ό επί καθαρμώ της πόλεως τελευτών, φαρμακεύς δε ό γόης. For the word φαρμακεύς, however, most scholars substitute φάρμακος. Φάρμακος is a suspicious personality although referred to by Istros in Et. M. 78755. The above quoted statements are all that can be adduced in support of φάρμακος 1, other ancient testimony (e.g. Et. M. 8025, Schol. Ven. A on Ω 566) making for φαρμακός. With the interrelation between φαρμακός and this supposed Φάρμακος cf. that between φυλακός Ω 566 and Φύλακος Z 35, ο 231. φυλακός was thus accented by Aristarchos and Herodian (Eust. 136545, Et. M. 8023, Ark. 518), φύλακος Hdt. II 121 (γ), schol. Apoll. Rh. I 132, Philem. Lex. § 269, schol. Theokr. 8, and so Chandler § 261.

3. It is not impossible that an Ionic δστεον (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 793, Doric δστιον) could acquire the perispomenon accent upon contraction into δστεῦν, as did the Attic δστοῦν. But instances parallel to the Attic ἀργυροῦς, χαλκοῦς are wanting in Ionic, since that dialect kept εο open in adjectives of material till the latest period of its existence. It is probable that the uncon-

tracted form of Ionic nominative was δστέον.

 $\theta \epsilon \hat{\nu} s$ apparently an Ionic form for $\theta \epsilon \hat{\sigma} s$ (Hdn. π . μ . λ . δ , δ) is

perispomenon in Eust. 77548, Ark. 13020.

In cases of variation between $-\epsilon os$ and -os in adjectival formations, the accent of the longer form is identical with that of the shorter. Thus $\delta a \phi o \iota \nu \epsilon \acute{o} s = \delta a \phi o \iota \iota \iota \acute{o} s$ (Schol. Ven. A on $\Sigma 538$, Eust. 1160_{80}), $\kappa \epsilon \nu \epsilon \acute{o} s = \kappa \epsilon \nu \acute{o} s$, $\mathring{\eta} \lambda \epsilon \acute{o} s = \mathring{\eta} \lambda \acute{o} s$.

evyηροι Hippokr. and Aristotle, deserves notice. See Chandler 5.16.

4. According to the accentuation of the MSS. Ionic Greek distinguished εξαιρετός IIdt. II 121 (a) from εξαίρετος; adopted such ordinary uses as that of the fem. in νῆσος διαβατός IIdt. IV 195; and differentiated words of the same form by means of the accent as did Attic. No definite statement to the contrary exists in the grammarians.

Accent of some proper names:—

Kaρησόs, name of the Mysian river M 20, was thus accentuated by the inhabitants of Kyzikos, and by Tyrannio (Schol. Ven. A on M 20). Aristarchos wrote Κάρησοs, others Κάρησσοs.

Bergk's φάρμακος in Hipponax is the less defensible, because the custom alluded to by the poet was Attic. See ten Brink in Philologus VI 60. A trace of φαρμακός with d is thought to exist in Demosth, XXV 80, though φαρμακίος can have yielded only φαρμακός in that dialect.

'Aστακός Hdt. V 67, 'Αστακος Thuk. II 30, Steph. Byz.

Τιτακός Hdt. IX 73, whereas trisyllables in -ακος are generally proparoxytone. Steph. Byz. has Τίτακος. For other oxytones in -ακος, see Chandler § 270.

'Ιλλυριοί Hdt. I 196 and elsewhere is not in accordance with

the usual accentuation of proper names in -cos.

'Αρτισκός Hdt. IV 92, whereas proper names in -ισκος are usually

paroxytone.

Why Φαρσαλικός, Δροπικοί in Hdt. should be oxytone, but Ορικος proparoxytone, is not clear. See Chandler § 266 for similar inconsistencies.

6. 'Attic' declension :—

On Τυνδάρεω (Hdt. II 112) see Eust. 1686₂₃, schol. on λ 299; on λαγός Trypho 13.

Third Declension.

124.] Choiroboskos Dictata 35323 makes the remark that, while the Aiolians form the accusative in -v ($\kappa v \hat{\eta} \mu \iota v$ —read $\kappa v \hat{\alpha} \mu \iota v$ — $\sigma \phi \rho \hat{\alpha} \gamma \iota v$), the Ionians in the genitive of oxytones in $-\iota s$ do not cast aside the δ ($\kappa v \eta \mu \iota \delta o s$) as they do in the declensions of $\Pi \hat{\alpha} \rho \iota s$ and $\Theta \hat{\epsilon} \tau \iota s$. For $\phi \alpha \iota v o \lambda \hat{\iota} s$ Hymn Dem. 51 we should expect the accent of $\mu \alpha \iota v \delta \lambda \iota s$.

Adjectives in -vs, which in the feminine lose their iota, do not change their accent as Chandler § 689 opines: $\hat{\eta}\mu l\sigma\epsilon a$ Hdt. V 111, not $\hat{\eta}\mu l\sigma\epsilon a$. In the plural perispomenon is correct even when ι has disappeared: $\tau a\chi \epsilon(\iota)\hat{\omega}v$, $\theta \eta \lambda \epsilon(\iota)\hat{\omega}v$ often in the MSS. of Hdt. (cf. II 18, 46, 66) which has been changed to $\theta \eta \lambda \epsilon \omega v$.

On ταρφύς, ταρφειαί see Nauck, Odyss., p. x.

The gen. plur. of χιλιάς in Hdt. VII 28 is χιλιάδων, not χιλιαδέων; and thus does not support the peculiar later Attic χιλιαδών. See Choirob. Dict. 458₂₆, Ark. 136₃ and § 74. The form in the Common dialect was similar to that in Hdt.

δπέων, Ionic for δπάων, is noteworthy, since nouns in -εων are

oxytone; cf. Theogn. An. Ox. II 2822.

Homeric πρώονες (Schol. Ven. Θ 557), despite πρών; cf. Hesiod's πρηών. Nouns in -ηων are usually paroxytone (Theogn. An. Ox. II 296, Ark. 1121).

Ethnica in -ων are usually oxytone, but Hdt. VII 110 has Βίστονες, Κίκονες, V 15 Παίονες (Παιόνες An. Ox. I 2769), Σιριοπαίονες, cf. Καύκωνες, Κύδωνες in Homer. Chandler § 615.

Names in -âs (Βοιβᾶs, Βιττᾶs, Κυρᾶs) are Ionic according to Choirob. Dict. 4223, Joh. Alex. 813). Why the gen. should be -åδοs is not clear, unless we regard -âs as due to 'nominative-lengthening.'

On the accent of vyûs 'resolved' see Chandler & 566.

125.] Adverbs. The ancients accentuated $\pi a \rho \ell \ell$ or $\pi a \rho \ell \ell$ in Homer, $\pi a \rho \ell \ell$ in Hdt. (Hdn. π . μ . λ . 25, 20, Schol. Ven. A on IX 7). See La Roche Hom. Textkritik p. 333. The $\kappa o \iota \nu \eta$ adopted the Herodoteian accent.

πρῶϊ in Homer, πρωt in Hdt. and Attic (Et. M. 607_{21} , 692_{12} , Theogn. An. Ox. II 159_{26}). Joh. Alex. 32_7 writes $\pi ρ \dot{\psi}$, and this form is generally used in our texts.

κήγχος Apollonios De Adv. 596_{29} thought should be κηγχός.

126.] Verbs. $\phi \dot{\eta}$ Ionic for $\phi \eta \sigma \ell$ is an enclitic, Anakr. 40. $\pi \iota \theta \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \theta \dot{\epsilon}$, $\lambda a \beta \dot{\epsilon} \sigma \theta \dot{\epsilon}$ were written thus by Tyrannio, but belong according to the Schol. Ven. B on II. XVIII 266 only to the later Ionic.

The recessive accent in the contract forms is preserved in $\pi i \theta \epsilon v$ Hdt. III 68 , whereas Attic generally has the perispomenon (Aischines $\pi v \theta o \hat{v}$). Cf. $\xi \lambda \epsilon v$ Hsd. Theog. 549, $d\mu \beta d\lambda \epsilon v$ Theokr. X 22. Does this indicate that the Attic contraction of ϵo to o v is of different phonetic quality from that of the Ionic ϵv ?

In the case of syncopated forms, $-\epsilon_0$ for $-\epsilon\epsilon_0$, $-\epsilon_0$ for $-\epsilon\epsilon_0$ were generally regarded as paroxytone (Eust. 1441₃₆) though there is evidence that some of the ancients (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Ω 202, Eust. 1518₅₄) admitted the proparoxytone. Thus Herodian in $\epsilon\kappa\lambda\epsilon$ Ω 202. The MSS. of Hdt. have $\phi_0\beta\epsilon_0$, &c., in Theog. 1331 we find $al\delta\epsilon_0$.

The so-called Doric future in Ionic: ἐσσεῖται Β 393, Hdt. VII

168 πεσέεται.

έξεληλαμένα Hdt. VII 84 seems to be correct, though έληλάμενος is enjoined by Apoll. De Conj. 500₁₉, De Adv. 545₆, cf. 549₇, Et. M. 46₄.

VOWEL SYSTEM.

The Short Vowels.

Α.

127.] Anaptyctic a occurs in conjunction with ρ in $\beta d\rho a \gamma \chi o s$ Hipponax 106 = $\beta \rho \dot{a} \gamma \chi o s$ Attic and in Hippokr. I 616. Cf. Hesychios: $\beta a \rho \dot{a} \gamma \chi \iota a \dot{a} \dot{b} \rho a \gamma \chi \dot{a} \tau \dot{a} \nu \dot{b} \chi \theta \dot{\nu} \omega \nu$. The Et. M. 1883 says that the Attics used $\beta a \rho a \gamma \chi \dot{a} \nu$, whereas Moiris states merely that $\beta \rho a \gamma \chi \dot{a} \nu$, not $\beta \rho a \gamma \chi \iota \dot{a} \nu$, was Attic.

¹ Hdt. has βαλεῦ VII 51 in A P, βάλευ C corr. B2d.

128.] Ionic A in conjunction with P.

The forms with $\epsilon\rho$ or $\rho\epsilon$ are here morphologically older than those in $a\rho$ or ρa . It is more probable that $\kappa\rho\dot{a}\tau os$, $\theta\rho\dot{a}\sigma os$ are due to the analogy of $\kappa\rho a\tau\dot{v}s$, $\theta\rho a\sigma\dot{v}s$ than to a levelling process (within the noun itself) which operated as follows:

κρέτος | κχτεσός whence κρέτος, κρέτεος and κράτος, κράτεος. | κράτεος

The latter view is current, rather than well-considered. In Skt. and Greek there is no shifting of the accent in the inflection of these stems in s.

The Ionic dialect here presents no features sharp enough to

separate it from allied dialects except Aiolic.

κράτος = Aiolic κρέτος. κράτος Hdt. VIII 2, with κάρτος in $A \ B \ d$; cf. καρτερή VIII 12, with κρατερή in most MSS. 1 Archil. 26 has καρτερός, a form that comes to light in Aretaios 9 and upon inscriptions: Halik. καρτερούς 238_{29} , and so in Attic and Kretan (Gortyna); κράτιστος appears in Κρατιστόλεως Thasos (Louvre) 12 B, but was not used by Hdt.; Epic κάρτος and κράτος, κρατερός 2 and καρτερόθυμος, κάρτιστος. The Ionic dialect alone possesses the strong form of the adjective (κρέσσων). In the inscriptions names in καρτ- and κρατ- occur: $F\iota[\phi]$ ικαρτίδης, or Εὐθυκαρτίδης Naxos, $B.\ C.\ H.$ XII p. 463 ff.; Μυησικάρτ(η)ς, Styra 19_{262} ; Καρτίης 19_{317} ; Έπικράτης 19_{369} ; Λυσι- 19_{247} ; Λεωκρατίδης Styra 19_{24} ; Κράτιος Keos 44 A 8.

θάρσος Hdt. VII 9 γ (θράσος in R); Homeric and Attic θάρσος and θράσος. θαρσύνων Chios, Pasp. 42, θρασ- e.g. in Θρασωνίδ[$\epsilon\omega$] Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402_{22} . Traces of the strong form $\theta \epsilon \rho \sigma \sigma s$ (cf. Aiolic) appear in ... $\theta \epsilon \rho \sigma \eta s$ upon an Erythraian inscription (no. 200), and in Θερσίτον Iasos (J. H. S. IX 341, no. 2, late). Names in $-\theta \epsilon \rho \sigma \eta s$ occur elsewhere in dialects that show no predilection in favour of the $\epsilon \rho$ forms. See Pape's Lexicon. Doubtless the Homeric names in $-\theta \epsilon \rho \sigma$ - did much to popularize

this form in such dialects.

The prefix àρι- seems to be Ionic as contrasted with Aiolic ἐρι- (Hinrich, H. E. V. A. p. 64). 'Αρίων upon a coin of Erythrai, Mionnet Suppl. VI 217, cf. I. F. I 166. Hence κάριπρεπής Sim. Am. 788 from ἀρι-. 'Αρίμνηστος occurs upon a Keian inscription, no. 44, B 11, but ἐρίβρομον in Anakr. 11.

Ionic κάρτα Greg. Kor. § 58.
 Joh. Gr. 241 B.

βάραθρου Hdt. VII 133, as in Attic; Homeric βέρεθρου Θ 14 (called Ionic by Et. M. 1886); Arkad. ζέρεθρον.

χάραδρα in Hdt., cf. Delphic χάροδρος (Wescher, Monum. bilingue de Delphes, l. 23, 25). Homer has xépados, a form that

is found as a proper name C. D. I. 1352.

ταρσιή (MS. -a), Sim. Amorg. 39, from Et. Mag. 76425; cf. Hesychios ταρσιήν την τρασιάν. Et. Gud. 256 quotes from an elegiac poet τρασιής; cf. τερσήναι in Homer. τερσιά is a very late formation (Julian). τρασ- is morphologically older than ταρσ-. A variation between $a\rho$ and ρa , apparently in order to lighten consonantal weight, is seen in a Karian name, Halik. 240₈₇, Ἰμβράσσιδος ("Ιμβρασος Head, H. N. 518); 240₅₈ Ἰμβάρσιδος.

The Ionic dialect does not evince the preference of Doric 1 for the weak a before or after ρ in verbal forms (from original $\rho \epsilon$). Thus, Herodotos adopts τρέχω, τρέψω, στρέψω, agreeing herein with Homer, while he accepts τράπω in the present for Attic-epic τρέπω, if we are to believe Bredow, Stein and Holder, who do not scruple to reject the testimony of all the MSS. I 63, 105, III 21 and in very many other places. In the middle there are few cases of the a form. The imperfect or second agrist forms can scarcely be allowed to influence the decision. I regard τρέπω as the correct form 2. In the future and first agrist the e-forms hold their ground in Ionic, whereas in Kretan we have ἐπιτραψῶ. On the variation between τρέπω and τράπω, cf. Bredow, p. 145. In employing $\tau \rho \epsilon \pi \omega$, not $\tau \rho \delta \pi \omega$, Lukian follows in the wake of Hdt. (d. d. S. 7, 39, Astr. 3). Aretaios has but one sure example of $\tau \rho \delta \pi \omega$, and Hippokrates inclines in favour of the Ionic-Attic form.

When other dialects, notably Aiolic or those allied to Aiolic, have ρο or ορ, Ionic almost invariably adopts ρα or αρ. See below on βρόταχος, πορδακός § 147. Hdt. III 86 has αστραπή, with which may be compared Homeric στεροπή and αστεροπή. Kyprian has στροπά (Hesychios στορπά). In verbal inflection whenever op occurs it is the ablaut of $\epsilon \rho$, not = the Aiolic form of aρ.

καρδίη Hdt. III 35, Demokr. Mor. 18, Arch. ep. 103, a form not unknown to Homer (B 452, A 12), though the poet generally adopts κραδίη³. Ionic, Attic, and Aiolic are here on a plane. The Kyprian form is κόρζα (κορζία according to Meister).

Homer has Κράπαθος (B 676), Archil. 152 has Καρπάθιος.

τράπω, τράφω, στράφω, τράχω (Pindar), cf. Et. M. 11420 φάρω, τράπω.
 Greg. Kor. quotes τράπουσι from Hdt. III 21 (p. 480).
 Joh. Gr. 240, 241 B, Greg. Kor. p. 434, Gram. Vat. 696, Birnb. 67720, cite this as the Ionic form.

Κάρπαθος occurs in the Hymn to Apoll. 43. Homer has both ἀταρπιτός and ἀτραπιτός, τέτρατος 1 and τέταρτος.

Hipp. 1₃ has σκαπαρδεῦσαι = συμμαχῆσαι, with which compare the game σκαπέρδα and the Hesychian gloss σκαπερδεῦσαι λοιδο-

ρησαι.

The variation between $a\rho$ and ρa , for which no definite reason can invariably be assigned, is not a mint-mark of dialect differentiation.

129. Other forms with A parallel to E:

τάμνω occurs in Hdt. (Greg. Kor. 67), though not without variation in favour of $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu \nu \omega$, and is a present formed from the aorist of $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu \omega$ (*Iliad*, N 707) ($\tau a \mu \dot{\omega} \nu < \tau mm$ -oντ-). Whether $\tau \dot{\alpha} \mu \nu \omega$, which occurs as early as Homer (Γ 105) and Hesiod, and is found in Pindar, Kretan, and the Herakleian tablets, is more ancient than $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu \nu \omega$ (which seems to be derived from a $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu \omega$ by the infixing of ν), is not certain. $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu \nu \omega$ is in fact no stranger to Homer (γ 175), and is the regular form in Attic. The inscriptions indicate the preference of Ionic and Attic most clearly. In the former we have $\dot{\epsilon} \tau a \mu o \nu$ (Halik. 238₄₄; Kyzikos, 108, B 8), in the latter $\dot{\epsilon} \tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu o \nu$ without exception. $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu}$ in Delos B. C. H. VI 54 (250) is due to Attic influence; so Arrian, 2₂₀. The $\dot{\epsilon}$ of $\dot{\epsilon} \tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu o \nu$ is due to that of $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \mu \nu \omega^2$.

Hippokrates (Greg. Kor. 67) and the pseudo-Ionist Aretaios use τάμνω; Lukian has τέμνω 8 15, τάμνω 8 51, 60; Arrian

τέμνω 22, 1110, 1312; Demokr., Mor. 194, has τάμνων.

μέγαθος, ὑπερμεγάθης in Hdt., e.g. IV 52, 191, μέγαθος in Anaxag. 1, and Meliss. 8 (Simpl. μέγεθος). Cf. Greg. Kor. § 59. In Attic μέγεθος the variation between a and ε is due perhaps to the influence of ε in the initial syllable. The statement that the Doric dialect possessed the form μέγαθος is not beyond suspicion, since Philoxenos, who has the form with a in II 19, either contradicts himself, V 21, where he uses ὑπερμέγεθες, or at least shows that both forms were known to Doric. Lukian has μέγαθος d. S 27, 30, according to Jacobitz, though A has the ε form everywhere. In Arrian, μέγεθος is the only reading in seven out of eleven cases, and this is the form used by Abydenos 5. Both Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Attic form.

On the forms έπειτα, είνεκα, see under Adverbs, &c. On -αια,

-ειά, -οιά, see below under H, §§ 174-179.

ψακάς Hdt. III 10, according to Stein, though ψεκάς is

¹ τέτρατος was held to be Ionic, Joh. G. 241 B.

² G. Meyer in his review of the Vowel System of the Ionic Dialect (A. P. A. XX 5-138) in Deut. Litt.-Zeit., 1890 p. 1335 disposes of the relation of τάμνω and τέμνω as follows: τάμνω is from έταμον, the aor. of τέμω; its ν is due to the influence of δάκνω (ἔδακον: ἔταμον). τέμνω, again, is a contamination of τέμω and τάμνω. τάμνω is called Dorie by Et. M. 11421, 74521.

supported by MS. authority and by Eustathios. Moiris, p. 419, held that yeads was Attic, but not so acceptable a form.

₩ûxos < ₩ūĸ.

Ayβάτανα is the form used by Hdt., Ktesias (and Aischylos) for 'Erbárava. The MSS. of Hdt. show constant fluctuation between these two forms, though Steph. Byz. distinctly states that 'Ayβάτανα is Herodoteian.

 $d\pi\pi a\lambda\lambda d\zeta \epsilon i\nu$ (sic) Hesych. = $\xi \kappa \kappa\lambda \eta \sigma id\zeta \epsilon i\nu$. "Iwves recalls the Lakonian ἀπέλλαι, ἀπελλάζειν, but is of doubtful explanation.

The ancients adduce other forms in support of a room of e to a. These examples are either based upon incorrect etymologies or deal with pan-Hellenic by-forms.

130. Ionic A = Attic H.

μεσαμβρίη Hdt. and Arrian, 3, 25, 39 (elsewhere the Attic form). Cf. Eustathios on the Odyssey 171485, Greg. Kor. p. 444,

654, Schmidt, Foc. I 119.

αμφισβατέω Zeleia 11318 (after 334 B. C.) and in Hdt. IV 141, IX 742. This form is not confined to Ionic unless the a of Rhodian ἀμφισβασίας C. I. G. 2005 B 6, ἀμφεσβάτει C. I. G. 2005 A 3, Aiolic ἀμφισβατημένων C. D. I. 21425, can be shown to be long. Herakleitos 9 has αγχιβασίην, cf. Suidas αμφισβατείν, ένιοι τὸ ἀμφισβητείν. Ίωνες δὲ καὶ ἀγχιβατείν καὶ ἀγχιβασίην (see also s.r. ἀγχιβατείν). Hesychios' gloss is on ἀμφισβητείν, not on ἀμφισβατείν. In Diog. Apoll. 1 the MSS. have the Attic αναμφισβήτητον, cf. -βητήσεος Latyschev, II 53. Hellanikos 177 has ἀμφίσβατα (see Hesychios ε. v.).

If the non-Ionic forms have a, weight might, at first glance, be attached to Brugmann's suggestion that an Ionic ἀμφισβάτέω is due to the ignorance of scribes who connected the latter part with βαίνω, βάτις, βατός; Morph. Unter. I 22. But there is at least no proof that the a of the Aiolic and Rhodian forms is not short; and, even if it is long, the inscriptional form from Zeleia proves conclusively that an Herodoteian ἀμφισβάτέω is not due to blundering ignorance. Perhaps the forms in η stood in an ablaut relation to those in \tilde{a}^3 .

λάξεσθαι Hdt. VII 144, λάξιν IV 21 (cf. Greg. Kor. 139, Hood. Affers Stein II 467), have their a from the present stem as

¹ The MSS, here agree as to the penultimate a of ἀμφισβασίας (cf. VIII 81), but R and the rest have in the same chapter ἀμφισβητ-.

PR have ἀμφισβητέων.

² Osthoff, Perfect p. 331, thought to set matters straight by deriving auto-Barés from an unheard-of participle Barés, the kinsman of the regular Barés. These two forms he opined would yield - βατέω (-βητέω) and -βατέω. Brugmann's derivation from $\sqrt{\sigma \beta \eta}$ ignores άγχιβατεῖν, which however may have been formed by analogy.

λάψεται Miletos, 1004. The converse procedure appears in the New Test. λήμψομαι, a form found on Lykian inscript. C. I. G. 42446, 424720, 425315, and in the Papyr. du Louvre, 14, 17¹. It is due to a confusion between λήψομαι and λάμψομαι. Cf. Attic ἤνειγκα by contamination of the regular Attic ἤνειγκα and

Ionie ήνεικα.

Forms without a nasal come to light upon Attic vases $(\Lambda \dot{a}(\mu)\pi\omega\nu, \Lambda \dot{a}(\mu)\pi\sigma$ in Kretschmer's collection, K. Z. XXIX, p. 436), though here the comparison of λάψεται is not so pertinent as Kretschmer supposes. It is better to class Λά(μ)πων, &c., with $N\acute{v}(\mu)\phi\eta$ (§ 336), than to regard λάψεται as derived from $\lambda \acute{a}(\mu)\psi$ εται, despite the Herodoteian λάμψομαι, ἐλάμφθην, λαμπτέος. We have κατελάφθη Zeleia, 1137, and λελάβηκα, καταλελαβήκει in Hdt. (IV 79, III 42), λέλαμμαι in Hdt. and Hippokr., ἀναλελάφθαι in Hippokr. III 308, according to Littré, with ample MS. support 2. I cannot follow Bechtel in branding as spurious the Herodoteian λάμψεαι Ι 191, λάμψεσθαι ΙΧ 108, λαμφθείσαι VI 92, merely on the ground that λάψεται is a well attested Milesian form, and that Herodotos may have made use of the Milesian dialect, as is claimed e.g. by Wilamowitz, Zeitschr. für Gymn.-wes. XXXI 645. The parallelism between the Herodoteian forms and the inscriptional λάψεται from Miletos proves nothing as to the original character of the historian's The Chian ἀποδεκνύντες 174 B 14 would lead, on this reasoning, to a different conclusion as to the nature of the Herodoteian diction. If λήψομαι and λήμψομαι could be formed, why not λάμψομαι? λάμψεσθαι in fact occurs upon the great inscription from Andania, Ditt. Syll. 388₆₇, though the genuine Doric was λαψοῦμαι Epicharmos 18, Theokr. I 4. Cf. also the late aorist ἐξέλαμψα Diog. Laert. I 85. λάμψομαι is now generally banished from Hdt.'s text, and παραλήψηται in Hippokrates VI 326 rests upon conjecture.

Proper names in 'Αγε- or 'Αγε-, which run parallel to those in 'Ηγε-, are from ἄγω, the asper being borrowed from ἡγέομαι (> sāg). Cf. Lokrian ἄγειν. The Doric 'Αγησίλαος (Perinthos,

234 B 5) has the lenis from ayw.

Ionic \tilde{a} from η in the grammarians (e.g. Et. Gud. 106_{45} , 121_7 , 18, An. Par. III 295_1) is based upon a misconception of the interrelation of the first and second perfect. In $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\kappa\nu\tilde{a}$, $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\alpha\sigma\mu\dot{\epsilon}\nu\sigma$; &c. the ancients discovered an Ionic change of η to α (Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 444, Meerm. 654, Aug. 668, Vat. 699, Birnb. 678₂₈, Et. Mag. 501₅, Eust. 171449, 52, 55 cf. 170049, An. Ox. I 282_{26} , An. Par. III 478_{26}).

λήμψη is a probable conjecture of Sterrett's, Papers of the Am. School, II 56,
 VI; cf. 58, XIX.
 Veitch, however, supports ἀναλελάμφθαι. Cf. Schmidt, Voc. I 118.

In the view that all epic forms are Ionic we find in Eust. 393,9 (cf. Schol. Ven. A on Γ 130) τόμφα called Ionic by a τροπή of η to α. καρός also is said to be Ionic for κηρός, Schol. Ven. A on I 378.

131.] Interrelation of A and O.

In a few instances a and o seem to be interrelated sounds, though the law governing their interrelation has not been formulated in all cases (cf. § 147). So far as Ionic is concerned, we have the following form where Ionic a = o of other dialects: $d\rho\rho\omega\delta\epsilon\omega$ Hdt. I 9, 111, 156, III 119, &c., $d\rho\rho\omega\delta\epsilon\eta$ IV 140, &c., and attested by the Et. Mag. p. 632_{43} (cf. Bek. An. I 446₁₆). Lukian has the Attic $d\rho\rho\omega\delta\epsilon\omega$ (Hesychios $d\rho\rho\omega\delta\epsilon\alpha$, $d\rho\rho\omega\delta\epsilon\omega$, &c.) and so too Hippokrates and Aretaios. Probably assimilation of a to o has here been caused by the influence of the ω of the following syllable (Schmidt, K.Z.XXV 112). Etymologists are generally silent as to the derivation of this word. Horrere is probably related to $d\rho\rho\epsilon\sigma\omega$, and cannot be connected with $d\rho\rho\omega\delta\epsilon\omega$ as L.S. think. The Ionic form deserves special note, since it is only very rarely that Ionic differs from Attic in its use of a and o.

The question as to the interrelation of α and σ assumes a different form in the case of proper names. In the MSS, of Hdt. there is a constant fluctuation between the readings 'Αρταξέρξης and 'Αρτοξέρξης, the latter obtaining in Ktesias and Plutarch, though Plutarch, in the de malign. Herod., ascribes the form in σ to the historian. Cf. also Steph. Byz. s.v. 'Αρταΐα. 'Αρταξέρξης occurs upon the inscription from Mylasa, 248, ABC, and would seem to be a closer reproduction of Arta-khshathra than 'Αρτοξέρξης, which Stein adopts, VI 98¹, VII 106, 151, 152, though the form in σ is not unsupported. In other names Stein does not hesitate to read 'Αρτο-, e.g. 'Αρτοβαζάνης VII 2, 'Αρτοζώστρη VI 43, though in the case of the former name Thom. Mag. 29916, testifies to the form in 'Αρτα-. Nor is Stein consistent, since we find 'Αρτάβανος IV 83, VII 10, 11, 17, 47; 'Αρτάβαζος VII 66, &c.; 'Αρταβάτης VII 65; 'Αρταφρένης V 25, and other names in 'Αρτα-. He adopts 'Αστροβάκου VI 69, where R has 'Αστρα-.

In any event no Ionic change of a to o may be deduced from the uncertainty attendant upon the MS. fluctuations. The Persian names in $A\rho\tau\nu$ - ($A\rho\tau\nu\beta\iota$ os, $A\rho\tau\nu\phi\iota$ os, $A\rho\tau\nu\sigma\tau\omega\nu\eta$) are not to be held to be instances of the final effort of a phonetic movement which began with $A\rho\tau$ a- and reached $A\rho\tau\nu$ - through $A\rho\tau\nu$ -, as has been held to be the case with $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}$, $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}$, and $\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\nu}$ (§ 132). The forms in $A\rho\tau\nu$ - are due, not to an interchange of a and o (§ 147), but to the fondness for o- stems in composition.

¹ Cf. his note on this passage in his annotated edition, Fick, Spracheinheit, p. 406, and Schmidt, Urheimath d. Indogermanen, p. 5.

132. A in relation to Y.

ἐκαλινδέετο Hdt. III 52, compared with κυλίνδεται Sim. Amorg. VII 4, κατακυλισθ $\hat{\eta}$ Hdt. V 16, must not be regarded as an instance of the interchange of a and v^1 , and much less as a proof of the greater age of καλινδέω (Curtius, Etym.⁵, p. 715). With κυψέλη, κάμψα, capsula, and κύλιξ, calix, are to be classed καλινδέω, κυλινδέω, Germ. quellen. Both καλ- and κυλ- are weak

forms of $\sqrt{\kappa \epsilon \lambda} = qel$.

The non-Ionic (Arkadian) form $\kappa a \tau \dot{\nu}$ does not invalidate the above explanation, since it is derived from $*\kappa a \tau \dot{\nu}$ ($\kappa a \tau \dot{\nu} \pi \epsilon \rho$) Halikarn. 238₄₃ is from $\ddot{\nu} \pi \epsilon \rho$), which in turn is an analogue of $\dot{\nu} \pi \dot{\nu}$; $*\kappa a \tau \dot{\nu}$ becomes $\kappa a \tau \dot{\nu}$, as $\dot{\nu} \pi \dot{\nu}$ becomes $\dot{\nu} \pi \dot{\nu}$ (Kyme, 3 A). This is better than to assume, on the strength of Lettic-Lith. sa and Lith. su, Lith. ga, gu, that the forms in a and v are proethnic.

133.] A and AI.

ἔταρος, ἐτάρη, &c., the variant forms of ἔταιρ- < ἔταρι-, occur in the epos only. Archil., Sim. Am., Theog., Hdt. have ἐταιρ-.

E.

On the ϵ of $\epsilon \kappa \epsilon \hat{i}$, $\epsilon \kappa \epsilon \hat{i} \nu o s$, $\epsilon \chi \theta \epsilon s$ see § 564, on that of $\epsilon o \rho \tau \hat{\eta}$ § 287. 1, note, on $\epsilon \theta \epsilon \lambda \omega$ § 588; on hyper-Ionic ϵ in pronouns, §§ 562, 563.

134. Ionic EP for AP of other dialects.

The Ionic dialect in a few cases has made use of the strong

forms in $\epsilon \rho$, though not to the same extent as Aiolic.

ἔρσην: ἔρσενος Hdt. I 109, ἔρσενες I 193, ἐρσένων I 192, ἔρσενας I 193. The MSS., notably R, have the Attic form, which must have been Ionic also, since it comes to light upon the very old Thasian inscription (Bechtel, no. 68, ἄρσεν). Herakl. 43 ἄρρενος (Attic). Homer has ἄρσην Θ 7, which is doubtless Ionic, since ἔρσην is Aiolic (C. D. I. 2936). That both the strong and the weak form should co-exist in one and the same dialect need not surprise us. Thessalian and Boiotian (perhaps even Ionic, see on θάρσος, above § 128) have both θερσ- and θαρσ-, two forms living together. The only other dialects which have ἔρσην are, I believe, Kretan (Gortyna Tables, X 52 ἔρσενες, X 49 ἐρσένων) and Epidaurian (Baunack's Studien 80132). In the other dialects ἄρσην: Attic ἄρρ[ε]νος C. I. A. II 678, B 55–378 B.C., Eleian Γάρρενορ = ἄρρενος C. D. I. 1152, Lakon. ἄρσης C. I. G.

¹ The change of v to a in κυλινδοῦμαι, καλινδοῦμαι was held to be Aiolic by Et. Mag. 486₉.

1464, (first cent. B.C.). See Fick, G. G. A. 1883, p. 117; Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 23. Hippokrates, Lukian (Astr. 11 ἄρρενα, ἄρρενες), and Arrian 8, (ἄρσενας) have the a form.

τέσσερες: τέσσερες, τεσσερεσκαίδεκα, τεσσερεκαίδεκάτη, τεσσεράκοντα, τεσσερακοντόργυιος, are found in Hdt. with occasional lapses in favour of the Attic forms, as Herodas, 7_{102} . Lukian, V. A. 4 has τέσσερα, Arrian § 9_8 , 22_9 τεσσαράκοντα, 13_2 , 21_{13} τέσσαρες. Upon inscriptions we meet with τέσσερες 148_{91} , a comparatively late document from Ephesos, τεσσέρων 104, B 66, Thasos, middle of the fourth century, with τεσσάρων on the same inscription, lines 62 and 63; τεσσάρων occurs also in no. 114, F (Zeleia), which dates shortly after the battle of Granikos; τέσσερα Teos, 157_{18} (the stone has TEZEPA); τέσ (σ) αρες 159_9 , Teos, with but one Σ upon the stone. τεσσεράκοντα 104_{52} , Thasos, 111_{11} , Kyzikos; 1τ εσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων 174, C 16, Chios, and τεσ $[\sigma]$ ερακαιεβδο[μη]Οροντούτης 58, Paros. Only Arkadian and Ionic have ερ: Arkad. τεσσεράκοντα Foucart, 352 n. (late). Cf. Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 44.

'Aρταφρένης is adopted as the genuine reading by Stein in every instance, though the MSS. of Hdt. constantly vary between the form in -φρένης and that in -φέρνης (V 25, 30, 31, 32, 35, 73, &c.). Aischylos, Persai, 21, 776, has 'Αρταφρένης. In like manner Stein reads 'Ινταφρένης III 70, 78, 118, 119. Upon an Attic inscription, C. I. A. I 64, B 14 (410-405 B.C.), we find Τισ]σαφρένην, which ensures the correctness of the form in -φρένης (cf. Old Persian -franā), and stamps that in -φέρνης, so popular in later Greek, as a folk-etymology in the direction of φέρω; c.g. 'Οροφέρνης Priene, Anc. Gr. Inscr. 3, no. 424, 64. G. Meyer, Gr. Gr. § 175, note 1. The above quoted Attic inscription is important evidence that the form used in the treaty, Thukydides, VIII 27, is incorrect. See Kirchhoff in Sitzungsberichte d. Berliner Akad., 1884, p. 399.

On θερσ-, see above § 128, under θάρσος. On κρέσσων, cf. below § 142.

χλιερός is said to be Ionic for χλιαρός in Liddell and Scott, but in Hdt. and Hippokr. we find only the latter form. χλιερός in fact occurs in Kratinos 143 K, in Athen. A. The ϵ form does not occur in Nikander, Al. 360, as L. S. state.

The grammarians held to an Ionic change of a to ε in διερός (Et. Gud. 14434, Orion 481). So the κοινή form μιερός (Phryn. 363 R) was once regarded as Ionic. So too ψίεθος.

lapós does not occur in Ionic. On lepós and lpós see § 300. ετερος = ἄτερος in Doric, Boiotian, Attic (in θάτερον, άτερος),

¹ réssepa held its ground till late. Upon an Egyptian papyrus (189 A.D.) we find it still preserved. Cf. Trans. Berlin Acad. 1883, pp. 916, 919.

though Attic has generally Erepos 1. In Aiolic we have conflicting testimony; έτερος Sappho, 106, and C. D. I. 279, but Herodian, I 5076, opines that ἀτέρνι is Aiolic. ἔτερος is, morphologically considered, the later form, its initial e being due to the influence of the ε of the following syllable. ερσην and τέσσερες might be explained after the same fashion. See Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 92 note. Cf. δβολός δβελός, and ημυσυ ήμυσυν (but ήμίσεος) upon Attic inscriptions after 378, and in the modern language of Amorgos (and Kalymna) ὅτοιμος, and όξω in modern Kretan. Cf. also ἀττέλεβος Hdt. IV 172, for ἀττέλαβος. Herodas, 751 has ἔτερον χάτερον.

Roberts, I no. 167, contains τητέρηι (TETEPEI). Cf. Roberts, I pp. 196, 200, 374, Cauer, 557. The inscription cannot be Eleian, as Wilamowitz thinks, since that dialect loves a in preference to n. Does not the absence of the asper indicate an Asiatic-Ionic origin? We find τήτέρη in Phoinix in Athen. 495 E. Cf. n+e, § 264.

135. Interrelation of EA and AA.

Forms in -ελος in the κοινή were once held to be Ionic, perhaps because of Hom. πύελος μυελός, later πύαλος μυαλός. Thus δελος was thought by Bredow to have been adopted from Ionic by Theophrastos, whereas in Hdt. III 24, Stein's ὑέλου is not above doubt. The pseudo-Phrynichos (R. p. 363) enjoins ὕαλος as Attic. There is no reason why φιέλη, for Attic φιάλη, should belong to Ionic. In Hippokr. σίελος often occurs as a variant for $\sigma ia\lambda os$ (VI 160, 196, 214, 370 in θ). In many of these forms Attic too had ε: πύελος, μυελός, σίελος (Phryn. 364).

136. Other examples of Ionic E = A of other dialects. ὅτε, πότε, ἄλλοτε, Ionic-Attic=Dor. ὅκα, πόκα, ἄλλοκα,=Aiolic ότα, πότα, ἄλλοτα. Both the Ionic and Doric forms are equally original, an I.E. palatal sound becoming tau before ε, kappa before a. The Aiolic forms are contaminations.

On είνεκεν, είτεν, έπειτεν, see under Adverbs. -θεν, -θε, not -θα, are the Ionic forms. yé Ionic-Attic = Doric yá, Epeirot. yév 2.

γέμμα was the Ionic form used especially by Demokritos a according to the unsupported testimony of Eustathios, 37015.

Aristotle's 'Aθ. πολ. has even οὐτέρα = οἱ ἐτ-. Attic inscriptions have always ἔτερος. Attic θάτερον sic, and not θάτερον, except when the article precedes as in Menander 846 Koch. θάτερα θατέρων Hippokr. IX 30. It is

precedes as in Menander 840 Koch. βάτερα βατέραν Ηippokr. IX 30. It is impossible that τὸ ἔτερον should become βάτερον, as is commonly stated.

γέ may be the Old Slav. ἐε, Old Lith. ge; γά (Skt. ha) must be dissociated from Skt. hi which is almost always orthotone. hi is=Gr. ·χι in οδχί, Skt. nahi. V. Henry, Mém. Soc. Ling. VI 378 ff. The Epeirotic γέν can scarcely be regarded as a survival of an original γέν. Baunack, K. Z. XXV 243 thinks that the ν is the movable letter. Is it perhaps γε + ν(ε)? Cf. Thessal. νε.

Demokritos' position in respect of the names of the letters was peculiar. In Bekk. Anecd. II 7813 the gen. δέλτατος and δήτατος are cited from him, and in Eust. 270. he is said to have called μβ μβ.

and in Eust. 370,5 he is said to have called μῦ, μῶ.

For other variations between ϵ and a, a and ϵ , occurring in various dialects, and of which no satisfactory explanation has

as yet been reached, compare G. Meyer, Gramm. § 24.

In the inflection of neuters with stems in -ao- we encounter in Ionic, in Attic tragedy and comedy (rarely), an ϵ in place of the thematic a. Thus in Homer ούδει, κώεσι; in Hdt. γέρεα (κρέεσσιν oracl. I 47), κέρεος, κέρεϊ, κέρεα, κερέων, perhaps τέρεος, τέρεα, cf. Τειρεσίας; γήρους Hippokr. VII 182 (Hdt. γήραος); in inscriptions γέρεα Miletos 100, cf. § 544. Whether the peculiar nature of this change requires that it be regarded as a survival of a pre-Hellenic stage, or whether it ensued upon Greek soil, is not yet clear. Schmidt, Neutra p. 335, holding that no became so in primitive Greek save where analogy revived the old form, suggests that the original inflection in Greek was -as, -εos, -aī, -aa, -εων, -aσσι, and that in course of time by a levelling process there arose -as, -eos, -ei, &c., and -as, -aos, -ai, &c. The literary monuments of Aiolic and Doric 1 are unacquainted with this interrelation of a and ϵ in substantives.

ε apparently takes the place of a in certain verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ (δρέω, τολμέω, οἰδέω, ἐχρέοντο², &c.) and before o, ω , ov in inflection. An explanation of the interrelation of the forms is attempted in \S 688. On $\tau\rho\delta\pi\omega$ in Hdt. see \S 128.

Before the termination -(σ)αι, a becomes ε in Ionic by dissimilation; ε.g. ἐπίστεαι, δύνεαι. In Attic Ποτειδεᾶται we have a

somewhat similar case of dissimilation.

New Ionic $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\phi}aros$, $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\phi}avls$ for $\dot{\rho}a\dot{\phi}$ -, Ammon. 122 (Valck., cf. also 203 on the difference in signification). Hippokr. VIII 250 $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\phi}\dot{a}rov$ in C and θ ; 308 $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\phi}avl\delta os$ C &c., but θ &c. have $\dot{\rho}a\dot{\phi}$ -; VI 558 all MSS. $\dot{\rho}a\dot{\phi}$ -. Thomas Mag. (323 R) says that $\dot{\rho}\dot{\epsilon}\pi aros$ was Ionic for $\dot{\rho}a\dot{\phi}avls$. Aretaios 301 has $\dot{\rho}a\dot{\phi}$ -.

πιέζω Ionic, Attic and Aiolic = Doric πιάζω (IIdn. II 94921, An.

Ox. I 2915, I 3678).

137. Ionic E = O of other dialects.

A singular substitution of ϵ for o is found in $\Delta\iota\epsilon\nu\nu'\sigma\omega(\iota)$, Bechtel No. 31, from Amorgos, an inscription of the fifth century; whereas the other Ionic inscriptions have either $\Delta\iota o$ - $r\nu'\sigma\iota o$ s or $\Delta\epsilon\sigma\nu' o$ s. See below § 138. G. Meyer, Gramm. § 26, is inclined to regard this ϵ as parallel to that of ${}^{\epsilon}I\pi\pi\epsilon\delta\dot{a}\mu\sigma\nu$ (Rhodes) or of ${}^{\dagger}a\nu' o$ pecons, called Doric by Herodian,—forms of common speech with an ϵ comparable to the toneless ϵ of Modern Greek. Bechtel's suggestion is preferable: $\Delta\iota\acute{e}\nu\nu\sigma\sigma o$ s: $\Delta\iota\acute{e}\nu\nu\sigma\sigma o$ s = $a\iota\acute{e}\lambda\sigma\nu\rho\sigma o$ s ${}^{\dagger}a\nu' o$ 0 as Lak. $a\nu' o$ 0 at (R. M. XL 8):

¹ The e forms 8600, nwos (see Schmidt, p. 341) were regarded as either Ionic or Doric, Et. M. 2579, An. Par. IV 1672, Aneed, Bachm. I 1911.

Greg. Kor. 15.
 aidλουρος for αίλουρος in Hdt. and comic poets. Cf. Et. M. 314.

ομόσαι, or as Herakl. ερρηγείας, &c.: nom. in -ωs. Cf. G. G. A. 1881, p. 1447, Baunack's Stud. I 71, and K. Z. XXVI 354. Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 89, has no other means of disposing of Διενύσωι than assuming that it is an error of the stone-cutter.

Of the various names taking their rise from the two chief ablaut forms of Apollo ('Απόλλων, 'Απέλλων), there are a few examples upon Ionic soil of the latter, so common among Doric peoples. 'Απελλίωνος 1535, Smyrna (names in 'Απολλ-, lines 3, 15, 24, 37, 40, 41), 'Απ]ελλῆς 177 Chios, and in Erythraian inscriptions: 'Απελλίου 206 A 4 (cf. 'Απόλλωνος 206 A 20), 'Απελλίου 206 Β 17 (in the same line, 'Απολλών[ιος]), 'Απελλικών Bull. de Corr. Hel. III 388. Also in Naukratis (Gardner's Naukr. I, pl. XXXII 104), 'Aπολ- names are very frequent. In no case does the god bear the name 'Απέλλων among Ionic peoples, though it is a form of as great antiquity as that in vogue in Attic-Ionic. It may be noticed that the form 'Aπελoccurs in Ionic only when the following sound is not o or w. See my paper Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc. XVIII 97, and especially Prellwitz, B. B. IX 327 ff. Baunack in the Studia Nicolaitana, p. 54, in his Studien, p. 155, Meister G. D. II 90, and Jordan, Krit. Beitr. zur lat. Forment. 7-23, may also be consulted.
δβελός the Homeric, and hence according to Orion 11819 the

όβελός the Homeric, and hence according to Orion 118₁₉ the Ionic, form. This form occurs on an Attic inscription, C. I. A. IV 3 C, 5, and διωβελία, δβελίσκος, &c., are common in Attic. δβελός is also Boiotian; δδελός Delphic, Tarantine and Megarian. See Meister II 205. Hippokrates VIII 220, 224, 228 ἡμιωβέλιου

and $\partial \beta o \lambda \delta s$ in θ .

In $\xi \xi a \pi \epsilon \delta o v$ Hdt. (II 149) has preserved the older form of the termination; cf. Ψ 164 $\epsilon \kappa a \tau \delta \mu \pi \epsilon \delta o v$ (Ven. A), where the vulgata has $-\pi o \delta o v$. In Attic (Thuk. and Xen.) the stem $\pi o \delta$ - has

supplanted its rival $\pi \epsilon \delta$ -.

Τερώναον Terone 7 (before 420), cf. Τορωναΐοι on Attic tributelists in the first volume of C. I. A., and Τορωναΐοι on an Attic mortuary stelè, Mitth. X 367 ff. Τορων- is due to assimilation,

cf. § 134, end.

The MSS. of Hdt. have ε for o in -κόντερος, &c. Examples: πεντηκοντέρων, τριηκοντέροισι. In III 41, 124, VI 138, the MSS. vary; but in each case Stein has adopted the -κοντερος form. The Ionic form contains the simple form of the root έρ- (ἐρέσσω, ἐρέτης), whereas the Attie πεντηκόντορος, τριακόντορος have the ablaut δρ-. Both forms, τριακόντορος and τριακόντερος, occur in Attic inser., and in the fourth century only; but the former is the more frequent. The ablaut form in ορ is the one to be expected from the composition of the word, but the ε form often makes its way into the second part of a compound. Cf. § 295 on δημιοεργός.

138. E in Ionic = I of other dialects.

Names derived from, or connected with, Διόνυσος exhibit a greater elasticity of vowel relations in Ionic than elsewhere.

We have above, § 137, met with the sui generis $\Delta \iota \acute{e}\nu \nu \sigma \sigma s$; besides this form we have $\Delta \epsilon \sigma \nu \hat{\nu} s$, in No. 196, Maroneia, and $\Delta \epsilon \sigma \nu \hat{\nu} \delta \sigma s$ in 198, Erythrai. The ϵ vowel we have also in $\Delta \epsilon \sigma \nu \nu \hat{\nu} s$ upon a coin of Imhoof-Blumer's collection (below § 246), in $\Delta \epsilon \nu \nu \nu \sigma \sigma s$ Anakreon, 211, 11, (but $\Delta \iota \acute{e}\nu \nu \sigma \sigma s$ 54, 55, 131), and in the abbreviated ΔEO on coin legends of Abdera, Bechtel, 1631. Is the ϵ here due to a confusion with that of $\theta \epsilon \sigma$, with which $\delta \iota \sigma \sigma s$ often interchangeable in proper names? See Thessalian, § 28.

In sharp opposition to this ε are the forms with ι, which are very common. Examples are: Διόνυσος Iasos, 10416, Eryth. 206 B 24, and often elsewhere; Διονύσιος Smyrna 1533, δ, Thasos (L) 15 C 4, Thasos (L) 19 B4, 20 B 11, Kyzik. 1115, Olbia 13114, 261 (of uncertain locality), Halik. 241; Διονυσάδος Abdera, 163, 15, Coins of Brit. Mus., Thrace 66, nos. 62, 68, 85, and in almost every other Ionic quarter. Ionic also is Διώνυσος. On the probable connection with Zεύς by folk-etymology, see Baunack (Gortyn, p. 67, note 1), and Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 89. Cf. also Frogs 215, Apoll. Argon. II 905, IV 1132.

139.] E for H.

μέν for μήν in the formulae η μέν Hdt. I 196; μη μέν I 68, III 66, V 106; γε μέν VI 129, VII 152, 234; δλλα-μέν II 20, 32, IV 77, VII 103; καλ-μέν IV 45, VI 98. Cf. Greg. Kor. 62, IIdt. here adopts a usage common to Homer, and not unknown in Attic. Cobet, Misc. Crit. 365, is an advocate of the view, with which Kirchhoff agrees, that Homer has only η μέν, μη μέν, not η μήν, μη μήν. Bekker would recognize only μάν, and μέν when called for by the metre. Cf. Monro, Hom. Gram. § 342 ff. With μέν are connected the Thessalian, Homeric and Attic μά, as κέν is connected with κά. Homeric μάν and μήν are probably not directly related.

έσσοῦμαι in Hdt., cf. Attic ἡττάομαι, out of which ῆττα was formed, Wackernagel, K. Z. XXX 299. Hdt. has έσσοῦντο I 67; -μένονς I 82; έσσωθείς I 207; έσσοῦσθαι III 22, &c. chiefly in

d. Brugmann conjectures unnecessarily (Berichte d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. 1883, p. 193, cf. Osthoff Perfect. 449) that ἐσσοῦμαι is from ἔσσων, whose ε represents a mechanical change of η (cf. ἤκα, Attie ἤττων) to ε, in order to bring the comparative into line with κρέσσων, Ionic for κρείσσων. But cf. sẽcus and sẽcius for a like ablaut variation. Stein edits ῆσσων (cf. ἦσσον I 98; ῆσσονες V 86, VIII 113; ἡσσόνων VII 18; ῆσσοσι VIII 83) and is here supported in part by the unanimous voice of the MSS. Elsewhere the MSS. are in a terrible state of confusion. The other prosaists have η, e. g. Demokr., 15, Hippokr. III 190. The superlative has always η. Krüger holds to ἔσσων, Formenlehre, § 23, 4, 3.

ε is shortened from η in νέες, νέας (cf. Greg. Kor. 19).

Θαργελέο[s] for Θαργη- Chios, 174 C 18?

μεδέων Archil. 138, ablaut form of μηδέων; cf. μέζεα Hsd. W. D. 512, called Ionic by Greg. Kor. p. 535.

Some of the grammarians of antiquity, chiefly Tzetzes, assumed an Ionic συστολή in such words as ξερόν in Homer = Messenian and Herakleian ξηρόν (Tzetz, Ex. Il. 61₁₆, 90₁₆), γεραιός (ibid. 90₁₄), where we have in reality ablant forms.

τλεος appears to be the Herodoteian form, IV 94, VI 91. The interrelation of this form, which is also Kretan, with τλη F os and τλλαος is a much-vexed question. τλεος represents the mutation τλη-, τλε-, the forms with α an old ablaut form τλα-. Archilochos, τ., has τλαος (τ.) according to Bergk, for which Fick proposed without justification to read τλεως. Cf. τλαος in Theognis τ.82. τλαος is Ionic as well as Attic (which has also τλαος). See Pischel, β. β. VII 332 and Solmsen, γ. γ. XXIX 351. The Hesychian ελλης ετ τλεως ετ, has been read ετλης ετ, and explained as an Asiatic-Ionic perfect.

Whether the form of the adjective is τλεως or τλεως in Ionic, is still a matter of contention, since the ground-form of the word has not been cleared up by the Lakonian BIAFFO (Roehl 75 = Rob. I No. 261). It is even a matter of dispute what is the genuine Homeric form. Nauck has called for τληως and τλεως in place of τλαως and τλεως. Stein's claim that τλεως is the Herodoteian form is supported by the arguments of Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII, p. 264.

140.] Ionic E= \hat{A} of non-Ionic dialects (Aiolic, Doric, &c.).
(1) In this category falls first Ionic $-\epsilon\omega\nu = -\tilde{a}\omega\nu < -\tilde{a}F\omega\nu$ or $-\tilde{a}\iota\omega\nu$.

 $\delta\pi\dot{\alpha}\omega\nu$ Hom. = $\delta\pi\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ Hdt. IX 50.

Ποτειδά Γων Korinth., Ποσειδάων Hom. (Aiol.) = Ποσειδέων in Hdt. 1, Ποσειδών Arch. ep. 114, for which we may read Ποσειδέων.

Ποσειδάων in the Ionic elegy is due to the pressure exercised upon the elegy by the epic. Cf. Theog. 692. In Archil. 10 Ποσειδάωνος άνακτος, as given

¹ Ionic Ποσειδέων Hdn. I 3826, II 91713, cf. An. Ox. III 24116.

Bergk, is not supported by MS. evidence, though corresponding to Ποσειδάωνα άνακνα Iliad XV 8. The objection that if Archil. may adopt -οιο from
Homer, he has an equal right to -āωνος is not cogent, since -οιο is an ancient
Ionic termination and not obsolete in old Ionic poetry, while -āων cannot be
shown to be the property of any historical period of the Ionic dialect. Fick's
substitution, Ποσειδήωνος, is based upon Ποσεδηίων Anakr. 6, Ποσειδών Archil.
114, νηψός 4, παιήωνα 76 tetr. (on the peculiar position of παιήων in Homer, see
Fick, Οδήμακο, p. 17), and ἀλλήων, Naxos. 23, where ηων seems to be an intermediate stage between -āων and -ῶν.

'Αμυθάων Hom.='Αμυθέων Hdt. 'Αλκμάων, 'Αλκμαίων Hom. = Hdt. and Attic 'Αλκμέων=Doric 'Αλκμάν from 'ΑλκμάΓων. (Cf. Fritsch, V. H. D. 39, Johansson, B. B. XV 183, below § 141, Merzdorf, Curtius' Stud. IX 238.) With Φιλέων in Φιλεωνίδ[ε]os Thasos, 73, cf. Φιλάων in Hdt. VIII 11, which is, however, the name of a Kyprian. Μαχέων Thas. (Louvre) 10_{11} = Hom. Μαχάων, a form retained by Hrd. 4_9 .

(2) Ionic genitives in $-\epsilon \omega = \bar{\epsilon}(\sigma_k)o$, 'A $\tau \rho \epsilon l \delta \epsilon \omega$, &c., see § 425 ff. When metathesis quantitatis is involved, as in the genitive, an ϵ

is always the result.

(3) Genitive pl. in $-\epsilon\omega\nu = -\bar{\alpha}\omega\nu$ (Boiot., Thessal. (- α ov ν), Hom.). Homer's gen. in $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ (H 1, ϕ 191) and $-\epsilon\omega\nu$, $-\hat{\omega}\nu$ are Ionic. Menrad, De Contract. et Syniz. p. 41, calls for the restoration of $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ and $-\epsilon\omega$ wherever possible in the text of Homer, despite the fact that $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ is always diphthongal in the Ionic lyric.

(4) $\lambda\epsilon\dot{\omega}s = \lambda a\delta s$ (cf. § 160), and in proper names: Hdt., 'Αρκεσίλεωs, Χαρίλεωs, Μενέλεωs (Μενέλαοs Hdt. IV 169, of a λιμήν), and 'Αναξίλεωs, as in Miletos 93, not long after 600 B.C. So in $\lambda\epsilon\omega\phi\delta\rho\rho\sigma\nu$ Anakreon, 157, Chios, 175 (cf. $\lambda ao\phi\delta\rho\sigma s$, of a road, Il. XV 682), $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\kappa\rho\delta\tau\eta s$, $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\delta\omega\nu$ (Hrd. 47), and many other forms on inscriptions. The MSS. of Hdt. are not consistent (cf. II 124, V 42). Even in the case of Doric names he occasionally uses the Ionic forms; e.g. $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\eta\rho\epsilon\eta\eta s$ VI 85, but $\Lambda\alpha\delta\delta\mu\alpha s$, $\Lambda\alpha\delta\delta\kappa\eta$, &c. (§ 158). The latter form is a contamination of Doric $\Lambda\alpha\delta\delta\kappa a$ and Ionic $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\delta\kappa\eta$. Examples of η thus conjoined with Doric \bar{a} are rare. Variation in proper names must be expected even upon inscriptions: thus we have, Chios, 177, $\Lambda\epsilon\omega\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\sigma[s]$ 1. 3, but $\tau\delta\lambda\alpha\sigma s$ l. 14. Hekat. had $\lambda\epsilon\omega s$ according to An. Ox. I 26510, cf. Zeleia 114 C 6.

With these compounds of λεώs, and 'Αμφιάρεως 1 in Hdt., cf.

¹ Cf. Greg. Korinth., p. 42. 'Αμφιαράου Oropos, 18₂, a non-Ionic form. 'Αμφιάρφος ο 244. Zen, -δρ. Aristar.', and 'Αμφιάρφος upon vases led Kretschmer (K. Z. XXIX 415 to call 'Αμφιάρφος New Ionic. The same scholar, in common with Wackernagel K. Z. XXVII 265, regards 'Αμφιάρφος, which is frequent upon Attic vases, as due to a folk-etymology which saw ἀράσμαι in the verbal part. Pan-Hellenic ve generally, but not necessarily, becomes σο in later Ionic (§ 287, 288). 'Αμφιάρφος in v. ι. Hdt. VIII 134.

the Homeric 'Αγέλεως, Βριάρεως, &c. On the declension of λεώς,

see § 477.

(5) Furthermore, in Ionic έως, τέως 1 (ματο-ς, τατο-ς), μετέωρος, γεωπεδίου, &c., § 289, cf. δίμνεως (from διμναιος ?, see § 141) = Attic δίμνως, and in verbal forms, χρέωμαι, έξαναστέωμεν, ἐπιβέωμεν, μέμνεο Hdt. V 105, τεθνεός I 112, &c.

On θηέομαι = Attic θεδόμαι, see § 685.

In almost every instance when primitive a preceded a spirant and a vowel, Ionic attests the presence of ϵ in place of \bar{a} . The instances where this is not the case deserve to be brought out into clear light. Anos, in Hipponax, has already been referred to. In Hdt. we do not find vews, as might be expected from the analogy of λεώς < ληός, but νηός, the epic form = Aiolic ναῦος 2. Herodotos' preservation of vyós is artificial and not in consonance with the genius of the Ionic dialect, which would call for vews; a form which in fact appears in composition: νεωποιήσαντες Samos 222. $\nu \epsilon \omega$ is the Hellenistic form, and as such is also not foreign to Aiolic monuments; but it may be safely claimed as genuine Ionic, even though the Samian inscription is not old,

141. Ionic E=Al of other dialects.

Ionic $\gamma \epsilon \eta$, $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ and epic $\gamma a \hat{\imath} a$ may be regarded as forms phonetically interdependent, though the parallelism of 'Aθηναία, adduced by Bechtel (Ionische Inschr. No. 62), is faulty, since there is no *'Aθηνέη. We have here to do with strong and weak case forms,

as is shown on yn, under Declension.

A further example adduced as cogent is ἀγεόμενοι Hdt. VIII 69, though in Homer, v 16, Hesiod, W. D. 333, and Archilochos, 25, the original αι cannot be impeached; nor does an *αγέσμαι for ayaloμαι win our sympathies when ayaσσεσθαι, &c., are compared. Fritsch (V. H. D. p. 39) is inclined to the view that αγεόμενοι can have originated only in a period when αι was written ε (150 A. D. according to Meisterhans, p. 27). Cf. παρακέεται II 130 (C. P. d.) for παρακαίεται. If recourse to this means of accounting for the form αγε- be deemed too bold, we may be compelled to dissociate ayéonai from ayalonai, and to class the former with such verbs as apéopat. Cf. Hesychios, άγη· παρ' 'Ηροδότφ βασκανία. We must withdraw beyond the realm of probability any suggestion that ayaiouat was the ground form which, through a passing into the glide and by an Ionic weakening of a to ε, became ayέομαι. Curtius, Verbum, I 176, does not mention ayéouas.

Bredow, p. 50. τέως was adopted by Attic prose and poetry.
² νηός is derived from a stem νᾶf-, ναῦςς from a stem νᾶf-, both stems combining to form the declension. Cf. the intermixture of strong and weak stems in the case of vaus, vyus, 'ship.' The stem vaf- arose from the loca-

'Αλκμέων Hdt., Samos in Imh.-Bl. G. M. 401, δίμνεως, Hdt., are not to be derived directly from the aι of 'Αλκμαίων or of μναιαῖος (Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII 267), but from the ā of 'Αλκμάων or of *μνᾶια (Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX 416; Johansson, B. B. XV 183 and § 421). 'Αλκμαίων contains a suffix different from that in 'Αλκμάων. In Alkm. 71 the a is probably short.

On κύπερος = κύπαιρος, see § 142.

142.] Ionic E = EI of other dialects.

On antevocalic ϵ from ϵi , see § 219.

μέζων in Herakl. and Hdt. < μεγιων, a more original form than μείζων 1. μείζων is the poetical form (Theog. 338, 517, with no case of μέζων), though μέζων appears upon a metrical inscription from Attika, B. C. H. VIII 4702. In Anaxag. 6, 16, Simplicius has μείζων, which Mullach has changed to μέζων. So too in all cases where μείζων appears in Ionic writers quoted by Stobaios, e.g. Demokr. 15. The form with & has not been cleared up despite the efforts of Brugmann (Ber. d. sächs. Gesell. d. Wiss. 1883, p. 193, Grundriss, I & 639) and of Osthoff (Jenaer Litteraturzeit. 1878, Art. 476, Zur Gesch. des Perf. 449) to refer it to the analogy of χείρων, αμείνων. Brugmann adopts the same explanation for $\kappa \rho \epsilon l \sigma \sigma \omega \nu = \kappa \rho \epsilon \sigma \sigma \omega \nu$. Cf. also K. Z. XXIX 140. The analogy of $\pi \lambda \epsilon l \omega \nu$, $\mu \epsilon l \omega \nu$ is more obvious, and is less open to objection. μέζων has been imitated by Lukian, Syr. 12, 19, 22 (despite μείζον 10 in all MSS., as in V. A. 6) and in the Astr. 5, 6. In Arrian $\mu \in \zeta$ - is well attested, but it is absent from the text of Euseb. Mynd. Eusebios 3 has μέζον. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Ionic form in a large majority of instances. Herodas has μέζων 12 times, μείζων once (336).

κρέσσων³, formed from the strong base κρετ-, which does not elsewhere appear in Ionic, though well attested in the case of Arkado-Kyprian, and perhaps not foreign to Aiolic. κρέσσων occurs in Hdt., Demokr. Mor. 94, 191, 193, 218, Hipponax 79, Anan. 33, Phokyl. 52, though in these poets the reading κρέσσων is disputed by some MSS. Theognis, 218, 618, 631 (Ο κρείσσων), 996, has κρέσσων; which is sufficient authority to justify Renner's displacement of κρείσσων, 1074, 1173. The Herakleiteian form is doubtful (47, 109). I hold fast to my assertion (Diphthong EI, p. 58) despite the objections urged against it, A. J. P. VIII 98, that it is impossible for yod with tau to have become σσ, and at the same time to have changed ε to ει in the preceding syllable. Hippokrates and Aretaios have κρέσσων, a form which recurs in

Greg. Kor. 54. ** ** spieces* occurs also in Pindar and Theokritos.

Greg. Kor. 54: in An. Ox. II 392, μέζων is called Aiolic.

³ μέζων appears upon a Tegeatic inscription, B. C. H. XIII 281. It is also found in Epicharmos 32, Pindar and Theokritos.

Euseb. Mynd. 10, 62, though the MSS. of the Neo-Platonist have μείζων. In the letters of Hippokrates the Ionic form has been carefully imitated (1722, 57, 2754). In Protagoras we read κρείσσω. κρέσσον occurs upon an Attic epigram of the fifth century A. D. in Kaibel 170, and upon one from Thebes of the third century B. C. (K. 498).

els, ès < èvs, see under Prepositions. The usual Ionic form appears to be ès, though els is not unknown. els in Ionic con-

tains a spurious, in Aiolic a genuine, diphthong.

κύπερος, an aromatic plant used by the Skythians for embalming, Hdt. IV 71, Hesych. s. v. κύπερα. Whether this is connected with the marsh plant, κύπειρου Il. XXI 351 (Hesych. s. v.), is doubtful. Eustath. 123981 mentions also κύπαιρον, which is Dorie (9697, 16487), ef. αίγερος, αίγειρος Hdn. II 41131. The forms with ει are from -ερι-, those in -ερ- are devoid of the suffix -40-.

δέκνυμι (ἀποδεκνύντες Chios, 174 B 14, also upon a document from Kos in Newton's Ancient Greek Inscrip, in the Brit. Mus. No. 260 (third cent.); δέξαι, δέξασθαι, δεχθήναι, δεδέχθαι, απόδεξις 1, in Hdt.; Hippokrates has ἀπόδειξις, and Hdt. himself often has the & in verbal forms, e.g. II 30, IV 79, VI 61, IX 82, which editors remove. In Herodas we find no trace of the form δεκ-. δέδεκται is read by Gomperz in pseudo-Hippokr. περί τέχνης § 10; ἀπόδεξις Euseb. Mynd. 25, but ἀναδειξάμενοι 31. δέκνυμι is to be separated from δείκνυμι and compared with doceo". The poets offer no example of δέκνυμι (δείξει Solon, 10, έδειξε Theog. 500), nor does Herakl. (cf. 44), or Arrian. G. Meyer's suggestion (Gramm. § 115, note) that δειδέχαται is connected with doceo and δέξαι, &c., is scarcely to be accepted. Cf. Bechtel,

Gött. Nachr. 1890, No. 1, p. 31. ἔργω = εἴργω (the distinction between εἴργω and εἴργω is late and fanciful). Hdt. uses έργω (ἀπεργμένον, ἀπέρξαι, κατέργοντες, &c., Bredow, p. 153), and not είργω 3 or εέργω. εξείργου V 22, is due apparently to the variable augment of έργω, and need not therefore be classed with κατειργυῦσι IV 69, ἀπείργουσα IX 68, where the MSS, agree in demanding a form stamped as un-Herodoteian by all other passages. Since in Homer both εξργω and εέργω 4 are well established, a change of τῆλέ με εξργουσι

¹ δέξω &c. Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 36, Meerm. 652, Aug. 668, Par. 680, Vat. 698, An. Ox. II 176,2 (Choirob.), II 195,9 (Choirob.), cf. An. Par. III 57,3, An. Bachm. II 3692. δελός – δειλός is a fictitious form, Meerm. 652, Vat.

^{698.}So far as I am aware no scholar has accepted the conclusions of Möller

in regard to δείκνυμι, Κ. Ζ. XXIV 462. ³ Anan. 3, has καθείρξαι, a doubtful form. Theognis, 686, 710, 1180, has εἴργω, which I would not change with Renner, ⁴ Ἰωνικῶs, An. Ox. IV 186₂₆, Choirob. 561₂₉.

to τῆλέ μ' ἐέργουσι is not advisable. No prose document contains έέργω. See Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 235.

143.] Varia.

The ε in εξαιθραπεύουτος Mylasa, 2482, is a prefix to help out & as representative of the Old Persian x*. Wiese, B. B. V 90, suggests that ¿ξ- is due to a popular etymology which connected the word with the preposition. Cf. εξσατραπεύουτος C. I. G. 2919, Tralles; εξσατράπης Theopompos, Lobeck, ΕΨ. Ι 144. parallel example from Attic is Έξυπεταιών C. I. A. III 1119, for Ξυπεταιών C. I. A. I 243. Cf. Benfey, Kl. Schr. IV 26 ff. yépiros is said to be an Ionic form of yupîros, Eust. 1864.

The rowel I (short i).

144. Ionic l = E.

1. $E + \sigma + consonant + \iota$ becomes ι^1 in $l\sigma \tau i\eta$ in the Ionic of Homer and of Hdt., as in other dialects. Cf. Fioriav Arkad., 'Iooriaie[i]os Thessal., Iσστιαίδας Boiot. and Doric (Lokrian, Kretan, Syrakusan, Herakleian), Aiolic and Attic alone having preserved the ϵ vowel here. In Kretan we find also the e form (Cauer, 11611), and areotios occurs in Hom. IX 63. In Hdt. we find total I 176, 'Ιστίης II 50, Ιστιητορίου IV 35, ἐπίστιος I 35, Ιστιῆσθαι V 20 (cf. the r. l.), Ιστίη VI 86 (δ) for the ἐστίη of all MSS., Ιστιαίη, 'Ιστιαίος, 'Ιστιαιῶτις (§ 194), &c. Greg. Korinth. p. 500, quotes ἐπίστιος. The editors of Hdt. have now removed all eases of εστ- from the text, even 'Ιστιαιεύς having been substituted for Έστ-, though attested by Plutarch. Cf. the variation between Homeric 'Ιστίαιαν Hdn. I 272₁₃, II 512₁₅, and Apollodoros' Εστιαίαν (III 7, 3). Hrd. has εστίη 410, 7120.

In συνεστίη VI 128, the MSS. have -εστ-. For various conjectures, see Stein, ad loc. Bechtel Thas. (L), 18 B 10, writes

E] στιαίου. Hesychios has ἐστιᾶχος . . . Ζεὺς παρ' Ἰωσιν. Hekataios' ἔσθι = Attic ἴσθι (Hdn. II 3556), so far from being an original formation whose e had not yet become i, is a new coinage due to the analogy of forms with e-. I.E. *z-dhi, imperat. of \sqrt{es} , became $l-\sigma\theta_i$ in the proto-Hellenic period.

 ϵ before $\sigma + cons.$, when the latter is not followed by ξ , does

not become ι; e.g. εὐεσταῖ Hdt. I 85, ἀπεστοῖ IX 85.

2. Mirodalwr on late coins of Mende for older Merodalwr, Kirchhoff, *Alph*.4 119.

3. The corruption of antevocalic ϵ to ι , so frequent in Thessalian,

Cf. Collitz, A. J. P. VIII 216, who suggests that the change is late. It is certainly confined to certain dialects. On levin see Rust. 280,7, 1561,00, 1562m, 1579er, Et. M. 382er, Torlana Bust. 280is.

Boiotian, Doric, Kyprian, &c., is rare in Ionic, if indeed it can be shown to exist at all. Καλλιμένιος 36 (Amorgos) is doubtless a mere slip on the part of the engraver. νιανισκάρχην is a late spelling in Tanais, Latyschev II 447₈₈, 448₈; cf. 451₉, 454₇, 455₈. The nearest approach to ι is the pronunciation of ε as a semivowel in the synizesis ε₉. This semivocalic ε may disappear in contract verbs, as in Arkad. ελλαν]οδικόντοιν 1257₁₁. Cf. νενοσσενμένα Hdt. I 159. Before ο, ε not unfrequently disappears in prose: Θόκλος Styra, 19₂₀₆, Θοδίων 19₃₇₈, Κλόδεινος 19₂₂₁, Ἐτοκλέ[ης] 19₁₅. Cf. Megarian Θοκλείδα, Θοκλής Mitth. VIII 189, 190. Fritsch's paper in Curtius Stud. VI (cf. pp. 125–132), is at present scarcely trustworthy as regards Ionic. A reverse process has given us Θε- in Boiot. Θέσζοτος and Θέδωρος, perhaps from Θεύδωρος.

4. ἔριγμα, Hippokr. from ἐρείκω; ἔρεγμα Theophr.

A nominative lphs = lphs (Thessal.) is assumed by Baunack, K. Z. XXVII 565; and for lphes, lphes is substituted by the same scholar in Hdt. IX 85.

145.] Ionic I = El.

See under I, § 197, for supposed cases of itacism in Ionic.

ἴκελος varies with εἴκελος in the MSS. of Hdt, as in those of Homer. I have shown in A. J. P. VI, p. 439, that the i of the form ikehos is not descended from the et of eikehos by the merging of $\epsilon + \iota$ into $\bar{\iota}$, and by the weakening of this $\bar{\iota}$ to $\bar{\iota}$. $\bar{\iota}$ ke\lambda os is = *(ε) lκελός, and is morphologically the older form, είκ- having lost its e upon the accent originally shifting to the final syllable in ἴκελος. Adjectives in -λos are usually oxytone. With this interrelation of εlk- and lk-, cf. aφενος, γήρας (strong forms) and άφ(ε)νειός, γεραιός (weak forms). είκελος owes its ει to the influence of -εικής, είκων, &c. Stein reads είκελος III 81, είκελα VIII 9, προσείκελα III 110, προσεικέλους IV 61, προσείκελος IV 177. Dem. Mor. 21 has ἰκέλη. The Et. Mag. 29728, states that elkehos is the correct form, though lkehos often occurs; and that in composition only the form with a is admissible. testimony is of course not authoritative for the fifth century. In Homer Fixeλos occurs 17 times, while Feixeλos has the v.l. **
**κέλος (itacistic) 16 times. Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Uranios prefer the a form, which is doubtless to be adopted in the Dea Syria, 25, 33, 40 (cf. Astr. 10, 20), though from the MSS. of Lukian we cannot learn which form the satirist used.

The existence of parallel forms in ει and ι in the name of Poseidon, and in names derived therefrom, does not substantiate the presence of itacism in this word. Hdt. VII 115 has Ποσιδηίου, III 91 Ποσιδηίου with Ποσειδηίου as v. l. The Ionic name of the god in Hdt. is Ποσειδέων (12 times). Cf. also

Ποσειδωνιήτης Ι 167, and Ποσειδώνιος ΙΧ 71, 85. On the Archilocheian Ποσειδάων, see above, under E, § 140. Archilochos has Ποσειδών, or perhaps Ποσειδέων ep. 114.

As regards the inscriptions, which speak with greatest authority

With 4. Ποσίδειος 234 B 34, Perinthos.

Ποσιδείου Jahrb. für Phil., Suppl.

X, 29, No. 21.

the form in Hdt.

G. M. 279 A.

Ποσιδέου 15332, Smyrna.

Vol. V, 487, No. 47, and Vol.

177₁₇, Chios.

Ποσιδηίου 19 6_5 , Maroneia. Cf.

Ποσιδηιών C. I. A. I 283₁₇ (Ionic?).

Ποσιδώναξ Ephesos, Imh.-Bl.

Ποσιδεώνος 206 A 46, Erythrai.

in cases similar to this, their testimony is as follows:

With es.

Ποσειδεωνίο(υ) Pantikap., Latysch. II 291, 139¹.

Ποσειδώνιος Ephesos, Imh.-Bl.

G. M. 277. Ποσειδωνίο[υ] 15337, Smyrna. Ποσειδώνιος 131₁₆, ₁₇, ₁₈, Olbia. Ποσειδώνιος 240₂₈, 47, Halik. Ποσείδειος Thasos (Louvre), 10₁₀. Ποσειδείου Maroneia, Head, H.

N. 216.

Ποσειδώνος 206 B 31, Eryth. Ποσειδίππου Thasos (Louvre),

2,1, Maroneia, Head, *II.N.*216.

The Attic month Ποσίδεών appears in Anakreon 6 as Ποσίδηϊών. On Ποσιδής (Ποσιδής), the basis of Ποσιδήιος, &c., see Hdn. II 9176.

As regards the age of the inscriptions, the only inscription with 1, dating certainly before 400, is that from Maroneia, 1965, the others with a being later; while those with a are not older than the bulk of those with i. Chronological considerations do not therefore make in favour of the origin of the forms with a from those with et. Despite the obscurity which attends this word (cf. Prellwitz, B. B. IX 331), it is evident that the variation between et and t, which is confined to no single dialect, must depend upon stem-gradation. On this view the & and & stand in no immediate relation to each other.

The ι of Πισίστρατος Samos, 225, though of uncertain quantity, does not necessitate the assumption of itacism, when compared with Πεισωνεί(νου) Teos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 369. Cf. Πισίθεος in

Delphic, Πισίας, Πισιδώρα, &c.

To the forms terminating in -ein from -es stems, quoted below, § 215, there exist in the MSS. of Herodotos sporadic variants in -ιη, none of which deserves recognition as a genuine Ionism; and much less may they be adduced in evidence for the reduction of et to i. There is, however, a small list of forms with no trace of -ειη, where Hdt. has -ιη, Attic -ιā. These are derived from κράτος, -ωδης, and τύχη: δημοκρατίη, Ισοκρατίη: εὐωδίη: εὐτυχίη, συντυχίη: and λιπαρίη.

Comparable with these forms is -uā in Attic substantives from

sigmatic stems. This $-i\tilde{a}$, like the Ionic termination $-i\eta$, represents a transference of the $-i\eta$ ($-i\tilde{a}$), which is in place in O stems, to the $-\epsilon\sigma$ - declension. Forms in $-i\tilde{a}$ are claimed as the property of the $\nu\epsilon\omega\tau\dot{\epsilon}\rho a$ 'Iás by a scholiast on Elektra, 996, quoted by Bredow, p. 189, but without foundation. Where the Attic poets have $-i\tilde{a}$ (alkia, &c.), this termination should be classed with the Homeric and Hesiodic $-i\eta$ (11 occurrences in thesi, 3 in arsi), the explanation of which is still involved in obscurity, despite recent attempts to clear up the nature of the i. Cf. Jebb on Sophokles' Elektra, 486 (small edition), Smyth, A. J. P. VI 435, Danielsson, Gramm. Anm. I 42, Johansson, K. Z. XXX 401, B. B. XV 176, Brugmann, Grundriss, II 1, p. 313. Most of the epic words in question are so formed that $-i\eta$ would not permit their insertion into the verse. Whether Ionic $\mathring{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}\eta=$ Attic $\mathring{\omega}\phi\epsilon\lambda\acute{\iota}a$ has $\bar{\imath}$ is very doubtful.

146. Varia.

1. Iota and alpha are not phonetically related; hence Σινώπη

and Σανάπη (Schol. Ap. Rh. II 946) are not connected.

χλάνδιον Samos, 220₃₀, Teos, Mitth. XVI 292₁₃, 10, by syncope from χλανίδιον, cf. Euboian Ἱππώνδης (Styra, 19₃₇₃, cf. 19₃₂₀) and Boiotian names in -ωνδας; Angermann in Curtius Stud. I 1, 20.

The Vowel O.

147. Ionic O=A of other dialects.

On a=o in forms in 'Αρτο-, ἀρρωδέω, &c., see above § 131; on ζόω, § 200. Prosthetic o in ὀτρογηφάγος Arch. 97, according to

Et. M. 167₀₅, and Photios. Hesychios has ἀτρυγ-.

2. Examples of $o\rho$, $\rho o = a\rho$, ρa , are very rare: $B\rho\sigma\tau\dot{\alpha}\chi\sigma\nu$ 117 Pantikapaion, and Ephesos (Wood's Discoveries, App. 2, No. 2). $\beta\rho\dot{\sigma}\tau\alpha\chi\sigma$ is further supported by the Hesychian gloss (s. v.) and by Hdn. II 384_{13} =Et. Mag. 214_{44} , where the form is quoted from Xenophanes 1 and Aristophanes. Hippokrates used $\beta\dot{\sigma}\tau\rho\alpha\chi\sigma$ for $\beta\rho\dot{\sigma}\tau\alpha\chi\sigma$, according to Galen. The dialects of Lesbos, Boiotia, and Thessaly are generally held to evince a strong predilection in favour of the weak $\rho\rho$, $\rho\sigma$, though Brugmann (Grundriss, I § 292) makes mention only of Lesbic and Boiotian forms. I have, however, shown A. P. A. XVIII 104, 159, that it is inadvisable, if not futile, to attempt to set up such a restriction. $B\rho\dot{\sigma}\tau\alpha\chi\sigma$ was the name of a Gortynian worthy of an epigram by the great Simonides (127), though the substitution of $\rho\sigma$ for $\rho\sigma$ is not

¹ Βρόταχον' του βάτραχου 'Ιωνες και 'Αριστοφάνης και παρά Ξενοφάνει. For this differentiation between Ionians and Xenophanes, cf. above, p. 31, note. Bergk' does not register the word.

elsewhere attested as a peculiarity of Kretan speech. best βρόταχος can have been but partially adopted by Ionic 1. According to the express testimony of the scholiast on Iliad, Δ 243, Eustath. Il. 468₃₂, and Greg. Korinthios, p. 414 (cf. An. Par. III 5711), the Herodoteian form was βάθρακος, a form not adopted by Stein (IV 131, 132). Cf. Roscher in Curtius' Studien, IV 189, whose etymological combinations are somewhat out of date, German kröle being the phonetic equivalent. Hesychios reports also βύρθακος, βόρταχος, βράταχος, βρύτιχος.

βρόγχος is Hippokratic; ef. Et. M. 21529 (21119): ή μεν συνήθεια βρόγχον καλεί, οἱ δ' ἀρχαίοι βράγχον. Cf. Hdn. II 2845,

483₂₉, § 127.

πορδακός Sim. Amorg. 21 = Attic παρδακός. Archilochos 140 has, however, παρδακός. Sim. Am. 14 has πάρδαλις, not the o form which was once thought to be Ionic. πόρδαλις in Ven. A, N 10? (cf. Spitzner), P 20, Φ 573 though Aristarchos read παρδ-. Some of the ancient grammarians attempted to set up a distinction between an Ionic πόρδαλις and Attic πάρδαλις (Et. M. 65229, Phot. 383, Apoll. Lex. 13334, Eust. 78739, 89010, 92263, &c.). πόρδαλις This form occurs Arist. Lysistrata, 1015 Rav. and is Aiolic. frag. 478 K.

The form Καλλίστροτο[s] has been adduced from one of the Styrian lead tablets as proof of the influence of Boiotian vocalism upon the dialect of Styra. In Bechtel, No. 19210, we read -στρΑτ clearly enough, Vischer's -στρΟ being incorrect. All other examples of the supposed interdependence of Boiotian and Styrian have in like manner been deprived of their validity upon more careful examination of the evidence, cf. § 157. In Styra

we have Στράτων 19416.

In διέφθορα Hipp. VIII 246 (cf. 11. XV 128), έφθορα Galen, op is the ablaut of ερ, as in Ark. εφθορκώς C. D. I 122210-11.

3. Hippokr. VII 356, VIII 156 has μολόχης in θ, rulg. μαλάχης as θ in VIII 380. μολόχης in Antiphanes (158 K), μολόχα Epicharmos (104); μολόχη in a late Kretan inscription, Mus. II. III 723.

4. The inscriptions offer several instances of a preference for the o sound :-

"Oστακος Delos, 55 I₇ and B. C. H. VII 11, l. 57, has been identified by Bechtel with agrands, lubster. The form dgrands comes to light in Aristomenes, $\Gamma o \eta \tau$. 2, and is quoted by Hesychios. It occurs also in Athenaios. Cf. Sturz, De dialecto Mac. et Alexandr. p. 70, who held that dorands was Alexandrian.

With Κο]μοσαρύη Phanagoreia, 167, cf. Καμασαρύη, a queen of Bithynia, C. I. G. 2855. See Dittenberger, Syll. 1041.

¹ Modern Greek Boothum (Ponton), Boothurés (Crote) are not necessarily survivals of the ancient forms.

Έρμώνοσσα Chios, 174 A_2 , 4, a locality in Chios, suggests a comparison with Έρμώνασσα, name of a woman and also of several cities.

On Ionic (Attic) -κόσιοι = Doric and Boiot. -κάτιοι, Arkadian -κάσιοι, see under Numerals, and cf. Brugmann, M. U. V 7 ff.

148.

A variation between ā and o exists in the case of χαμᾶθεν Hdt. II 125, where dz have χαμόθεν, a form attacked by Cobet (Var. Lect. 89) and expelled by him from Kratinos, Xen. (Hellen. VII 2, 7), and Aristotle.

149.] O in Ionic = E.

Kvavoψιών, name of the month in Samos, Kyzikos (Reinach, Traité, p. 489), also Attic (Berichte der Berl. Akad. 1859, p. 739). Cf. Πυανεψιών in inscriptions after Christ. See Schmidt's

Chronologie, p. 458, Brugmann's Gr. Gr. p. 32 note.

The old ablaut of Fεργ (Fοργ) occurs in 'Αθηνάης 'Οργάνης Delos, 54. Cf. Hesychios, s.v. 'Οργάνη: ἡ 'Αθηνᾶ, ἡν καὶ Έργάνην ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων λέγουσιν. The same form of the name has come to light in Athens, Bull. dell. instit. di Corr. Arch. 1874, 107. Cf. ὄργανον and later ἔργανον with its ε from ἔργον. See § 295.

On δβολ-, see § 137.

150.] O in Ionie=OY.

151.] O in Ionic=Ol.

From δεσπόνησιν in Kyzikos, I. G. A. 501, Rob. I 148,= δεσποίναις according to the commentators, we might conclude that Ionic o was here=Attic oι. No such interrelation of o and oι is known. It is possible that the o is due to that of δεσπότης, but Osthoff's attempt to connect -ποινα and πότνια (*potnija, *-ποτνία, *-ποτνία, *-ποτνία, -ποινα), does not provide us with the fitting key to explain the appearance of o in a δεσπόνη. On the dative termination, see § 4.50, 3.

On anaptyctic i in Tpoi(vios, see under OI, § 228.

152.] Varia.

The assumption of hyphaeresis of o in Hdt. βοηθός is rendered easier if we recall the Homeric ὅγδρον ξ 287. With βοηθός cf. δορνξός, Πειριθός, &c. No dialectal dividing line can here be established. See G. Meyer, Gramm. § 152.

On the change of o to v in Euboian Ionic, see under Y. On the substitution of o for the v of αv , ϵv , see under these

diphthongs.

The Vowel Y (v).

158.]

The weak ablaut form of ρεχ, ροχ appears in ρυίσκεται Archil.

154.] Ionic $\Upsilon = 0$.

The change of O to Y is attested to a limited extent in Ionic:— Upon a Kymaian inscription (Bechtel, 3 A = Roberts, I 177 A) we find HΥΠΥ (ὑπύ) twice; from which it is clear that of the Ionians, the Chalkidians 1 at least had not adopted the later #. Other instances from Euboian Ionic of a similar retention of the I.E. phonetic value of v as oo do not stand on so sure a footing. Wilamowitz, Hom. Untersuch. p. 228, claims that the modern names Kuma and Stura are living witnesses to a pronunciation which held its ground throughout the Ionic period of the epos, and in fact to the dawn of Attic supremacy in Greece proper; while in Asia Minor v had become w before the year 500°. The Styrian Mérvikos 1970, may stand for Méroikos; but it is at best a doubtful form which has been illegitimately used to show the connection between Boiotian and Euboian Ionic³. §§ 147, 2, 157. No interrelation of o and v need be assumed on the score of Κεφαλότης Styra, 19217, 218 (Κέφαλος 19213-217), or of Φιλύτης 1933, since names in -ύτη, &c., are primitive. Cf. Φιλύτα Kyrene, C. I. G. 5143, Φιλυτώ Delos, C. I. G. 2310. Όλομπος, occurring on a vase, C. I. G. 8412, perhaps of Chalkidian workmanship, is of doubtful validity, as the inscription is not free from errors.

As regards the Ionic of the mainland, we have but slender support for the assumption that the old pronunciation of v was retained. $\dot{\rho}v\phi\epsilon\hat{v}v$ in Hipponax 4 , 132, cf. $\dot{\rho}v\phi\dot{\eta}\mu\alpha\tau$ os (θ) , Hippokr. VI 198 5 , $\dot{v}\pi\dot{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\iota$ Hdt. IV 70, $\ddot{o}\lambda ov\theta$ os Hdt. I 193 (ABC and Athen. XIV 651 C), $\ddot{o}\lambda\dot{o}v\theta\omega\nu$ Hippokr. VIII 116 (θ C), VII 366, VIII 192, $\ddot{o}\lambda\dot{o}v\theta\sigma vs$ (θ), $\ddot{o}\lambda ov\theta\sigma\iota$ VIII 200 (θ), are the only examples from literature of the change of σ to v^4 . In Phokaia σ 0 was pronounced as σ 0, if we may judge from Υελητῶν 1722, about

^{&#}x27; Κύμης της εν 'Οπικία, Χαλκιδικής πόλεως Thuk. VI 4.

³ Kirchhoff is inclined to believe that the Ionians adopted the il pronunciation upon the reception of their alphabet by the other Greeks.

Kyprian Στασίνικος Meister (G. D. II. p. 191\) is not above suspicion. Hdn. II 368 21 = Choir. 832 21 : "Inves τὸ τετυφοία καὶ τὰ δμοια λέγουσι διὰ τῆς οι διφθόγγου καὶ τὸ διὰ τῆς νι. Lobeck, El. II 25, note 5, endeavours to parallel this remarkable statement with Theognos. 103., τοίττοια ἡ δυσία = τριττία.

able statement with Theognos. 10311 τρίττοια ἡ θυσία = τριττύα.

Eust. 1430 3, states that βυφείν is Doric and Ionic κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, and, to judge from what precedes, also Aiolic.

Cf. v. l. VII 20, 26.

⁶ Hipponax has also κροκόδειλος (Eust. 85531) οτ κροκόδειλος (Et. Gud. 34817). μιθίται οτ better μιθιῆται, in Anakr. 16, is connected by L. S. with μόθος and classed as one of the Aiolisms of the Teian bard.

350 B. c. Hyele = Velia, the Oscan name being spelled with V, which the colonists reproduced by their T (Hdt. I 167).

Other forms from Hippokr. are δξόβαφου VIII 184 (θ), and so VII 366, 368, 372, and perhaps Στυμάργεω V 84 (cf. στύμα

Theokr. XXIX 25).

That o became v in alσυ[μ]νήτηι Teos, 156 B 4, is not proven. Cf. Megarian alσιμνάτα[s] C. D. I. 3016. Cases of ι arising from

an v, which is itself from o, are rare.

There is no change of o to v in ὅννμα, found in Κλεώννμος Smyrna, 153,0, Έκατώννμος Eryth. 206 A 15, Chios, Paspat. 2, Κλειτώννμος Thasos (L.), 89, Πινθώννμος Thas. (L), 10 B 12. v occurs in this word in Pindar, Aiolic, Boiot., Thessal., Phokian, Delphic, Aitolian, Megarian, Korinthian, Rhodian, in Aigina and Selinus, and is pan-Hellenic in ἀνώννμος, εὐώννμος (Ephesos 145), and δνσώννμος (Hippon. 14). The extensive geographical reach of the forms with v, and the undeviating writing ἀνώννμος, &c., render the assumption not improbable that the forms in v are original, those in o later. If the o forms are original, there can be no doubt that the vowel interposed between the nasals was in a pre-historic period a closed vowel, the first o remaining open.

On the substitution of o for the v of av, ϵv , see under the head of these diphthongs.

155.] Ionic Y=1.

Συκεεῦσιν, on the stelè of Sigeion, Bechtel, 103 = Roberts, I 42 A 10. In the Attic part of the inscription we find Σιγευεῦσι. The v is doubtless older since it is found on the epichoric document. The two forms are then interrelated as βυβλίον βιβλίον, Τυνδαριδᾶν Τινδαριδᾶν Ι. G. A., 62 A, and Κυνδυῆς and Κινδυῆς on the Attic tribute lists. Iota does not pass into v in any Greek word.

Hdt. has βύβλος, βύβλινος, βυβλίον (Hrd. 390). A mustering of the occurrences of these words in Stein's edition shows that the chief support of the forms with a is derived from MSS. P. R., while in one-seventh of all passages there is no variant. conclude, therefore, that Bredow's distinction between βιβλίον. βίβλος (notione chartae scriptoriae, libelli) and βύβλος (notione libri, corticis papyri) must fall to the ground, and that the Ionic of the fifth century preferred, if it did not recognize exclusively, the forms with v. The variants in favour of a are due to the scribes rather than to the influence of such actual forms in as we find as early as 400 B. C. in Attic (C. I. A. II, Add. 1 B 25; Mitth. VII 368, concerning the Attic cleruchs in Samos, 346 B.C.). The forms in a continue in Attic inscriptions until the second century B. C., after which βυβλίον is the normal form. See Birt's Buchwesen, p. 12.

μόλυβδος Hdt. I 186, III 56, has the variation μόλιβδος, a

form that does not find any support in the Attic $\mu o \lambda v \beta [\delta \hat{\omega} v]$, C. I. A. II 476_{43} , or in any other inscriptional form ¹. That the ι form elsewhere forced an entrance at an early period should not mislead us as regards Ionic. Homer has $\mu o \lambda v \beta \delta a \iota v a$ and $\mu o \lambda \iota \beta o s$.

In an Halikarnassian inscription (Bechtel, No. 241) we read HMTEK, which Bechtel transcribes $\tilde{\eta}\mu(\iota)\sigma(v)$. This is possible, though the occurrence of $\tilde{\eta}\mu\nu\sigma\nu$ upon Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 1745) and elsewhere, e.g. Delos (B. C. H. II 580), renders the attempt to rescue this form for Ionic not overbold. Cf. Meisterhans, p. 22, Blass, Aussprache³, p. 40. $\tilde{\eta}\mu\nu\sigma\nu$ occurs upon a late Chian coin, Head, H. N. 514, on a late inscription from Thasos, 7216, upon one from Teos, 15824, and in Sterrett, Papers of the American School, III 335. The forms in iota are primitive, those in upsilon being due to an assimilation which could take place only at a period when the inherited tendency to avoid a succession of v's was no longer felt².

On alσυμνήτης see above, § 154. Ionic here preserves the original v in the Teian alσυ[μ]νήτηι 156 B 4; and it is to the influence of Ionic that is due -αισυμνῶντος in Cherson. Taur. C. D. I. 308757, whereas alσιμνάτας is the Megarian orthography (Megara 3016, Selinus 3045 A 5, Chalkadon 30531, Salymbria 3068). Bechtel, C.D.I. 3016, conjectures that the change between the weak vowels v and v ensues when v originally preceded the strong vowel (ἄv ετμα, ἀντμή, ἀv σθω). But cf. 'Αστίμαχος from άστν, v M. XXXV 358.

The interchange of ν and ι is at best but sporadic, e.g. Άμφικτύονες 3, -κτίονες; κυλύχνιον, Κυνθυκῶι, Χοιρύλος Delos; Τινδάριδαι, Έλευῦνια Lakonia, Ίακυνθοτρόφος Knidos, Ύάκινθος Lakonia.

On a supposed change of a to v, see above, § 132. An. Ox. I 4422 cites as Chian $\theta vo\dot{v}_s = \theta \epsilon o\dot{v}_s$, $\dot{\eta}\delta\dot{v}\omega_s = \dot{\eta}\delta\dot{\epsilon}\omega_s$, Nuamohitys = Neamohitys. Cf. Lentz' Herodian I, p. xxv, 19. No such interrelation of ϵ and v can be admitted.

The Long Vowels.

156.] Â.

The three subdivisions of Ionic uniformly present H in place of that $\dot{\Lambda}$ which is specifically Attic. No instances of the retention

¹ μόλυβθος Ionic-Attic, Eust. 1340₂₉; cf. 841₁₇, cf. Hdn. II 551.

² In Attic the iota held its ground in those forms which show no ν in the endings

³ So Hdt.. Attic inscriptions, C. I. A. II 54 A 24, Ditt. Syll. 70, cf. 71, dc., Delphic, L. L. 186, dc., Boiot., C. D. I. 485, Aitol. C. D. I. 1410, 'Aμφικτίστες Hdt., Attic, C. I. A. I 449, Delphic, Ditt. 206, Boiot., C. D. I. 502, cf. Hom. περικτίστες. The interrelation of the words has not been cleared up despite Kretschmer (K. Z. XXXI 429 ff.), whose √khu does not exist.

in Ionic of I. E. a are found. Wheresoever a occurs, it is the result of literary tendencies or of special laws operating within the dialect. The following categories of Ionic \bar{a} may be noticed:

1. āς < ăνς as in πασα, τάς: § 161.

āν, āρ, āκ < ἄνΕ, ἄρΕ, ἄκΕ as in φθάνω, ἀρή, φάρμακος: § 162.

 By influence of analogous forms (μάλλον: μάλα): § 163. 4. āλ < άλι when the accent does not fall upon the ă: § 164.

5. \bar{a} from a_i before $a, \epsilon, \eta, \iota : \S 208$.

6. \bar{a} by contraction of a+a ($\theta \hat{a} \kappa o s$), a+spur. $\epsilon \iota$ ($\nu \iota \kappa \hat{a} \nu$), $a+\epsilon$ (δαλός, τιμάτε), α + η (Δανά). See under Contraction.

7. By crasis of a + a ($\tau \tilde{a} \lambda \lambda a \S 261$); by crasis of $a + \epsilon$ ($\tau \tilde{a} \mu \tilde{a}$

\$ 272, 4).

Some instances of Ionic a, which still baffle investigators, do not militate against the overwhelming mass of testimony making for the conclusion that Ionic η has been substituted for every I.E. ā transmitted to the dialects.

Names in 'Ονησ- do not disprove an Ionic-Attic 'Ονασίων

C. I. G. 2386 Paros, &c.

In some cases a slight correction of the traditional reading shows that the assumption of Ionic ā is baseless. Thus in Hipponax 13, Bergk reads ayeî accursed, where ayeî or, better, èναγεί will remove the apparent difficulty. Cf. § 532. Both ayns and evayns contain the weak ablaut form of Skt. agus. εὐāγής in Parmenides has a different root.

On ā in Homer, see AIOLIC § 18.

A variation between ā and n in the same word, as in Arch. apa, Herodas $\eta_{\rho\alpha}$, is due to the different origin of the forms in question, cf. on $\eta + \alpha$.

157.] The dialect of Styra, it has been alleged, offers instances of an original Hellenic A, due to the influence of the speech of Boiotia 1. While names of Ionians may assume, it is true, a form inconsistent with the laws of Ionic, this happens solely when a special reason exists. Compare for example the names of the children of Kimon, where political preferences have dictated a nomenclature alien to Attic. So the Makedonians by their Πτολεμαΐος testify to the influence of the Homeric epos. In all other cases it must be denied that Ionic can admit a thoroughgoing contamination of its phonetics from the influence of a neighbouring speech-centre. The examples from the lead tablets are worthy of registration. Cf. Fick, G. G. A. 1883, p. 125, Bechtel, Ion. Insch. p. 36, and above §§ 147, 2, 154. Σκοπάνωρ 19₃₀₆, to be read Σκόπανδροs.

¹ The view that the names in § 157 are instances of the retention of a primitive Ionic ā, parallel to Attic ā, and not yet changed to η, does not call for refutation. Kirchhoff's view that the ā of Γαρυγόνης (Rob. I 191 C) is Chalkidian Ionic is indefensible. See Alph. 126.

-aντίδa[s] 19₁₆₀, to be read 'Αντιά[ρης]. Λυσαγόρας 1924, an uncertain reading.

Λαοκράτης 1939, to be read $\Lambda(\epsilon)$ ωκράτης, since E and A are not infrequently confused in the tablets.

Χαρίλαος 19₄₂₄, to be read Χαρίλ(ϵ)ως, unless the man is

a Dorian.

Λοχάγός 19₁₂₆ is based upon the Lakonian λοχάγός, which is

in Attic, too, a loan form. Hdt. uses λοχηγέω(√αγ).

Ecvéas 19191 is no name at all; which may be said of Lenormant's Elvéas. In Roberts, I 189 F, upon a vase from a colony of Chalkis, we read Alνέηs, and upon a Thasian inscription in the Louvre (35), Alνησίης. Bechtel, 12, has Αlνεητῶν, from Ainea.

Δαμάρετος, cited by Karsten, p. 18, is in reality Δημάρητος, and is so read by Bechtel, 19180.

Ηηγαμονεύς 19200 is read by Bechtel Ηηγεμονεύς. Δαμάρετος are due to Lenormant.

158. The retention of a in Hdt. occurs in the names of non-Ionic personages and places which are of Doric source. So the Athenians retained Πριήνη, &c., § 73. Gramm. Meerm. (649): τὰ είς ας λήγουτα ουόματα, έὰν μὴ ὧσι Δωρικά, είς ης τρέπουσιν ("Ιωνες). The following are instances of proper names with ā in Hdt.:-

'Ayış VI 65, the Spartan, the clip-name of 'Hyησίλεωs, which occurs VII 2C4. It is noteworthy that Hdt. uses the Ionic form of the adj. Σπαρτιήτης.

'Aέροπος VIII 137, an Argive, VIII 139, a Makedonian; but

'Πέροπος IX 26, a Tegeate.

'Ακαρνάν Ι 62; 'Ακαρνανίη ΙΙ 10. 'Απιδανός, the Thessalian river, VII 129; but 'Ηπιδανός VII

146.

Aρίσβα I 151, a city in the Troad = 'Aρίσβη B 836. proper form may, however, be "Αρισβα: so Strabo, XIV 635. Eustathios distinguishes between two cities, ' $A\rho(\sigma\beta\eta)$ and ' $A\rho(\sigma\beta\alpha)$: Hdn. I 308₁₅ says that Hdt. used 'Αρίσβαν (lάζων).
'Αριστέας VII 137, a Korinthian. Cf. 'Αριστέης IV 13, the

Prokonnesian epic poet.

Γυγάδας (χρυσός) Ι 14. This apparently irregular form (Γύγης elsewhere) is explained by the statement of the historian: ὑπὸ Δελφών καλέεται Γυγάδας έπὶ τοῦ ἀναθέιτος ἐπωνυμίην.

Δυμανάται V 68, a Doric tribe.

Kρâθιs I 145, a river in Achaia and also a river near Sybaris,

Names in -haos. Μενέλαος of a λιμήν IV 169, and Μενελάου VII 169; 'Αρχέλαοι V 68; Λαοδάμας, a Phokaian, IV 138, an Aiginetan, IV 152. Hdt., however, is not consistent in writing Νικόλεως VII 134, and Νικόλας VII 137, though a Spartan is referred to. Furthermore, we have Λακρίνης, a Lakedaimonian, I 152; Λαφάνης, an Arkadian, VI 127; Λαδίκη, a woman of

Kyrene, II 181.

Cf. the forms of Aaós §§ 140, 160. A perfect dichotomy of the dialects as regards names in - Aaos is clearly impossible, in view of the fact that even Attic citizens before the year 500 B.C. have names formed from this form of the word, the right to use Acos having been confined to the tribe Leontis. That -Aaos was also in use among the Ionians is clear from its occurrence upon a Chian inscription, 177, -τόλαος l. 14 (Λεωσέβεο[s] in l. 3).

'Ορνεᾶται VII 73. Παρωρεᾶται IV 148, but VIII 73 Παρωρεῆται.

Προναίη I 92. Cf. also Προνηίη.

Τιθορέα VIII 32, a peak of Parnassos.

Υαται V 68, from Sikyon.

Φιλάονα VIII 11, though -αων generally becomes -εων in Hdt. Cf. Maχάων in Homer = Maχέων, Thasos (Louvre), 1011. Cf. Φιλεωνίδ[ε]os Thasos, 73. Hdt. has δπάων V 111.

Χαράδρα, in Phokis, VIII 33. So Stein, Bredow Χαράδρην.

So also χαράδραν IX 102. Cf. § 128.

Χοιρεαται V 68, from Sikyon.

Besides these names we have several which show -as in the nominative case preceded by a consonant ('Αριάντας, Σίκας, Αύρας, Δύρας) which are inflected -a, -a, -av. Proper names in -εης and -ins are the rule, with but few exceptions ('Aριστέας VII 117).

Herodotos' treatment of the names of non-Ionic persons and places is tolerably elective. In a considerable number of instances where we might expect a thoroughgoing Dorization he surprises

us by such Ionisms as :-

Λεωνίδης, Λεωβάτης, Λευτυχίδης (a form that occurs in Timokreon, 1). Μενέλεως he occasionally uses despite Μενελάου VII 169, Ληρισαΐος IX 1, whereas Homer has Λάρισα B 841, P 301. By a reverse process we have 'Αριστολαίδεω I 59, an Athenian.

Again, the island is called Θήρη, its founder, Θήρας. The leader of the colony never occurs in any writer in the form Θήρης. 'Aζήν VI 127, is the inhabitant of the Arkadian 'Aζανία; 'Ενιήνες VII 132, &c., despite the frequent names in - aνες; Τεγέη, Σικελίην, Σικανίην VII 170. Μηλίδα VII 198 (η also in the lyric parts of tragedy).

ναύκραροι V 71, is the Attic form, because the ναύκραροι were

peculiar to Attika.

159.] Retention of ā in proper names occurring outside of Herodotos. In poetry, see on Ποσειδάων under the vowel E, § 140.

Upon an Halikarnassian inscription 'Αλικαρνα $T[\epsilon\omega]$ ν 2382, and in 24023 we read 'Ιάσονος: 'Αετίωνος Ιασος, 10416, Ποιᾶσσίων Κεοε, 472, Ποιᾶσσαν 4711. Cf. Ποιῆσσιοι Ditt. Syll. 6382, time of the second maritime league; $\Delta \eta \mu a \iota \nu \epsilon \tau \eta s$ Amorg. 29, but Εὐθύδαμος Klazom. Le Bas, Voy. Archéol. III 1, No. 186. Nats Roberts, I 190, II F, Χώρα 190, I K, ΓαρνΓόνης 191, on Chalkidian vases. See K. Z. XXIX 390.

The usage of Attic prose inscriptions may here be noted. In the fifth century we find both the epichoric and the Attic names of tributary states (Hermes, V 52). In the fourth century the tendency to permit the adoption of the epichoric name seems to be stronger.

160.] $\hat{A} < \bar{a}^F$.

λāός < *λāFός (cf. § 140, 4).

² See K. Z XXVII 266, Monro, Hom. Gr. 390.

² Fick proposed '16λησε. We find however '16λασε, Acharn. 867; Eurip. uses both '16λασε and '16λεσε. '16λασε on a vase (Klein, Vasen, 206, 1), which shows mixed dialect ('16λασε María by the side of Meydon 'Αλκμήνη). Cf. K. Z. XXIX 400.

It is clear that any explanation of the \bar{a} of Homer must not lose sight of the history of the words in question. Thus $\theta_{\ell}\bar{a}$ has been claimed to be Archaic Ionic, retained because it had passed out of use in the later language. This explanation, even if true, would not suit in the case of $\lambda a \bar{a} \bar{b}$. The presence of the morphologically later $\lambda \epsilon \bar{a} \bar{b}$ in passages of Homer, which even Bergk cannot attribute to his diascenasts, shows that the change of panellelinic \bar{a} to Ionic η must have ensued centuries previous to the final composition of the Homeric poems. A feature of minor importance is that $\lambda a \bar{b} \bar{b}$ may have been felt to be more easily disposable in the verse than $\lambda \epsilon \bar{b} \bar{b}$.

⁴ This is not disputed by the Chian, -τολαος 17714, as has been shown, § 140, 4: cf. Μενέλαος Smyrna, Imh.-Bl.G.M. 344; 'Αγησίλαος Perinthos, 234 B 5; Χαρίλας Miletos, Imh.-Bl G.M. 349. Pherekydes 34 has 'Αρκεσιλάου. Κριτόλαος on a late document from Amorgos (Μίτιλ. ΙΧ 102, Νο. 6, l. 10), Νικόλαος, ibid. p. 83, l. 11 recall the many names in -λαος and -λας, names of Doric residents of Attika. Kretschmer, K. Z. XXXI 290 in fact contends that λαός is an importation from Doric in exchange for θεαρός which migrated from Ionic-Attic into Doric countries. It is noteworthy that λαός does not occur in the iambies of Archilochos.

⁵ Et. Mag. 562 20.

Homer, XIII 91, and Pott, K. Z. VII 324. With ληός, cf. νηός

in Hdt. (§ 170) and παιήονα Archil. 76.

This ληόs became λεώs in later Íonic; in Miletos, at least, shortly after the year 600 B.C. (ἀναξίλεως Becht. No. 93); λεώς is the form in Hdt., though we find ληός V 42 and even λαόν IV 148, which Stein refuses to accept. λαοφόρων is found I 187, despite λεωφόρον Anakr. 157, λεωσφέτερον IX 33 and the other forms in λεω-. The testimony is so strong on the side of λεώς that a fair view will not regard harshly the attempt to make Herodotos uniform in his adoption of this form. Renner, Dindorf and Nauck (Mélanges gr.-rom. III 268) claim that the

Herodoteian form is ληός, cf. §§ 158, 170.

When F disappeared after a, its disappearance was not signalized by the lengthening of the vowel (acivaos Hdt. I 93, 145, Herakl. III, cf. Attic νάω = Aiolic ναύω). Hence, when in Ionic ā appears, it is clear that we are dealing with a poetical form such as ἀείσω Theog. 4, cf. Od. 17, 519, and that such a prose form as 'Atônv as commonly read in Hdt. II 122, has the a short. In Ionic poetry the short a appears in 'Atôao Theog. 244, 427, 906, 'Atôεω 703, 726, 802, 1014, 1124, Solon 248, Anakr. 435; 'Ατôην Tyrt. 1238 = Mimn. 214. "Aïdos Theog. 914, has ā. In but two iambic passages (Simon. Amorg. 114, 7117) do we find traces of 'Atôns. Homer has "Aïõos (Iliad nine times, Od. four times), elsewhere a (so 'Atons V 395, IX 158, &c.). Hesiod always has a, and so the Homeric Hymns, except in one passage, IV 348, where "Atôn is read by Gemoll. Hdt. and Herakl. 127 (but cf. aonv 38) have 'Atôns according to the MSS., though there is no evidence to support the correctness of the tradition in favour of the open form. In Aiolic and Doric the a is invariably short. So, too, in words derived from the same base. See § 275. 'Alôns is rare in tragedy, e.g. Eurip. El. 142, Suppl. 921, H. F. 116, frag. 930.

It is widely held 1 that 'Atôns is derived from $a + F\iota \delta_{-}$, and that the passages in Homer where the a is long represent av, F having been vocalized. There is no objection to this explanation, so far as it goes. The difficulty lies in the Attic "Ā $\iota \delta \eta s$ (i. e. $\iota \delta \delta \eta s$), which cannot have arisen either from $\iota \delta F\iota \delta_{-}$ or $\iota \delta F\iota \delta_{-}$. Since the Attic and Homeric forms cannot be dissociated, it is best to regard each as descended from $\iota \delta F\iota \delta_{-}$ (cf. $\iota \delta \iota \omega$, $\iota \delta \epsilon \delta$). This necessitates the abandonment of the old-time etymology whereby 'Atôns is the unseen god. $\iota \delta \delta F\iota \delta_{-}$ may be connected with $\iota \delta \delta \delta I$ as the unseen god. $\iota \delta \delta I$ is the older, "A $\iota \delta \delta I$ is the older, "A $\iota \delta I$ is the vounger, form; and the apparently isolated

cases in Simonides Amorg. are brought into line.

¹ See for example Baunack in his Studien, I 294.

161.] ās < "vs.

 $\pi \hat{a} \sigma a < \pi \alpha \nu \tau_k a$ may serve to illustrate the existence of that \bar{a} in Ionic-Attic which did not suffer the change to η at the time when $a\nu \tau_k a$ became $a\sigma a$. When there arose the tendency to substitute a lighter form for the disyllabic $\pi \pi \alpha \nu \tau_k a$, or to expel ν before sigma (whether proethnic or from τ_k), the law according to which \bar{a} became η in Ionic had ceased to exist, having extended its operations throughout the length and breadth of the dialect. A $\pi \hat{\eta} \sigma a$ or $\tau \hat{\eta} s$ for $\tau \hat{a} \nu s$, was thus rendered impossible. So, too, with names in $-\delta d\mu \bar{a} s$.

The d of Ionic πâν is due to the influence of πâs. According to Bekk. Anecd. I 416₁₁ = Bachm. An. I 111₁₉ [Drako 24₁₈, 29₂₂, 85₁₃], An. Ox. III 290₇, Eust. 1434₁, the Ionians and the poets shortened the a in dπaν, παράπαν. πάν οσεωτε in πανήμαρ ν 31, πανημέριος Α 472 &c. See on Aiolic Accent.

It is noteworthy that Kallinos, I_{16} , has $\ell\mu\pi\bar{a}s^1$, whereas Homer has $\ell\mu\pi\eta s$; forms not to be derived immediately from $\pi\hat{a}s$, despite Boiotian (but $\kappa o\iota \nu \dot{\eta}$) $\ell\nu\pi a\sigma\iota$, adj., C. I. G. I 1625_{b0} . $\ell\mu\pi\eta s$ does not occur except in the epic. Brugmann, Gr.~Gr.~p.~225, connects $-\pi\bar{a}-$ with $\kappa\nu\ell\omega$ through $\kappa\nu\bar{a}-$, and thus regards $\ell\mu\pi\bar{a}s$ either as a genitive or as a petrified instrumental with the sigma of ablative adverbs. This $-\pi\bar{a}-$ does not seem to be associated with Kyprian $\pi a\iota$. I know of no other case where sigma has attached itself to an instrumental. $\ell\mu\pi\eta s$ in Homer should be reflected by $\ell\mu\pi\eta s$ in Kallinos, as I am aware of no reason for expelling the Homeric form in favour of the Aiolo-Doric (or Attic) $\ell\mu\pi\bar{a}s$.

162. $\bar{a}v$, $\bar{a}\rho$, $\bar{a}\kappa < avF$, $a\rho F$, $a\kappa F$.

1. $a\nu F$, Ion. $\phi\theta\dot{a}\nu\omega = \text{Attic }\phi\theta\dot{a}\nu\omega$, according to the commonly accepted explanation of this form. $\kappa\iota\chi\dot{a}\nu\epsilon\iota$ Archil. 543 (troch. tetr.).

2. aρF, Homeric, Hdt. ἀρή, Hom. ἀράομαι, = Attic ἀρά, &c. from

ἀρΓά, Arkad. κάταρΓον.

3. $\alpha \kappa f$, $\phi \dot{\alpha} \rho \mu \ddot{\alpha} \kappa \sigma s$ Hipponax, 5_2 , 6, 7, 8_2 , 9, 37_3 , but $\phi \dot{\alpha} \rho \mu \ddot{\alpha} \kappa \sigma v$ 43_4 (=Attic $\phi \dot{\alpha} \rho \mu \ddot{\alpha} \kappa \sigma v$). Ion. $\phi \dot{\alpha} \rho \mu \ddot{\alpha} \kappa \sigma s = *\phi \dot{\alpha} \rho \mu \alpha \kappa f \sigma s$ The assimilation of κv to $\kappa \kappa$ is later than that of κv to $\pi \pi$. On the accent, see § 123. The $\ddot{\alpha}$ has been thought to appear in Demosthenes XXV 80 (where see Blass) despite the fact that in Attic f usually disappeared without lengthening the preceding vowel.

163.] Â in the forms of the Comparative degree.

 $\mu \hat{a} \lambda \lambda \delta \nu$, for which one might expect * $\mu \hat{\eta} \lambda \lambda \delta \nu$, if the form with $\lambda \lambda$ was formed before or during the period in which proethnic \hat{A}

 $^{^1}$ The accentuation $\ell\mu\pi ds$ according to Et. M. $63\,n$ did not gain favour in antiquity; $\ell\mu\pi\eta s$ Apoll. Adv. $564\,n$.

became H in Ionic-Attic. The force of analogy has, however, substituted for the old comparative *μέλλον (cf. melius) the form μάλλον, which arose at a period when ā no longer became η in Ionic-Attic. The proportions τάχα, τάχιστα: θάσσων and ἐλάχιστα: ἐλάσσων might have given us first μάλλον, then μάλλον for ultor. The difficulty, which is not recognized by King-Cookson, p. 364 1, is that θάσσων and ἐλάσσων are themselves associative forms, whose priority to μάλλον is not made out on other grounds than the desirability of using them to account for μάλλον. In Tyrt. 126, μάλιον, restored by M. Schmidt, is hysterogeneous, due to the parallelism of ήδιον: ήδιστα; so μάλιον: μάλιστα. Hdn.'s (II 548₉=An. Ox. II 240₂) statement that μάλιον is Ionic has been changed by Lentz, so as to make this form the property of the Lakonian dialect. From Choiroboskos we should imagine that the a is long. Harder, De alpha vocali apud Homerum producta, p. 104, would read μάλλον (sic) for μάλιον 2. Cf. § 556.

θάσσων, Attic θάττων, with ā according to Herodian, I 5241, II 13₁₃, 942₁₇, from *θάγχιων for *θέγχιων with a through influence of τάχα, τάχιστος. The nasal before $\sigma\sigma$ disappears, leaving compensatory lengthening. Blass (Kühner, Gram. p. 555) raises the question whether θάσσων and ἐλάσσων are not the proper

forms in Homeric, Ionic and Doric.

ἐλάσσων < *ἐλάγχιων for *ἐλέγχιων, cf. ἐλέγχιστος. Cf. Schmidt,

K. Z. XXV 156.

*μέλιων, *θέγχιων, *έλέγχιων are displaced forms which existed at a period when I.E. a was changed to Ionic n. Their displacement by the ā forms was therefore subsequent to the production of Ionic n.

164. αλ < αλί.

καλός < *καλιος = Skt. kalya- would become καλός in all dialects, since As, when preceded by the accent, becomes AA (κάλλιον, κάλλιστος, τὸ κάλλος), when followed by it, λ (Schmidt, Neutra, p. 47 note) 3. In Homer we find καλός without exception, a form that cannot in the epic be regarded as Doric, though so regarded by King-Cookson, p. 184. In Hesiod καλός prevails; in Theog. 585, W. D. 63, κάλός. In the lyric poets we find κάλός in the following passages 4: Kallinos, 22; Tyrtaios, 47, 101, 1030*; Mimnermos, 53, 114; Archilochos, 213, 292, 771; Simon. Amorg. 7₅₁, 7₈₇; Theognis, 16, 242, 257*, 609, 683, 1019, 1047, 1106, 1216, 1251, 1329, 1336, 1350*, 1369* bis, 1377; Solon, 13₂₄, 13₄₀*; Phokyl. 13₂; Anakreon, 22, 63₁₉, 71; Oracle in Hdt. I

Following Osthoff, Perfectum, 450.
 The schol. AV II. VIII 353, brings forward a μάλλιον, which Eustathios

¹⁶⁴³³² calls Dorie.

Attie κάλη tumor, is Ionic κήλη. * Cf. Harder, De alpha vocali, p. 22 ff.

66*; cf. also Sim. Keos, 1474. On the other hand κάλός appears as follows: Mimn. 16; Solon, 1321; Theog. 17 bis, 282, 652, 696, 960, 994, 1259, 1280, 1282; Ananios, 5_2 ; Sim. Am. 7_{67} (?); Sim. Keos, 1474, 156₁. In Herodas we find $\kappa \bar{a} \lambda \delta \hat{s}$ 3₁₈, 4₅₈, 7₂₄, 1₁₅, $\kappa \bar{a} \lambda \delta \hat{s}$ 4₂₀, ₃₉, δ_{21} . Passages marked with a * have the a in the arsis.

If we question the Greek dialects other than Attic, we learn that κάλός is the prevailing form: Terpander, 62; Alkman, 35; Sappho, 19, 3, 112, 141, 198, 28, 58, 79, 1011, 2, 104; Praxilla, 5₁. Alkman has κάλλα = καλώς 98, Alkaios, κάλιον 134, Sappho, κάλιστ' 1042, if Bergk's conjecture be admitted. In the 'universal melic, of Simonides of Keos we have κάλός 57, 3712, 403, 70, in Bacchylides, 11, 25. In the Attic drama we find both forms, καλός being the rarer form. The lyric poets have καλός: Ion, 1,5; Kritias, 1,4, 2,9; and in the Skolia, 19,1,2, 20,1,2.
Plato (?) has καλός 8; Aischrion, 1, 42, the same form. καλός occurs upon an epigram from Delos, 53.

Those who demur to the form καλός in Homer have recourse to the easy expedient of regarding this form as an incorrect transcription of ΚΑΛΟΣ, which they would read καλλός. But surely we have no right to assume with G. Meyer (Gramm.2 & 65) that wherever καλός is found in the Ionic iambic and elegiac

poets it is an incorrect form.

165.] A in other words.

φâρος in Pherekydes of Leros, Herodotos, and in Homer, if φάρος is not to be read with Nauck. So, too, in Xenophanes, 33. In Attic both a and a. Cf. Hdn. π. μ. λ. 39, 31, Bergk on Alkman 2361. Harder, De alpha vocali, p. 92 ff., suggests that the word is non-Hellenic.

καράδοκέω in Hdt., who, however, has τρικάρηνος, Hom. κάρηνα from καρασυ-; κάρā < καρāσα. Another form of the root yields κρη in κρησφύγετον Hdt. V 1242.

γλάσσα (or γλάσσα?)=γλώσσα, nine times in Herodas.

On Zarós, see § 182.

łāσa Hom. Hdt. I 90, from łάω = Skt. sāváyati, Lat. desivare. ėάω is originally an aorist formation, pres. sévō, aor. sevā- (σεΓα-μω). εάσεις Anakr. 56, έασον 57, fragments of doubtful metrical reconstruction.

iθāyérns Hdt. II 17 (Greg. Kor. § 161) = epic lθαιγένης, a loca-

Ven. A obs for: 82 'lasór); see Schmidt's Neutra, p. 372.

¹ Sec Apoll. περί έπιρρ. 505₁₃: Καλά... δ δι' ένδε μέν λ γράφεται κατά το κεινόν εθος, παρά Δωριευσι δὲ δι' έτέρου λ, καὶ οὐχ, ὡε ενιοι ὁπέλαβον, κατ' Αλελίδα διάλεκτον' ἐβαρόνετο γὰρ ἄν, πρὸς οἶς οὐδὲ τὸ καλὸς Αλελίδ ἐν διπλασιασμῷ τοῦ λ προφέρονται. Doric καλά is due to the influence of τὸ κάλλος, &c., Aiolic adλies (Alk. 134) to that of adλes.

Jonic adon, Henych. s. r. adon, An. Par. IV 26, Zenod. αρητός Α 530 (achol.

tive (Curt. Stud. VI 384). Rutherford, New Phrynichus, p. 15, classes the lθαγένης of Aischylos among the old Ionisms of the Attic dialect. See § 7.5.

ἀνάλωμα Thasos, 72₁₁, ἀνάλωσιν Theog. 903. Cf. ἀνήλωμα C. I, G. 2347 c 61, 3137₅₈ = Ditt. Syll. 171₅₈ (Smyrna), which owes its η to verbal influence. Even the perfect indic. and the

participle have a loan n.

ἄρω from αἴρω, subj. of ἦρα, in ἐπάρει Eph. 145 A_2 , ἄρειεν Sim. Am. 7_{60} , ἐπάρας Eph. 145 A_9 , cf. Hdt. I 90. See § 305. Different are καθάρασθαι Delos, B. C. H. V 468 (third cent.), καθᾶραι ibid. V 23, l. 185, 24, l. 194 (second cent.) from ἐκάθαρα which is a neologism for ἐκάθηρα. Cf. Rutherford, Phrynich. p. 76. Due to metrical compulsion is the \bar{a} in $\bar{a}\theta$ aνάτων Kall. 1_{13} ,

Due to metrical compulsion is the ā in åθανάτων Kall. 1₁₃, Tyrt. 12₃₂, Sol. 4₂, 13₆₄, 7₄, Theog. very often. παΐδ' ^{*}Αρεω Archil. 48 ¹, probably with ā; cf. also Tyrt. 11₇. The lyric poets have ă, except Bacchyl. 36₂. Another poetical form is:—

ἀνήρ Xenoph, 64, Phokyl. 152, Demod. 3, Solon, 1339 (?). Elsewhere α. No form in η (cf. ἠνορέη with η from -ηνωρ) is found. ἀνορέαν C. I. A. I 471, in an old Attic epigram.

On Aâas in Hom., cf. Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 94.

χαμᾶθεν is rejected by Blass, Aussprache³, p. 116, in favour of χαμαῖθεν or χαμᾶθεν². The MSS. do not have χαμᾶθεν, II 125, where χαμάθεν is found beside χαμόθεν; and in IV 172 we have no authority for Stein's χαμᾶθεν.

The MSS, often mix Ionic η with Attic \tilde{a} after a fashion that gives a false conception of the original dialect preferences of the

poets, e.g. in Archil. γραθς, in Ananios ἀνθίας.

ἀπεροπός in Anakr. 73 (Bergk) should be ήπ-. σκύτα Arch.

122 cannot be correct.

Names in -ās (Conson. Decl.) are not contracted from -εαs, but represent, originally at least, the lengthening of the short final a of the first member of a compound name, e.g. 'Αλκᾶs from 'Αλκαμένης; or the lengthening of the initial ă of the second member, e.g. Μολπᾶs (Μολπᾶδος 16310, Abdera) from Μολπ-ἄγόρης, Abdera, 1633, and the name of a son of Aristagores in Miletos (Hdt. V 30). Later on these forms were created ad libitum. See Bechtel on No. 76, p. 60. Ionic and Attic are here parallel: cf. 'Αλκᾶs C. I. A. I 433, which cannot have originated from 'Αλκέας; Ionic Μολπᾶs, Νοσσικᾶs, 'Ηρᾶs, Θευδᾶs, &c. See § 281.

166. H. Preliminary Remarks.

 η in Ionic may be (1) the pan-Hellenic long e sound, (2) the equivalent of \bar{a} of all other dialects, including Attic \bar{a} after vowels and ρ , (3) dialectal arising from compensatory lengthening of $\bar{\sigma}$, as in $\sigma\epsilon\lambda\dot{\eta}\nu\eta < *\sigma\epsilon\lambda a\sigma\nu\bar{a}$, $\tau\rho\dot{\eta}\rho\omega\nu < *\tau\rho\dot{\alpha}\sigma\rho\omega\nu$. Attic and Ionic here agree.

Eustath. 518₂₂ δθεν κατ' 'Ιάδα διάλεκτον ἐπεκτείναs 'Αρχίλοχος.
 Cf. Apoll. Adv. 600₅, Eust. 999₂₂, and Osthoff's Perfect, p. 597.

Pronunciation of η . In the alphabet of Keos, Naxos, and Amorgos, Ionic-Attic $\eta = \bar{a}$ of Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, North-West-Greek, Arkado-Kyprian, Doric, or $= \epsilon + a$, is represented by B or H (later); pan-Hellenic η by E. From this it is clear that the difference in graphical representation reflects a qualitative difference in pronunciation, $\eta = \bar{a}$ or $\epsilon + a$ being the open \bar{c} , $\eta =$ I.E. \bar{c} the closed long vowel. The dialectal η was a broader, more guttural sound than the aboriginal η . This difference doubtless once obtained in all quarters of Ionic.

The existing examples, however, restrict it to Island Ionic

(§ 400):

Keos.

θυΗ Rob. I 32 A.

Amorgos.

ΔΕιδάμαν(τ)ι Kirch. Alph. 32. μν Ημα Rob. I 158 D.

Naxos.

Naxos.
Δεινοδίκ Βο Roberts I 25.
ἀλ Βον Roberts I 25.
Νικάνδρ Β Roberts I 25.
ἐκ Ββόλωι Roberts I 25 and I 26 A; cf. also Delos, 24 A.
[Γ]ι[φι]καρτίδ Βς Β. C. Η. ΧΙΙ 463, pl. 13.

Keos.

έπιβλΕματι Rob. I 32 A.

Amorgos 1.

ΠατΕρ Kirch. Alph. 32.

Naxos.

άνεθΕκε B. C. H. XII, p. 463, pl. 13. ἀνέθΕκεν Rob. I 25, 26 A. κασιγνΕτ Rob. I 25.

ποιΕσας B. C. H. XII, p. 463, pl. 13.

This accurate distinction ² is, however, not carried throughout the entire history of the dialect; and in fact, before the adoption of the Ionic alphabet at Athens, we find instances of a confusion between the two E sounds. Thus in Naxos $\partial \pi o \ell H \sigma E \nu$ Rob. I 28; in Keos, Rob. I 32 A, l. 17, we have $\partial \iota a \rho a \nu H \iota$, l. 23 $\partial a \nu H \iota$, where we should expect the closed $\bar{\sigma}$ sound to be represented by E, not H³. So also in Amorgos $\Sigma \omega \tau H \rho \iota \chi o s$ Bechtel 229. Cf. Dittenberger, Hermes, XV 229. Blass, Aussprache³, p. 24 ff., Roberts, I § 33, and on 32 A, with the authorities there quoted, Karsten, p. 23, Kretschmer, K. Z. XXXI 291.

A knowledge of the character of the η sound in Ionic is important, since Merzdorf in Curtius' Studien, IX 202 ff., has endeavoured to establish the principle that open $\dot{e} < \bar{a} + o$ becomes $\epsilon \omega$ ($\lambda \eta \delta s$, $\lambda \epsilon \omega s$), whereas closed \dot{e} (= I.E. \dot{e}) + o becomes ϵo ($\beta a \sigma \iota - \lambda \dot{\eta} o s$, $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \dot{\epsilon} o s$). Opposed to this doctrine is the Chian $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega s$ (Bechtel 174 A, 13), a form that must be held to be genuine

In Amorgos E also denoted the sound connected with that η which was specifically Ionic (Λαμψαγόρεω, gen. of γόρης).
 In Kees E was = pan-Hellenic η and also spurious ει.

³ A similar confusion between E and H is found on a vase in the Louvre, whose provenance is Kees according to Kretschmer.

Ionic. See § 486. "A $\rho\epsilon\omega$ in Archil. 48, is as cogent an objection to the law of Merzdorf as is $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega s$. And ηFo from pro-Hellenie $\bar{a}vo$ does not become $\epsilon\omega$ in later Ionic with consistency; as witness Ionic $\pi\lambda\epsilon\sigma s$, $\chi\rho\epsilon\sigma s$ and Hdt. $v\eta\delta s$ beside $\lambda\epsilon\omega s$. Cf. Brugmann, Gr. § 19.

Cauer in his otherwise excellent preface to the Iliad (p. xvii) attempted without success to show that, in his text of Homer, Aristarchos wrote η before o, ω , α , when the $\eta = \bar{a}$, and ϵ_i when = pan-Hellenic $\bar{\epsilon}$. Cf. § 221.

167. Pan-Hellenic η appears invariably as η in Ionic. The form χρασθαι in Herodotos, and even in Attic (Mitth. IX 289, l. 24), is no exception to this law. That the root of this verb is χρη- (*χρηιομαι) is raised beyond a doubt by the forms of the Kretan, Aitolian, Lokrian and Megarian dialects. In Hrd. 655, we have ἐχρῆτο. A weaker form of χρη- is χρά- (cf. κτη-, κτά-ομαι), and it is this that appears in the Herodoteian χράσθαι (§ 272, 3), and perhaps in Attic χρώμαι, χρώμενος, and Messenian χρώνται, χρωμένους. *χραιομαι is thus the base of this form. A second form of χρη- is χρε-, found in χρέομαι (Hdt., Herakleia, Rhodes, Krete, Delphi, &c.). A fourth form is χρηέομαι, in Boiot. χρειείσθη, Megarian (Chalkadon) χρηείσθω, and Eleian χρηήσται, from χρήσς = Attic χρεώς. Cf. Ahrens, II 131; Meister, I 70, 226, 297; Brugmann, M. U. I 64; Merzdorf, in Curtius' Studien, VIII 203, 209 ff., IX 230, 236; G. Meyer, § 51; Johansson, D. V. C. 155 ff., B. B. XV 171, Collitz, B. B. XVIII 208. Cf. §§ 264, 2; 272, 3; 288, 3; 687.

κηρύλος Archil. 141 (cf. Alkm. 26,); κειρύλος Aves 300, is a

pun on the occupation of Sporgilos.

Attention may here be called to that η which is produced by the lengthening of ε, the initial vowel of a word which stands second in a compound. This initial vowel may or may not be lengthened in the same dialect upon composition taking place. Cf. ἀνηρίθευτος Chios 174 C 25, with ἀνερίθευτος (Homeric ἔριθος); also Ξενήρετος Keos 42, not from ἀρετή despite the later Ξενάρετος C. I. G. IV 8518, 108, 109 (Rhodes). Bechtel derives -ηρετος from ἐρέω (cf. Archil. 25, 68). But see Wackernagel's Dehnungsgesetz, p. 41, and cf. Νικηράτων Styra 19₂₆₈. Ξεινήρης B. P. W., 1890, p. 1405, no. 44.

168.] Relation of η to $\epsilon\iota$. The non-diphthongal El is generally expressed by E upon Ionic inscriptions (see § 213). Ionic $\eta = (1)$ pan-Hellenic η and (2) \bar{a} of other dialects, stands in no relation to this non-diphthongal $\epsilon\iota$ in Ionic; nor is any change of η to diphthongal $\epsilon\iota$ to be admitted. The form $K\tau\epsilon\iota\sigma\iota\omega\nu$ Styra 19₁₂₉,

¹ Aneed. Bachm. I 417₁₉; χρῷ Ἰωνικῶς, ᾿Αττικὸν δὲ χρῷ Schol. Ven. A on A 216; Hdn. II 606₂₉ χρῷ . . . ἀπὸ τοῦ χρῶ χρῷς (Hdt. IV 155), χρῷ (Hdt. IV 155 &c.) Ἰωνικῶς καὶ ᾿Αττικῶς.

was asserted by me (Diphthong EI, p. 80) to be an impossible The same is now held to be the case by Bechtel, ad loc.1 Vischer in 19104 read Θείσων, which he held to be the 'Boioto-Aiolic' form for Θήσων. This is incorrect as regards the presence of a Boiotian form upon the Styrian leaden tablets. Nor can it be justified on other grounds. Bechtel suggests 'Αλ] θήσων; cf. 'Αλθημένης, a Thasiote name. γλυκῆαν Hrd. 42 is not Ionic, cf. 583, 683.

On H resulting from contraction, see §§ 263-265, 280.

169. Ionic $H = \tilde{A}$ of other dialects. I.E. \tilde{a} is represented in Ionic regularly by $\eta = \text{Aiolic}$ and Doric \bar{a} . A few noteworthy forms are here mentioned.

παμπήδην Theog. 615, with which cf. Solon's πεπασθαι (137). Wilamowitz (Herakl. 1426) opines that the Athenians borrowed πάομαι from the Megarians (Theog. 146 πασάμενος) and Dorians. This verb is not in use in Ionic, which has accepted κτάομαι. Schmidt, Neutra, p. 411; Collitz, B. B. XVIII 211. On Πολυπάμων in Homer, cf. Fick, Odyss. p. 17; Wilamowitz, Hom. Unters. 70; G. Meyer, Gramm. § 65; Johansson, D. V. C. p. 150. A Thessalian has the name $\Pi a \mu \in [\nu] \delta s$, from * $\pi \hat{a} \mu a \iota$. A Kyprian name is Πασίκυπρος.

ηκη Archil. tr. 43, is the only instance in Greek of the long vowel of this root. Cf. Skt. āçus, Lat. ācer. The weak form

occurs in ἀκόνη, ἄκων, &c.

ηέρος, ηέρι in Hdt. with the pseudo-Ionic nominative ηήρ in Hippokr. II 22, 24, 34, 60, 70², Aretaios 260; ήέρος Hippokr. Lukian, Hippokr. cp., Aret.; ήέρι Hippokr. Aret.; ήέρα Hippokr. II 26, 34, 72, Aret., Hdt. I 172, IV 31; $\eta \epsilon \rho i \omega \nu$ Luk., de Astr. 23. The Homeric $\delta \dot{\eta} \rho$ has been regarded as equivalent to $a \dot{\nu} \dot{\eta} \rho = a f \dot{\eta} \rho$ (cf. Dor. $\dot{a}\beta\acute{\eta}\rho$ and Aiolic $a\breve{v}\eta\rho$). "Aios, which has been cited as offering a parallel case of the vocalization of af, must be classed elsewhere on account of the Attic "Āiðns; see § 160; so, too, diσσω cannot be explained as = ανίσσω (Fick), since an aflσσω would have become $a i \tau \tau \omega^3$. $d \eta \rho$ in Attic is not a form in accordance with the genius of that dialect. If the ā is original we shall have to seek for a root alf, or for a strong root with a, whose weak form appears in Aiolic αἴηρ (Aiolic, § 214). The

* alors. Attic from faifus. Cf. d as representative of aif in \$44p = \$aif4p, Skt. devar., and in del = alfei.

Cf. Κτησίων 19₃₀₋₀₀, 201-201, 301, Κτήσιμος 19₃₇, Κτήσις 19₁₂₂, Κτηρίνος 19₃₁₈, Κτησίνος 19₂₂₂₋₂₂₀. The d of κτd-ομαι is ablaut of κτη-. Boiot. Κτεισίαο C. D. I.

^{483 =} Κτησίου.

Noteworthy is †† in the genuine work of Hippokrates π. δέρων ὑδ. τόπ., but ἀἡρ in the spurious περὶ ἰερῆς νούσου (Littré, VI 372, 374, 390 twice; on p. 394 †† is a conjecture of Littré). In VI 94, v. l. VI 524 we find ἀἡρ, in VIII 268 θ has †† (ruig. ἀἡρ).

assumption of a ground-form $\hat{a}F\hat{\eta}\rho$ would necessitate the hazardous conclusion that a native Attic $\delta \hat{\eta} \rho$ arose by dissimilation from $\hat{\eta} \hat{\eta} \rho$. Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII 276, without advancing an etymology of the puzzling word, ventures the assertion that it is an importation from Homer by the philosophers (e.g. Herakl. 25, Anaxag. 1, Meliss. 17) and the poets. At all events it is clear that $\tilde{a}f =$ Aiolic av cannot be reflected by Attic a; in other words, the supposition that f upon its disappearance lengthens a preceding vowel must be abandoned as an error. It is not long since scholars have learned that the loss of the palatal spirant yod is not compensated by the lengthening of a preceding vowel. The momentary appearance of af as av (a) under the ictus in Homer cannot cause a to be regarded as long in prose. Homeric verse does not shape the form of words for the dialects, which live their own life. We must distinguish between words that have been adopted into literature from Homer in the Homeric form as the result of conscious art, and the phonetics of the dialects which are free from such external influence.

ħέριοs, ἦρι, 'early,' are from ἄυσερι-. ἄριστον, 'breakfast,' Hom. Hdt. < ἀνσερ-.
These words must be separated from ἀήρ, etc. Cf. Collitz, B. B. X 62, Brugmann in Curt. Stud. IX 392, and Grundr. II § 122. Is it possible that the η of ἡέροs &c. was introduced through confusion with ἡέριοs, ἤρι?
</p>

ηρα, stated to be Ionic for αρα by Gram. Vat. p. 699, and found in Hippokr., is also Doric and Aiolic; <η+αρα, § 282. Cf. Apoll. Conj. 22721 Schn.

170.] H=A of Doric, E of Attic and of later Ionic by

metathesis quantitatis.

In the Hipponaktian ληός we have the oldest Ionic stage of pre-Hellenic *λāFoς which can be recognized upon Greek soil. ληός is found in all MSS. but r, Hdt. V 42. Were it not for λεώς I 22, II 129, VIII 136, ληός might claim admission to the text of the historian with the same justice as νηός. See §§ 140, 4, 160.

¹ Renner regarded this form as a Dorism, but wished to substitute νηῦς for ναῦς.

rμός 513, νηυσί 12; Solon νητ 193, νηυσίν 134; Mimn. νηυσίν 92. The forms in η deserve mention in this connection, because of the superstition that νηυσί and ναυσί are identical as regards quantity. The a of ναυσί is short. Cf. βασιλεύς $< -\eta$ ύς, < 2ξύς < 2ηύς, &c. In Ionic νηῦς the η is due to νηός; νητ instead of ν $\hat{η}$ is due likewise to the influence of the genitive.

171.] Ionic $H = \hat{A}$ of other dialects (including Attic \hat{A} after E, I, Υ , P).

1. In the endings of the Vowel Declension, and in adverbs representing petrified cases of this declension.

2. In verbal forms of the -aw inflection, and in forms derived

therefrom.

- 3. In radical and thematic syllables (excluding such as may be classed under 1 and 2).
 - 4. In syllables of derivation.
 - 5. In other forms.

 $\epsilon\eta=Attic$ $\epsilon\bar{a}$ is derived from $\epsilon(\epsilon)\eta=\epsilon(\epsilon)\bar{a}$. Cf. Attic $\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\dot{a}<\delta\omega\rho\epsilon\dot{a}$, which prevails till 268 s.c.

References for the study of the interrelation of Ionic η and Attic \bar{a} :—

Ahrens, Göttinger Philol. Versammlung, 1852; Bergk, Gr. Lit. Gesch. I 73; Kirchhoff, Hermes, V 49 ff.; Cauer, in Curtius' Stud. VIII 244, 435, and Wochenschrift für kl. Phil. 1887. No. 51; Curtius, in his Studien, I 248; G. Meyer, Gr. Gr. XXIII; Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 10, Grundr. I § 104; Bechtel, Phil. Anzeiger, 1886, p. 20; Kretschmer, K. Z. XXXI 285.

Preliminary Remarks.—The dichotomy of the Greek language into \hat{A} and H dialects assumes that at an extremely early period \bar{a} had become η in Ionic. But it may be doubted whether this shifting of pronunciation, though anterior to the disappearance of ν before final s^1 , was in all quarters of the Ionic world so old as is generally assumed to be the case. We are able to distinguish in the alphabets of Naxos, Keos and Amorgos between the sign for pan-Hellenic η (E) and that for secondary $\eta = \bar{a}$ (H); a differentiation which makes it certain that the introduction of η for \bar{a} in Ionic did not happen at the stroke of twelve but was the result of a gradual change. That this change was accomplished in Attika before the departure eastward of the Ionians is not so probable as that it was begun while yet the Ionians dwelt in Attika and completed in the course of time upon the islands and the mainland of Asia Minor. Had all

¹ η from d is later than the disappearance of σ in āνσως (§ 290). The law whereby an āνσ- would become āνσ- is later than the expulsion of the sibilant.

ā's become η's when the Ionians reached Ionia, Old-Persian Māda would have been represented in Ionic by Mādoi, not, as is the case, by Μήδοι. Be this as it may, it is clear that the universal displacement of I.E. \bar{a} by η^{\perp} antedates the earliest distinctly Ionic literature of which we have cognizance. It is futile to maintain that Ionic Homerids substituted the n which had come into vogue in their day for an Ionic \bar{a} of a still older period of the epos. A much-vexed question is whether in Attic a is original after ϵ , ι , v, ρ , or whether the Ionic η was also Attic at some period of the Attic dialect, and later became a. Certain scholars have ventured to compare the instances of Eleian ā= pan-Hellenic n, despite the fact that the cases are not parallel. And the actual appearance of a 'hyper-Doric' ā in one dialect

is not proof that an Ionic-Attic η became \bar{a} in Attic.

Even if Attic \tilde{a} after ϵ , ι , v, ρ is later than η , it is scarcely to be expected that the older η should be sporadically attested, and improbable that Attic ā should have been substituted for pan-Hellenic η. The best support for the view that originally all instances of I.E. \bar{a} became η in Attic is to be sought in the fact ὑγιϵ(σ)a became ὑγιᾶ², σαφϵ(σ)a, σαφῆ. According to Kretschmer (Κ. Ζ. ΧΧΧΙ 289) Attic θϵᾶ and -λϵᾶ (in 'Αναξιλέα) from θάfā (in the dialect of Tarentum) and λάfā, can be explained solely on the view that in Attic all cases of primary \bar{a} became η . The same scholar adduces Eleian Fάργον, ἐλευθάρος and Lokrian πατάρα in proof of the ability of ρ to change an open ϵ sound into These are, however, instances not directly comparable to the case in point. But whatever the date of the change of η to \bar{a} , it happened long enough before the period of our earliest Attic monuments to preclude the possibility of the survival in them of any of the old n's.

For a further discussion of the interrelation of Attic ā and

Ionic η , see above §§ 61, 72 ff.

172. Ending of the Vowel Declension (stems in \tilde{a})³.

¹ There is no basis for an Ionic ἀτορ (Et. Gud. 250₅₆).

¹ There is no basis for an Ionic ἄτορ (Et. Gud. 250.6).
² δργή in inscriptions of the fourth century is an analogue of σαρή.
² Masc, in -ιηs: Σωσίης Joh, Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. 1, Gram. Meerm. 649, Birnb. 6774. Vat. 695 (with itacistic -ειης), Έρμεῖης Joh. Gr. 239 B (-ιης), Greg. Kor. 1, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Birnb. 6771. Fem. in -ιη: ἐστίη Joh. Gr. 241, ματίη Eust. 5434, Τροΐη Απ. Οχ. Ι 4082 cf. 40752 and 38752, ἄρειἡ Theogn. II 1774, ἀγγελίης School. Γ 206, ἀνειδείη Απ. Οχ. IV 41927, Apoll. Conj. 22757 Schneider, Μηδείης Hdn. II 75152 = Choir. 3245, ἀληθείη Αμβ. 668, Vat. 699, ὡφελείη Leid. 628 (ἀνιηρός Hdn. II 1634 = 35756, Aπ. Οχ. III 29691 Drako 793, Σιδανίηθεν Hdn. II 349 = Aπ. Οχ. I 38731). Fem. in -τη: κυνέη Απ. Οχ. I 23931, νηπιέη Hdn. II 3534 = Aπ. Οχ. I 28917, Aπ. Par. III 6919, ζαθέη Εt. Gud. 2274, Ἑκτορέη Αροll. Conj. 2332 Schn. Fem. in -ση: Τρωή Απ. Οχ. I 40712. Fem. in -ρη: "Ηρη Joh. Gr. 240, 241, Greg. Kor. 10, Aug. 668, Meerm. 650, Vat. 693, 696; χώρη Joh. Gr. 240, 241, Meerm. 650, Vat. 696, θώρη Joh. Gr. 235, 240, Leid. 628, An. Οχ. I 38752;

1. Masculines in -εης, -ιης, are retained upon all early Ionic inscriptions. 'Εσνέας and Λυσαγόρας, forms assumed to exist upon the lead tablets of Styra (19191 and 244) have been shown, § 157. to lack foundation. Cf. 1956, 19173 in Bechtel, Alvéηs in Rob. I 189 F, Αντίης Rob. I 190, No. I, E. Πυθαγόρας occurs Samos 215 = Roberts, I 156, in an artist's signature to an Ionic epigram. Since the giver of the εἰκών was an Epizephyrian Lokrian, Pythagores may have adopted for his name a form in harmony with the dialect of the dedicator Euthymos 1. The dialect of Rhegion was mixed Doric and Ionic (Thuk. VI 5). Whatever be the true explanation of this form, it deserves notice that this is the earliest example of -ayόρas upon an Ionic inscription. Rob. I 157, we read $[\Pi v]\theta a y \delta \rho [as]$, restored on the lines of 156. A coin of Samos (400-350) gives the true Ionic form Πυθαγόρης, On Πυθαγόρης, from Salymbria, see Bechtel Bechtel, 226 I. on No. 261.

-ias appears in Thasos at the end of the third century (Κριτίαs 82 A 7); 'Hyέαs in Keos, 44 B 4; 'Ελπέαs ibid. 44 B 16, an early document perhaps of the fifth century; 'Αρισταγόραs Thasos, 82 A 5 (225-200). See § 415.

2. In feminine nouns the termination -ιη appears sporadically till after Christ in the inscriptional monuments of the Ionic dialect (cf. below, § 173). The ingression of the Attic forms in the declension dates from the middle of the fourth century B.C. Κλευπάτρα Delos 55, III 34 (cf. VII 27) dates from the third century B.C.; ἀρᾶι Teos, 1582, Δημητρία Chios, 192, ὑγείας Olbia, 1291, are all inscriptions of late date. Upon an archaic vase (Roberts, I 190) we find Χώρα, whose ā perhaps makes for Attic provenance (see Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX 398).

 $\Delta\omega\rho o\phi \ell a$ Roberts, I 29, upon a stone in Naxos, is certainly not an Ionian woman, not only on account of the \bar{a} , but also on account of the ϕ for θ , which is not a substitution known elsewhere as Ionic ($\phi = \theta$ in Aiolic, Boiotian, Epeirotic, Thessalian).

"Ilpas Samos, 220 36, and 22137 (about 350), whereas in 226 we find "H $\rho\eta$ s. The η form is retained upon inscriptions till a late period, though doubtless no longer spoken. Cf. § 430. The

άρούρη, γεφύρη An. Par. IV 118₁₂, ἀγορή Apoll. Adr. p. 191₂₁ Schn.; γοργύρη Eust. 1688₂₃, ἡμέρη Diog. Laert. VII 56; ἡμετέρη Leid. 628; ἰθύτρη Theog. II 79₁₇; Ἰρή An. Ox. IV 412₁₇, Choir. 515₂₂; Ἐφύρη An. Ox. I 159₁₁ (also in Thukyd.) II 117₆ called Attic, as also Κύρη; ληϊβοτείρη An. Ox. I 263₂₀; πάτρη Tzetz. Ex. Il. 85₁₂; χήρη Eust. 589₁₈, 1093₄₇; ὅρη Vat. 696; "Ασκρη, 'Ολύκρη, 'Αντισάρη Hdn. II 348₂₆ – Arkad. 113₁₉, cf. An. Ox. IV 412₂, and Choir. 515₆ ff., who has also Κάτρη, "Αγρη, Κύρη, Τερψιχόρη. Even in μοίρη An. Ox. I 275₄, σπείρη Meerm. 650, Vat. 696, σφείρη An. Par. IV 118₁₂, Στείρη Joh. Gr. 240 B, cf.

Dedicators generally have the dedicatory inscription engraved in their native alphabet; but cf. Roberts, I 230, bis, for an exception.

conservative style of the inscriptions has retained \(\Pi\theta\gamma\ga coins of the empire (P. Gardner, Num. Chron. 1882, 280).

On -ā in the poets, see below, § 187 ff. The occurrences of ā in proper names in Hdt., where η might have been expected, have been enumerated under A (§ 158).

173. Note on the chronology of η after ϵ , ι , and ρ in Ionic inscriptions.

It is to be noted that upon inscriptions as late as the third century after Christ, Ionic n held its ground sporadically; e.g. Keos, 52 Ἰουλιητών (in Attic even in the fourth century B. C.); Paros, 66 Είλειθυίηι; Istros, 135 Ίστρίη (as late as Gordianus Pius); Priene, Πριηνέων, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer, Monnaies Grecques, 296, No. 127 (time of Hadrian), Head, H. N. 508. Coins of Olbia retain -in till the period of Caracalla and Alexander Severus 1. IHTΩN occurs on coins of Ios from Trajan to Faustina Jun. and Lucilla, Head, H. N. 414. A unique form is 'A[π]ατούρηι Latysch. II 28.

The inscriptions before 350 B.C. generally have the Ionic η . This retention of η , the inflection of adjectives of material in -cos, &c., and the inflection of the Iota declension (gen. -cos), are the last heirlooms of the Ionic dialect that were displaced by the Attic κοινή.

174. In the following paragraphs we will attempt to discover to what extent the Ionic dialect has preserved the long vowel of the suffix -ιη (-ιā), which in Attic and occasionally in Ionic has been displaced by -ia. An immediate connection, temporal or local, between Ionic and Attic cannot be shown on the ground of this tendency, which obtains in both dialects. Thus, the usual Attic form is ἀλήθεια, a form younger than the 'Old-Attie' ἀληθεία and the Ionic (Homeric) $\partial \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon i \eta$, since it is the result of a transferring of an abstract noun with the suffix -tā into the category of the adjectival flexion, which had -ta as original feminine ending 2. The feminine adjective was formed from a consonantal stem by the addition of the suffix -ια (Skt. -ī) as in ἡδεῖα svādvī, àλήθεια. Feminine nouns from the same stems added, not -ια,

41, is the v. l. πρώτη for πρώρη?

Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 45 call ἀληθείη a later form than that in -ειά.

Joh. Gr. 235 merely cites workein.

¹ Ionic forms occasionally appear in the MSS, of the New and of the Old Testament. That σπείρης existed in the archetypal MS., is evident from Acts XXI 31 (general reading), XXVII 1 (every uncial and many cursives). In Acts X 1, σπείρης is not so well supported (ACEL, -as in BP); μαχαίρης Luke XXI 24 (B¹Δ), μαχαίρη Luke XXII 49 (B¹DLT 8); πλημμύρης Luke VI 48 (B¹LE 8 33¹, Σαπφείρη Acts V 1 (Tischendorf. -ρα BD), συνειδυίης Acts V 2 (AB Ε 8, -as DP); ἐπιβεβηκυίης I Sam. XXV 20, κυνομυίης Exod. VIII 21, 24, (but -μυιαν) read by Tischend. In Acts XXVII 30 πρώρης in N*el*A 13 d; in XXVII 41, is the n 1 πρώρη for προίρη?

but $-i\bar{a}$ as in $\partial \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon i\bar{a}$. Perhaps the presence of the latter form caused the fem. adj. $\partial \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon ia$ to die out. At any rate the confusion between $-i\bar{a}$ and $-i\bar{a}$ in abstract nouns may be dated from the period of the disappearance of the fem. adj. of $\partial \lambda \eta \theta \eta s$. Cf. also $-\eta i\eta$ and $-\epsilon ia$ from $-\eta v$ stems, $-i\eta$ being the substantival, $-i\bar{a}$ the adjectival, ending 1.

The question of the interrelation of -ειη, -ηιη, -ιη is touched on, §§ 145, 215, 232 ff. On Attic -εια and -ια, see Schanz' Plato II

2, p. vii ff., Moiris, 1991s.

175.] Abstract feminines in $-\epsilon i \eta$ in Ionic.

See Choirob. Bekk. Anecd. III 1314, Hdn. II 45420, Fritsch, Zum Vokalismus des herod. Dial. p. 19, Bredow, 127, 188. Figures without authors refer to Hdt.

άδείη IX 42, but άδειαν II 121 (ζ), in all MSS. άληθείη, not άληθηίη, in Hdt.; άληθείη occurs in Euseb. Mynd. 19, 21, Luk. Astr. 1, Hipp. ep. 10_6 , 12_4 , 17_{67} , Mimnermos 8, Iliad, Ψ 361, Ω 407, and often in the Odyssey. Cf. Gram. Aug. 668, Vat. 699. ἀναιδείη VI 129, VII 210, &c., Archil. 78, (Athen. -είην, or -ειαν); Theog. 291, 648 (O -ίη); Hipp. ep. 1742. Cf. Choirob. 655.4, An. Ox. IV 41927, Apoll. Conj. 22727 Schn. ἀτελείη Ι 54, III 67, IX 73; ἀτε[λ]είην Kyzikos, 108 B 3. This form has been attributed by Karsten (De titulorum Ionic. dialecto, p. 18), to that species of Ionic which he calls Karian². No other example of arehely occurs upon Ionic inscriptions, though it is the regular Ionic form and that which has been supplanted upon other inscriptions by the Attic ατέλεια, Eryth. 1996 (394 B.c. one of the earliest cases of the ingression of Atticisms 3), 202a (350 B. c.); Zeleis, 114 (334 B.C.); Ephesos, 147₁₃ (300 B.C.); Iasos, 105, (end of fourth century); Teos, Mitth. XVI 292 (early Hellenistic period). ἀτρεκείη IV 152, Hipp. ep. 168, 17₆₆. ἐπιπειθείη Sim. Amorg. 1₆. εὐηθείη ΙΙΙ 140; in VII 16 γ, R has εὐηθείας, not adopted by the editors. εὐμαρείη IV 113; Greg. Korinth. § 119, εὐμαρέην δὲ τὴν ἀπόπατον. Suidas has both εὐμαρέη and εὐμάρεια. εὐπετείη V 20, Demokr. 134. εὐτελείη II 92, &c. κακοηθίη Demokr. Mor. 22 (Stob.). μεγαλοπρεπείη III 125. πολυμαθείη was the reading of Diog. Laert. in Herakl. 16 (Byw. -ιη). Cobet's πουλυμαθηίη is wide of the mark. πολυτελείη II 87. πρεσβυγενείη VI 51. προμηθείη is correctly handed down in Xenoph. 124. Hdt. has προμηθίη I 88, III 36 (CPd, -είη). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says της νεωτέρας 'lάδος έστι το λέγειν την προμήθειαν προμηθίαν. σιτοδείη Ι 22, 94. ξυμπαθείη Aret. 153. ύγιείη II 77, Demokr. Mor. 46,

On Brothfes, a supposed example of 'Karian' Ionic, see § 11.

* wpocopier in the same inscription.

I Ionic and Attic Espois is older than Elfold, Hesiod, W. D. 651. Cf. elbrian.

Hippokr. II 14, 26, 32, 634 Litt. (vulgo ὑγείην), ep. 25, 109, 172, (vulgo, -ειαν in χ), 262. ὑγείη Hippokr. II 244 Litt. (ὑγίην 2165, 2276, &c.), II 282 Litt. (ύγιείην 2253, &c., ύγίην 2276). Midway between vyiein and vyein stands the itacistic vyin in Herodas 486, a form not yet contracted into vyin (cf. Tyia C. I. A. III 1832). The gen. is ύγιτης Hrd. 420, 94; the nom. Υγίτα 45 may be retained at the cost of the omission of τ_{ϵ} . The evidence of inscriptions is against the primitive character of the form ύγεία (Osthoff, M. U. IV 181), though it appears as early as Eubulos III 248, Philemon IV 22 (l. 11)—in both passages rejected by Meineke. Whether Yyea Paros 67 (cf. Olbia, 12914, also a late inscription) is ὑγεία for Ionic ὑγείη, or ὑγεία < ὑγίεια is uncertain, but both forms are clearly itacistic. On vyeia for ύγίεια, see Blass, Aussprache³, p. 60, who compares late Boiotian Θεισπείων for Θεισπιείων, C. D. I. 816. ύγίεια is a conjecture in Herakl. 104 (vyelav vulgo), and often occurs as a v. l. in Hippokr. ὑπωρείη II 158 R, ὑπώρεα IV 23, for ὑπώρεια from ὅρος, Hipponax ὀρείας 35, Hdt. ὀρεινός. φιλομαθείη Euseb. φρενοβλαβείη Luk. Syr. 18. Mynd. I.

176. Forms in -ειά < -εσια.

In the following cases there is good MS. evidence for -eta, which must however be regarded as an Attic intruder. άδειαν, Hdt. II 121 (ζ) in all MSS. ἀκράτεια Hippokr. V 620 (166). άλήθεια Hippokr. ep. 1714, 57, where Hercher adopts the form with η as in all the other cases cited below from this pseudo-Ionic αμέλεια Hippokr. II 60 (Litt. δμιλίην). ανδρογένεια Hippokr. ep. 2793. ἀσθένεια Hippokr. III 224 vulgo (Lit. -είην), Aret. 321. ἀσφάλεια Hippokr. II 140, 244 (Lit. -είην), 634 (Lit. -ίην), III 234 (Lit. -είην). έγκράτεια Euseb. Mynd. 26. έμμέλειαν in all MSS, except d, Hdt. VI 129; Stein and Holder read -copy. έπιμέλειαν in all MSS., Hdt. VI 105; Hippokr. ep. 2755. εὐγένεια occurs in Dem. 127, a fragment otherwise in Ionic form in Stob .: cf. Hippokr. ep. 171. εὐλάβεια Hippokr. ep. 2733. εὐμενίη II 45, is written by Holder against the authority of the MSS., which have -εια or -εα. ήδυπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 1753. Ἡρακλείη Hdt. V 43 (-κλειαν ABCd). κακοπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 1742. περιφανείη Stein, -eta, Holder with all MSS. In II 55, both Stein and Holder write Προμένεια, the name of a Dodonian priestess. ξυγγέτεια Hippokr. ep. 263. ξυμπάθεια Hippokr. ep. 130. ξυνάφεια Aret. 147, 334.

 $\pi a \nu \dot{\omega} \lambda \epsilon a$ and $\dot{\epsilon} \xi \dot{\omega} \lambda \epsilon a$, Bechtel, 263, found in Lykia, belong to the same class as $\dot{\nu} \pi \dot{\omega} \rho \epsilon(\iota) a$, but it is not certain that these forms

are not Attic.

177.] Feminines in -είη or -εια derived from -ην- stems. Γρείη in Hdt. V 72; Γερειαι II 53 ABC, II 55 id., the reading adopted by Holder. lépeia is Homeric (Z 300) and original, is found upon a Keian inscription of the fourth century (No. 48), and is the koin form. Contracted form $\mathfrak{t}\epsilon\rho\hat{\eta}<\mathfrak{t}\epsilon\rho\ell\eta^1$ or $\mathfrak{t}\ell\rho\epsilon\iota\tilde{a}$, Pantikap. 1231, Ephesos, 150 (late). Cf. $\beta a\sigma(\lambda\eta,\pi\rho\ell\sigma\beta\eta)$ Hdn. I 2753, 32221. If $\ell\ell\rho\epsilon\iota a$ is correct, as we should expect, we have in Hdt. the older and the younger form co-existing. $\ell\epsilon\rho\epsilon\ell\tilde{a}$ is attested by Hdn. I 5312, II 70813, Moiris 191 as Attic, and occurs in Bacck. 1114. $\ell\ell\rho\epsilon(\iota)\tilde{a}$, too, is Attic (Meisterhans, p. 32). See § 300.

βασίλεια appears in numerous passages in Hdt. without a variant, and is the Homeric and original form. The v. l.

βασιληίης I 211, in R is an hyper-Ionism.

On the nom. $\check{a} = \eta$, see § 420.

178.] **Feminines in** -οιη, -υιη, -οια, -υια.

Hdt. usually has -οιη in fem. abstracts as προνοίη, συννοίη, εὐνοίη, δμοχροίη, ἀπλοίη, παλλιρροίη. The Attic -οιᾶ appears in εὐνοιαν III 36 (-οίην Stein), διάνοια II 169, διάνοιαν I 46, 90, II 162, IX 45. -υιη in μητρυιή; Ωρειθυίη is not certain in VII 189 (ἀρειθύην in d, ἀρείθυιαν in R). The Ionic prose form of Attic ὅργυια is not attested in the nominative. Homer has ὅργυια (as μυῖα), Hdt. only oblique cases, and so Nikand. Ther. 169 δργυιῆ, but Aratos, Phain. 196 δργυιῆν. See under Accent, § 119.

179.] Proper names in -αιά, -αιη; -ειά, -ειη; -οιά, -οιη.

Nίσαια, Ίστίαια in Hom., but Ἱστιαίη in Hdt. VIII 23-25, a variation that recurs in the case of Φώκαια Hymn Apoll. 35, Hdt. I 142, 152, II 106, 178, VI 17, but Φωκαίη I 80, 164, 165; Μηδείην I 2. For a full list of these names, see Bredow, 129 ff.

- 180.] Adverbs representing petrified case-forms of the declension have throughout the Ionic η , e.g. $\lambda i \eta \nu$ Hippon. 20, Anakr. 93 (cf. Greg. Korinth. § 58), $\lambda i \theta \rho \eta$, $\pi i \rho \eta \nu$ (Arrian 3, cf. Hdn. I 5084), $\pi i \rho \eta \theta \epsilon$, $\pi \rho \omega i \eta \nu$ Hdn. I 4906, Theogn. II 15434.
- 181.] In verbal forms of the -aw inflection, and in derived forms.

καταρήσεσθαι, πειρήσομαι (cf. Theog. 126) θεήσεσθαι, "Αδρηστος, Tyrt. 128, in Hdt. and on a vase, Roberts, I 194. "Αδραστος Smyrna, 15317, an inscription of Attic inclinations. Cf. also ηγόρασεν Eryth. 206 B 48, C 44, Νικασίωνος Thasos (Louv.), 20 C 9. Πολυάρητος Thasos, 723, 'Αρήτη Hippon. 14, but "Αρατος Eryth. 206 B 44; ἀρητήρ An. Ox. I 2110.

¹ Kallim. Epigr. 41 has 'Iepin, Schn. 'Ipeln.

Of all the supposed cases of Ionic η in the modern Pontic dialect, only two (πέρνησον and ἀπέρνηστον = πέρασον and ἀπέραστον) are regarded as genuine survivals by Hatzidakis, Neugr. Gramm. p. 163.

182.] Words containing H=I. E. Â in radical and thematic syllables. A few examples of each class will suffice.

The admission of 'hyper-dialectal' ā into an Ionic word is out of the question. The Hipponaktian (2) πανδάλητος, if connected with δηλέομαι, must yield to some one of the various conjectures made to bring sense into the fragment. This ā is out of place save in Theokr., by whose time the hyper-Doric ā may have gained a footing. Cf. ζάδηλον Alkaios, 187. Zανός, Zανί Bergk, P. L. G. III 710 (82) cannot be vernacular Ionic. Zής was used by Pherekydes (Eust. 138728), not Záς as Clem. Alex. Strom. VI 741 reports. Cf. Collitz, B. B. X 51.

 $\eta = \text{extra-Ionic } \bar{a}$, after ρ .

γρηῦς; for which Bergk reads γραῦς, Archil. 31, though Schneidewin long ago corrected the MS. to γρηῦς. There is no warrant for supposing that the inflection of γρηῦς differed from that of vηῦς in the nom.; and on Archil. 168 Bergk reads γρηῦν. γρηῦς should not be derived from γραῦις (Curtius, $Et.^5$, 176, cf. Schmidt, K.Z.XXVII 375), but is probably an immovable feminine adjective like θῆλυς in θῆλυς ἐέρση, ἡδὺς in ἡδὺς ἀῦτμή; and of this, γραῦις and γραῦα are the movable feminine forms. γραῦα appears to be a solitary example of a v-stem which has not taken on the -εια inflection. γραῦις is of Aiolic source. γρηῦς in Homer is scarcely an analogue to πρέσβυς, as Brugmann, M.U. III 25, suggests.

κεκρημένος Hdt. III 106, against the authority of all the MSS., cf. Hippokr. κέκρημαι. The base κερα has the form κρα=Ionic κρη. ἀκρητοπότης, -ποσίη Hdt., κρητήρ¹ Anakr. 941, cf. Eust. 14032, κέκρηται Hesych. Even Pollux, X 108, has ἢθμός τις ἐπικρη-

Tnoloios, cf. Bechtel 103.

πιπρήσκω (cf. Kallimachos 85), πρ]ηθέντων Eryth. 2046; Hdt. πρηθήναι. Solon, however, has πραθέντες 425 eleg., 367 trim.

πρήσσω²: Πρηξάσπης, Πρηξίλεως, Πρηξίνος in Hdt. Πρηξίπολις Thas. (L.), 8 B 6, 104, 11 B 3, 1311, 212. Πρηξίλεως Thas. (L.), 3 B 8, cf. Thasos, 75 A 7. Πρηξάς Eryth. 206 A 11. Πρηξαγόρης Thas. (L.), 102, 6. Πρηξώς Kyme, 20; Πρήξιον Delos, 57; ἐκπρηττόντων, 226 near Eretria with non-Ionie ττ; πρηξάντων Teos, 15817, Chios, 174 A 15, 20; πρήχμα Chios, 174 B 18, 174 C 7 (also Attic, C. I. A. III 3822). In Hdt. and other writers the Attic forms have crept into some MSS. Cf. I 8, V 12, VII 147 (Arrian, 910, 4310), Protag. ap. Plut. De Consol. Theognis has η forms, 70, 80, 73, 1026, 1027, 553, 661, 953, 461, 1031, 1075, but the ā forms in A or in other MSS. 204, 659, 256, 644, 642, 1051. Some Ionic inscriptions, too, have admitted the

 $^{^{1}}$ κρητήρ An. Ox. I 238₁₈, Et. M. 538₂₇, Et. Gud. 346₁₄. 2 πρήγμα An. Ox. I 238₁₉, Et. M. 538₂₈, Et. Gud. 346₁₈.

Attic forms, Mylasa, 248 A 10 (367-6 B.C.), 248 C 10 (355-4), Ephesos, 147₁₈, about 300 B.C. In literature $\pi\rho\eta$ - in all early

monuments: Hdt., Dem. Mor. 2021, Herodas, V 3, &c.

πρηθε, πρηθνεσθαι in Hdt., Hippokr., Πρηύλος, name of a Thasiote, Πρηθχος of a Styrian, 19347 (cf. Πρε-άνθης Keos, 50, IV πρηέα Luk. Astr. 29. πρευμενής in Attic poets is an Ionism.

ρηδίως (ρηίδιος Apoll. Adv. 567 = Schn. 1574), ρηστώνη in Hdt. and Luk. Syr. 20, Astr. 21, Hippokr. ραθυμείτω VI 648, 656, ραστώναι III 438, ράων VIII 268 but very often ρηθδιος, ρηίτερος, (Aret. 332), ρηίζω VIII 38. Blass thinks the a is short in the forms (cf. also §§ 208, 274) which are not followed by two short syllables. Cf. Aiolic βράδιος = Γράδιος, Theokr. XXX 27, βραιδίως. Osthoff, Perfect. 446 ff., explains ράων = ράσίων = Lat. rarior (*vrasos). Cf. § 233.

ρηχίη, flood-tide, in Hdt., can have nothing to do with ρήγνυμι as L. & S. state, since the latter has pan-Hellenic η^1 . Connect rather paixis, spine, Hdt. III 54. For the use of names of parts of the body to express natural objects, cf. arm of the sea, shoulder

of the mountain, πολυδειράς Όλυμπος, &c.

τρηχύς. The relation of τρα to ταρα in ταραχή, τάραξις is not perfectly clear, though it is probable that there is a correspondence of types, κερα: κρά:: ταρα: τρά. τρηχέα in Hdt. VII 33, is due to Abicht, the MSS. having the Attic form, which comes to light in Solon, 435. The genuine Ionic form is found in Tyrtaios, 1259, Hipponax, 472.

The pseudo-Ionists generally adopt the Ionic forms.

In some of the later portions of the Hippokratic corpus Attic ā is freely used, as in κέκραγα, κεκράκτης VI 388.

183.] Νικήτορος Thasos (L), 12 C 11, may serve as an example of $\eta = \bar{a}$ lengthened from \bar{a} upon the formation of a compound word. See § 165, note, and § 167. On Aoxayos in Styra, see above, § 157. κρήιη Ion.-Attic, from κραννά (Thessal. Κραννούν), Doric κράνα, perhaps from *κράσνα. The Attic η is to be explained as that of $\epsilon l \rho \dot{\eta} \nu \eta$ § 217.

184. Ionic $\eta = \text{extra-Ionic } \bar{a}$, after vowels.

'Ιήσων in Hdt., but 'Ιάσων Halik. 24023; 'Ιητών Head, H. N.

414; TPIH ibid. 222.

'Ιστρίη Istros, 135; Ιητρός Pantik. 119; cf. Luk. π. δ. l. σ. § 16; often in late epigrams, and even in such as are otherwise Doric. Wagner, Quaest. de epigr. 27. λητήρ C. I. It. et Sic., Add. 2310 A.

νεηνίης Hdt., νεηνίσκος Hippokr., νεηνιέων Protag., cf. Νεή-

1 panyyla, shipureck = Attic ranayla contains the lengthened form of fay, ablaut of fay (serenyore in Hdt. and Hippokr.).

πολις, Bechtel, 4_1 . The stem $v\epsilon\tilde{a}$ - varies with $v\epsilon o$ -; $N\epsilon o$ πολιτέων 4_2 , cf. 4_3 and 4_4 . Cf. Φαίηλος Thasos (L.), 7 B 6, from φαιο-, as Κύδρηλος from κυδρο-. Cf. Έρμάφιλος Th. (L.), 20 C 8, and Έρμόφιλος.

παιήων, the Homeric form, is still preserved in Archilochos 76.

Hdt. has παιωνίζω.

Πριηνέων, Imhoof-Blumer, Monn. Greeq., 296, No. 127, period

of Hadrian; IIPIH, Bechtel, No. 143.

Upon the Attic tribute lists from 456 to 424 B.C. some names of Ionic peoples appear, now in the Ionic, now in the Attic form (Αὐλιῆται, Ἰῆται, Κερδιῆται, Ναξιῆται, Πρηνῆs). In other cases η always (Βαργυλιῆται, Θρανιῆται). Even the inhabitants of Ἰάλυσος appear as Ἰηλύσιοι, whereas upon their own documents we find Ἰαλυσίοι[s], Cauer, 177. The name seems to have come to the Athenians through Ionic sources. Cf. Cauer in Curtius' Studien, VIII 247. In the fourth century the epichoric names are more tenacious of their hold in the Attic inscriptions. Cf. Meisterhans, 13.

τιήρη Hdt. VIII 120, but τιάρα I 132, III 12, retained by

Stein and Holder. Cf. Persai, 662 τιήρας (Dind. τια-).

τριήκοντα and other forms of τριη- in composition. τριήκοντα Hippon. 203, Eryth. 20217, cf. Mylasa, 248 A 1, Keos, 4320, Chios, 174 B 23, D 15, Thasos (L.), 96, has an $η=\bar{a}$ that is probably not original, though the \bar{a} of the I. E. neuter pl. $tri\bar{a}$ took its \bar{a} from the o decl. when the plural of the o stems ended in \bar{a} . See Schmidt's Neutra, p. 39.

διη- in διηκοσίων Zeleia 114 D 5, Chios, 174 D 18. The long vowel is due to the influence of that of τριηκόσιοι. See Spitzer,

Lautlehre des Arkad. p. 19.

185. Syllables of Derivation containing H.

For example, in Herodotos, Σαρδίηνος, Κρηστωνιήτης, Σπαρτιήτης, Αλγινήται. Τεγέη, Τεγεήτης (Τεγέη is from Τεγείη as δωρεά from δωρειά in Attie, unless the latter, as Dittenberger thinks, is the younger form), Βαργυλιητῶν Bechtel, 252. 'Ορνεᾶται Hdt. VIII 73 in ABCd, for which Stein has the Ionic form; cf. in the same chapter Παρωρεῆται. On other names in -ᾶται in Hdt., see above, § 158. Arrian 511 has Τιτῆνος.

Ionic θώρηξ, θωρηκοφόροι in Hdt. and Arrian. τρηξ=Attic τέραξ, &c. στύραξ is the Herodoteian form (in III 107 one MS.

has στύρηκα).

Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος Archil. 10, is not in the MSS., but corresponds to Ποσειδάωνα ἄνακτα Iliad, XV 8. Cf. § 140, 1.

186.] In other Forms.

In the aorist of liquid verbs, e.g. ἔγημεν Anakr. 86, τετρήνας Hippon. 56. Is τετρήνεται Hippokr. VII 498 formed from the aorist?

In the forms ¹ ξμίηνα, ξλίηνα (as also in ξθέρμηνα, ξκάθηρα) Hdn. II 798₁₈=Choir. 607₃₅, 655₂₂, Et. M. 483₁₄, 626₂₉, 791₃₀ (μιῆναι), An. Ox. IV 193₂₉, 419₂₆; ξκρηνα An. Ox. I 242₃, An. Par. III 318₂₁ (κρῆνον Hdn. II 232₁₃=Theogn. II 91₂₁, An. Ox. I 242₃, An. Par. III 318₂₁, cf. Tzetz. Ex. Il. 98₁₄).

187.] Ionic H in Tyrtaios and Solon.

Since Attic metrical inscriptions (§ 72) pronounce in favour of the adoption of the Attic a for η in forms which might (on the view that the influence of the epic, and not that of the native dialect was paramount) have been Ionic, the question arises whether in the non-Ionic elegists there may not be preserved instances of the ā of the native speech. Though Ionic was the dialect of the Greek literary world prior to the advent of Attic (as Attic was the medium of literary expression until the advent of the κοινή), nevertheless it may have not possessed the power to absolutely repress all ingressions of a non-Ionic idiom. may ask: How far does the dialect of poets born in Ionia differ, if it differs at all, from the dialect of poets whose birthplace or place of residence was in a canton whose speech had never admitted η after ϵ , ι , ν , and ρ ? In other words, are the \bar{a} 's of Tyrtaios due to his Spartan home, and are the a's of Solon the result of his Athenian citizenship? Furthermore, we can here but call attention to the fact that the MSS. of the Ionic poets may have suffered, either from the hands of ignorant scribes who knew only the common dialect of their time, or from preconceived notions as to the character of early iambic, trochaic and elegiac poetry. In the case of poets of Ionic birth, whose art is Ionic, the restoration of the genuine Ionic forms in η offers but little difficulty. Thus we have an Attic avolas in Ananios 5 (θείην 12), 'Aναξαγόρας in Anakreon 105, and other cases of like character. § 416. Cases of ā in Herodas are very rare (324, 55, These are Attic rather than Doric. 37, 96).

188.] Tyrtaios: The absence of any contemporaneous elegiac poems upon inscriptions, such as guide us in the examination of the Soloneian dialect, renders extremely difficult the question whether or not Tyrtaios admitted any cases of Doric ā in his elegies. In the elegies, where, on any view, we should expect to find fewer cases of ā than in the embateria, we notice aloxpâs δὲ φυγῆς 12₁₇, ἀτιμία 10₁₀, ἐχθρὰν-ψυχήν 11₅ and ἀνιαρότατον 10₄ in MSS. ἁ φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ 3₁, is supposed to represent the response of the Delphic oracle to Lykurgos, though

¹ The grammarians often call an acristic form Ionic on account of an η which is, however, also Attic: δτάκτηνα An. Ox. I 138_N, 411₁ (cf. Attic δτεκτηνάμην', δφηνα An. Ox. IV 198₂₃, 419₂₆, I 350₁₇, 410₂₃; δσήμηνα IV 198₂₃, Choir. 608₆, καθήρατο An. Par. III 508₁₇, δγημα An. Ox. IV 193₂₉, &c.

the Pythia used the epic idiom from the earliest period. The $\Sigma\pi\acute{a}\rho\tau as$ of Plutarch seems more probable than $\Sigma\pi\acute{a}\rho\tau\eta s$ in 44

(accord. to Diod. Sik.).

Elsewhere the Ionic forms prevail: στυγερ $\hat{\eta}$ πευί $\hat{\eta}$ 10₈, εὐρεί $\hat{\eta}$ s 11₂₄, δεξιτερ $\hat{\eta}$ 11₂₅, βίην 12₃, τρηχείας, accus., 12₂₂, 'Αδρήστου 12₈. Since in a few Lakonian elegies of early date (though posterior to Tyrtaios) we find only the Doric forms, I regard $al\sigma \chi \rho \hat{\alpha}s$, ἀτιμία, ἐχθράν, and ἀνιαρότατον as native to the original dialect of Tyrtaios and the η 's as due to the same cause as produced those in Solon.

In the case of the embateria, we shall, I think, have to accept as certain an admixture of Lakonian forms. Thus we find Σπάρτας 151, πολιατᾶν 152 (cf. Pindar, Isthm. I 51), λαία 153, τᾶς ζωᾶς 153, τᾶς Σπάρτα 156. Bergk's reading, "Αγετ', ὧ Σπάρτας ἔνοπλοι κοῦροι, ποτὶ τὰν "Αρεος κίνασιν, in fragment 16, presents a hopeless mixture of Doric and Ionic, to which no Spartan youth would have listened. κίνασιν is an hyper-Dorism, unattested for the period of the early Messenian wars, which occurs in the pseudo-Timaios περὶ ψυχᾶς; and κοῦροι should be κῶροι, if Doric. Hephaistion has κίνησιν correctly enough.

189.] Solon: In his trimeters we find ἐλευθέρα 36_5 , βίαν 36_{14} (Plut. βίην), πραθέντας 36_7 . η in ἀναγκαίης 36_8 , δουλίην 36_{11} .

In the tetrameters: ἄγραν 333, ἡμέραν μίαν 336, μιάνας 323.

η in βίης 322.

In the elegies, where the greatest dependence upon epic forms might be anticipated: ἡμετέρα 41, βία 426, ὂυσυομία 432, εὐνομία 433, λαμπρᾶς 92 (sic Diod. Sik., Plut.; -ῆς Diog. L.), ὑμετέραν 111 (sic Diod. Sik.; -ην Plut., Diog. L.); also in πραθέντες 425, τραχέα

435, πραθνει 438, ράδιου 95. Elsewhere η.

 η might possibly be defended even in the trimeters and tetrameters on the view that the background, especially of the iambic trimeter, is Ionic, and that the dialogue portions of Attic tragedy in their use of occasional Ionisms (§ 77) followed the norm established by the earliest cultivator of the iambus upon Attic soil. This view must be rejected because the senarii of tragedy adopt the Ionic η only under certain conditions which are foreign to Soloneian art. Solon made use of \tilde{a} , and the Ionic η must have been introduced by scribes prepossessed by the belief that he was entirely dependent upon the Ionic dialect in matters of vocalism. In regard to his use of $\sigma\sigma$ for Attic $\tau\tau$, he is clearly under the influence of Ionic models.

In the elegiac poems there is no positive proof that Solon adopted Attic forms where they differed from Ionic, nor, on the other hand, have we criteria sufficient to establish the uniform appearance of the Ionic forms. The evidence of the contemporary elegy speaks, however, strongly in favour of the rejection of all cases of the specifically Ionic η . Cf. § 61.

190.] Xenophanes, Theognis and the Later Elegy.

Xenophanes preserves the Ionic η everywhere except in $\kappa \rho \alpha \tau \eta \rho$ I₄. for which we should read $\kappa \rho \eta$. On $\tilde{\epsilon} \mu \pi \tilde{a} s$, see above, § 161. The Theognideian collection offers so much that is adventitious that the question as to how far Theognis coloured his Ionic elegies with slight masses of local matter is rendered well night in the property of the slight masses of local matter is rendered well night in the slight masses of local matter is rendered well night.

that the question as to how far Theognis coloured his Ionic elegies with slight masses of local matter is rendered well-nigh insurmountable. The cases of \bar{a} in the chief MSS, are as follows:—

πράγμα 256, 642, 644, 1051 (cf. § 182); ράδιον and connected words, 120, 429, 1220; μικρά 607; Τιμαγόρα 1059 (by conj.); $\xi \chi \theta \rho d$ 270 (in some MSS.); παιδείας 1305, cf. 1348; πατρώας 1210, 888; σμικρά 323; μιᾶ 664 (some MSS. μιῆ); λείαν 1327; δυστυχίαν 1188 (A has -η, as frequently where the MSS. divide on this question). Renner wishes to read νηῦς 84, 856, and 970 (A has νηυς) 1. The genitive sing. and dat. plur. are νηός 513 and νηυσί 12. In the second book η seems better supported.

In the later elegy we find \bar{a} in the MSS. in Aischylos (but $\kappa \nu a \nu i \eta_3$), Sophokles, Euenos (but $\mu a \nu i \eta_5$ 22, $\beta \lambda a \beta \epsilon \rho \dot{\eta}$ 42), Kritias (but $\epsilon \dot{\nu} \sigma \epsilon \beta i \eta_5$ 22, $\dot{\eta} \mu \epsilon \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho \eta_5$ 43). All these η forms should be changed to \bar{a} . Forms in η occur in Pigres, Empedokles, Agathon, Plato and Aristotle, though in the last three \bar{a} should be expected. Plato 24 has $\pi \dot{\epsilon} \tau \rho a s$, [25] $\tau \dot{a} \nu \delta \epsilon$, though it is surprising to find Dorisms. The genuine Plato no doubt used Attic forms. η is in place in Ion, cf. 22, 41, 3, though the \bar{a} 's elsewhere occur (ϵ , θ , 31, 4). Dionysios Chalkos has $\epsilon l \rho \epsilon \sigma i \eta$ 43, 51. A mixture of η and \bar{a} so early as the fifth century is improbable. Even in the case of Ion, his elegies must be either Attic or Ionic.

191.] Ionic H=Attic Å.

διπλήσιος Apoll. Conj. 22723, 23323, Schn., πεντα-, έξαπλήσιον, πολλαπλήσια Hdt. The latter form, III 135, where ABR have the Attic form; which comes to light in διπλάσιον Teos, 15822, an almost completely Atticized inscription. Cf. Gothic ain-falls.

The genuine Herodoteian $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \alpha \kappa \delta \sigma \iota o \iota$ is amply attested (III 90, IX 29), and occurs in the Chian inscription, 174 D 7 ($\pi [\epsilon] \nu \tau \alpha \kappa \delta \sigma \iota \omega \nu$). $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \tilde{\alpha} \kappa \delta \sigma \iota o \iota$ has its $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \tilde{\alpha}$ - on the lines of $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho \tilde{\alpha}$ -, $\xi \pi \tau \tilde{\alpha}$ -. The form $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \eta$ - in certain MSS. of Hdt. (III 13, VII 186) is doubtless to be explained on the view that the scribe had in his mind's eye the Homeric $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \eta \kappa \delta \sigma \iota o \iota$ (γ 7), whose η is due at once to the influence of $\pi \epsilon \nu \tau \dot{\eta} \kappa \delta \sigma \iota o \iota$ in the Homeric Passage.

Instances of $-\eta = \check{a}$ in suffix syllables are adduced, § 419. Such

¹ rais occurs 84, 856, 970, 1361, rais 680. Whether this is d or d is uncertain.

forms as μοίρη, σπείρη (Greg. Korinth. p. 390), γεφύρη, occurring occasionally in the MSS. of Hdt., are hyper-Ionisms.

πείνη, πέζη (§ 419) are genuine Ionisms.

Ionic $v\eta \hat{v}s$, $v\eta v\sigma \hat{\iota}$ (= $v\tilde{a}\hat{v}s$, $v\tilde{a}\hat{v}\sigma \iota$) are due to case-levelling, the η forms being strictly in place only in such cases as the genitive singular where the case termination begins with a vowel.

ἀναπλήσσουσι Hippokr, II 58 cannot be correct Ionic for Attic

αναπλάττουσι.

Kallinos' 'Ησιονήας (5) has been regarded by Fick, Odyssee, p. 24, as an instance of ictus lengthening, Steph. Byzant. connecting 'Ησιονία with 'Ασία. ήκην, cited as a parallel instance from Archilochos by Fick, has been differently explained, § 169; and 'Ησιονήας may rest ultimately upon similar ablaut gradations. At least it is premature to assume lengthening per ictum in so hazy a word.

τήγανον is called Ionic, Hdn. II 388_5 =Et. M. 743_{50} (cf. 756_{27}). Both τάγηνον and τήγανον occur in Old Comedy. Athenaios cites

a form $\eta y a \nu o \nu (= \tau \eta y a \nu o \nu ?)$ from Anakreon 26 (§ 326).

Fick's contention that ημορος is a living Ionic form for μμορος, still awaits proof. Evidence in favour of his view may be found in the gloss of Hesychios: ημορίς κενή, ἐστερημένη. Αἴσχυλος Νιόβη. ἄμμορος is a strange form in Hipponax 2, a poet whose intellectual character and whose use of language is alien to the retention of such Homeric forms as are Aiolic in colouring. See § 339.

ήλασκάζω Il. XVIII 281, for ἀλυσκάζω, Ionic according to Orion 704.

192. H=E.

See § 139. On θηέομαι = θεάομαι, see on the verb, § 685; on the interrelation of ει and ηι, see § 232-239.

ανηρίθευτος Chios, 174 B 26, of which the usual form is ανερ-.

See § 167.

193. Ionic H=I.

No interchange of η and ι can be maintained on the score of $\psi\eta\mu\nu\delta\iota\sigma\nu = \psi\iota\mu\nu\delta\iota\sigma\nu$, Et. Mag. 103_{25} , nor in view of the name $\Sigma\eta\mu\sigma\nu\iota\delta\eta$ s, attested as that of the iambographic poet by Et. Mag., and adopted by Christ in his History of Greek Literature, and by Hiller in the new edition of Bergk's Anthologia Lyrica. Elsewhere no trace of this form of the name appears; while $\Sigma\iota\mu\sigma\nu\iota\delta\eta$ s is genuine Ionic from the evidence of a lead tablet from Styra (19₁₃₉); and it is under this name that the author of the Mirror of Women is usually cited by ancient authorities.

194.] Ionic $H = \Omega$.

Mαιῆτις, often in Hdt. with different suffix than in Μαιῶτις, the later name. Cf. Μαιῆται (= Μαιῶται) Hdt. IV 123. We find Μαιῶτις IV 3 in all

A curious variation in suffix formation is presented by χοληγαγός for -ηγός which is found in A in Hippokr. VI 322. In the fifth century -αγωγός was just coming into vogue (Hippokr. ἀναγωγός).

MSS., and so Hippokr. Hdt. generally used -ωτις, -ωτης (Πελασγιώτιδες, Φθιῶτις, Θεσσαλιῶτις, Ἰταλιώτης). Ίστιαιῶτις is the form in Hdt. as in Strabo, though VIII 23, R has Ἰσταιήτιδος; and all MSS. have Ἰστιαιώτιδος VII 175, cf. I 56. 'Αμπρακιητίων is the accepted form, IX 28, -ιήτας 31, but 'Αμπρακιῶται occurs VIII 45, 47. Kirchhoff thinks that -ητις is properly Herodoteian and that -ωτις was smuggled in from the κοινή. Names in -ωτις are generally non-Ionic. We find Ἰταλιώτης IV 15. Hdn. II 2311, apud Eust. 468 thinks -ιητης in Μασσαλιήτης, 'Απολλωνιήτης is Ionic.

Archilochos has παιήσνα. See §§ 140, 1, 202, 280.

195.] Ionic H = AI.

μιηφόνου Archilochos, 48 = Homeric μιαιφόνε (E 31). A similar balance of η and α_i forms appears in Αλθημένευς Bechtel, Thas. (L.), 4 B 3, and Αλθαιμένης. Ionic has no trace of αζμισυς, a form that comes to light in Aiolic. Archil. 167 $\tilde{\eta}$ μισυ τρίτον = δύο $\tilde{\eta}$ μισυ.

196.] Long Iota.

1. Ionic with other Hellenic dialects has retained a few cases of \bar{i} which may be assumed to be proethnic, e.g. $\bar{i}\kappa\omega$, $-\bar{i}\tau\eta s$.

2. $\bar{\iota}$ on Hellenic soil from $\iota\nu F(\bar{\iota}\ell\nu\omega)$, $\iota\rho_{\bar{\iota}}$ ($\iota\ell\kappa\bar{\iota}\ell\rho\omega$), $\iota\sigma\gamma$ ($\ell\ell\nu\iota\nu$), $\iota\sigma\gamma$ ($\ell\ell\nu\nu$), $\iota\sigma\gamma$ and $\ell\ell\nu$). On $\ell\ell\nu$ from $\ell\ell\nu$ does not occur in Ionic poetry). On $\ell\ell\nu$ from contraction of $\ell\ell\nu$ in $\ell\ell\nu$ in $\ell\ell\nu$ does not occur in Herodotos, see under Contraction, $\ell\nu$ 300, on $\ell\ell\nu$ in $\ell\nu$ 270. Hdn. I 526₂₇, II 18₂₇ held that the ℓ of trisyllabic nouns in $\ell\nu$ was long in Ionic, short in Attic.

Ionic is on a plane with the non-assimilating dialects (i. e. all except Aiolic and Thessalian) in lengthening short iota + σμ to $\bar{\iota}\mu$ ("Ιμερος Perinthos, 234 B 25). γίνομαι < γιγν-1 seems to have been the accepted form of the fifth century, though we lack the evidence of old inscriptions. Oropos, 1817, about 400 B. C., has γινέσθων Mylasa, 248 A 15 (367-6 B. C.), γίνεσθαι Teos, 1585, 26 (first century), γινόμενοι. If we may trust the MSS. of the iambographic poets, γίγνομαι is the better attested form for their period. γίνομαι occurs in Anakr. 87. The substitution of γίνομαι for γίγνομαι appears to have taken place earlier in Ionic than in Attic, in the inscriptions of which dialect γίνομαι does not come to light until 292 B. C. Hdt., Anaxag., Demokr., Xanthos, Pherekydes of Leros (22, 40, 48, 55, 85, 89: cf. 20), Herakl., Hrd. 127, Arrian 38, 284, have γίνομαι. This form when found in later writers who quote Ionic sources is no proof of Ionic colouring, since γιν- is common after Aristotle. γῖνώσκω in Herodotos, Hippo-

¹ Hoffmann (D. M. G. p. 23) denies that γίνομαι arose from γίγνομαι and derives it from *γίνγομαι (cf. jinrati), but takes no note of γινόσκω. Both arose from γιγν». The Kretan γιννόμενον (Mus. Ital. III 694, Gortyna) represents the halting-place on the road to γίν.

krates, Demokr., Herakleitos, Melissos, Anaxag., Herodas, is not met with upon Attic inscriptions until the period of Roman supremacy. In Hipp., Littré generally has yeyr-, e.g. II 636. Cf. § 589. Hdt. uses μίσγω, not μίγνυμι as Arrian, on which see A. J. P. VI 449.

In κάκῖον Arch. 13 (κακΐω 6_4) we have an instance of $-\overline{\iota}\omega\nu$, with which compare Skt. $-\overline{\iota}yas$. The epic poets have $-\overline{\iota}\omega\nu$.

τ occurs in ξυνίετε Arch. 50, επθίειν Anan. 54. Cf. Attie τημι (Hom. ἔημι). Whether ἐσθίειν is to be compared with Attic κηκίω = Hom. κηκίω, Attic μηνίω, μηνίω = Hom. μηνίω is doubtful. Cf. Curtius' Verbum, I 301.

197. Itacism. It is extremely doubtful whether there is any instance of itacism in inscriptional Ionic of the fifth or previous centuries. In the third edition of his Aussprache (p. 58) Blass has withdrawn all the examples he had collected (ed. 2, p. 51) from the inscriptions in proof of an early appearance of a for ea. In the case of Μαρωνιτέων 1 1964, not noticed by Blass, we have a form by the side of which exist Μαρωνειτέων 1963 = Brit. Mus. Catal. 125, No. 13, and Μαρωνηιτέων 1962, all three forms occurring upon coins before 400. The coin, Brit. Mus. Catal. 125, 15, has Μαρωνιτέων on the front and Μαρωνιτών on the reverse; Μαρωνιτέων in Bechtel, 1966, being later than 400 B.C.

Of such forms as show both ηι and ει, as in Attic 'Αριστηίδης and 'Αριστείδης, the former is the older; but no instance of a parallel form in t can be adduced. An 'Αριστοκλίδης Styra, 19163, is derived from 'Αρίστοκλος, an 'Αριστοκλείδης Styra, 1912, from 'Αριστοκλής. Greg. Korinth., p. 379, attests the existence of diaeresis in Πηλείδης and Πηληίδης, herein confusing Homeric and Herodoteian Ionic. On the latter form and on Herodoteian

patronymics, see § 235, Bredow, p. 190.

There are several forms in the Ionic of literature which point to the later confusion between the et and ī sounds, such as I have shown, A. J. P. VI 419-450, to exist in the text of Homer. Cf. e.g. Πολυνείκεος Hdt. IV 147, &c., with the spelling of Στρατονείκου Paros, 67, and of Νείκην Olbia, 12911, both of the period of the empire. For the older forms in 7, see I. G. A. 79, 515. Πολύνικος occurs on inscriptions from Attika and elsewhere (Ανδρονίκου C. I. G. 2252, Samos).

Τείμαρχος Styra, 19215, is Lenormant's incorrect reading for Τιμ-. Τειμ- is, however, attested in Τειμαγόρα Cauer, 19524 (Rhodes). This form is due to the influence of τείσω, έτεισα,

Τεισικράτης, &c.

Eίδομένευς Thasos (L.), 56, about 300 B.C. (cf. Είδομενέα C.

¹ See Head, H. N. 216.

I. G. 2184, -ε \hat{i} 6418), might be derived from ε \hat{i} δομαι. 'Ολ β ιοπολειτέων Olbia, 1303 (not before 200 B.C.), is certainly itacistic. 'Ολβιοπολιτέων 1302. 'Αφροδείτης Eryth. 206, C 48, with later e..

On the Homeric Πολύῖδος, see K. Z. XXV 261, XXVII 275, XXIX 236, A. J. P. VI 440. It occurs upon a metrical inscription from Amorgos (No. 35) of the fourth or third century, and in a document from Halikarnassos, 24046, dating from the fifth century according to Dittenberger. Πολυίδειος Thessal. The form Πολυείδης, if it existed in earlier Ionic, must have ceased to exist in Ionia by the fourth century. The forms in $\bar{\iota}$ seem well attested 1.

For thy Stein writes ethy I 73, and ethas I 202, ethadov I 172. Cf. Kret. ἀρχιλλάν · ἀρχιποίμενα. In the Glossary to Herodotos (Stein, II 465) we find εἰρήν, as also in Plut. Lyk. 17; whereas Hesychios has τρανές οι είρενες, Λάκωνες. Brugmann in Curtius' Stud. IV 116, and J. Schmidt, Vocal. II 330, claim that the Spartan Ιρην is derived from έρσην, through *έρρην and ζρρην. A preferable explanation is that ζρην, like ζρής and έρής, is an independent nominative not connected with ξρσην, and that εlρήν is itacistic (Baunack, K. Z. XXVII 566).

lτέη, in Hdt. I 194, proved by the Εlτέα of Attic inscriptions to be itacistic, has forced its way into Ionic and Attic literature. An tréa is attested by Hdn. I 522, Il 17.

On -īη in relation to -ειη, -ἴη, see § 145.

On ἱμάτιον, see § 224, 9.

198. Relation of I to EY.

The statement that εν becomes τ in lθύς, lθύνω, is incorrect. Hdt. has εὐθύς Ι 65, &c., Arrian, I,; but lθύν Ι 185; lθέα ΙΙ 17, &c.; ιθύτριχες VII 70. On the stones we notice a similar juxtaposition of forms: Εὐθύμαχος Styra, 191932, Εὐθυνείδης 19₁₉₄, 'Ιθυκλέη[s] 19₄₈, Ιθυνα Chios, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1195. See Bezzenberger in his Beiträge, IV 345. Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX 151, suggests that idv- became eldv- in post-Homeric times through influence of $\epsilon \dot{\nu} \theta v$ - (I. E. $\bar{\nu} dh \dot{\nu}$).

199.] Ŷ.

- 1. I. E. v is retained.
- 2. v developed on Greek soil as in other dialects, e.g. v from υσι in βύνω, Hdt. II 96; from υλσ in εμίστυλα, Sim. Am. 24; from vif or vij as in Euros (also Arkadian for kolvos). See § 380.

¹ Holvillou occurs on a late prose inscription from Kyzikos, Mitth. X 205, l. 1;

Πολυσίδης Tunais, Latyschev II 441, is not Ionic.

Ει- or Εὐ, θύμαχος 19, οτ Εὐ, θύμαχος, as G. Meyer, Gramm. § 121 note, reads. If the reading Εἰθύμαχος is correct, we may compare Εἰθυκαρτίδης Ναχος, B. C. H. XII 464. See under f.

The \bar{v} of δρσοθύρηs in Sim. Amorg. 17 (καὶ τῆς ὅπισθεν ὀρσ. ἢλσάμην) is suspicious; compare ὀρσοθύρη in the Odys. 22, 126 and 333. σκῦλος Hrd. 3_{68} is singular (σκῦτος?). Hom. δἰζῦρός; in Arch. 129, Sim. Am. 7_{50} (fifth foot) the quantity of v is uncertain. In Aristoph. olζῦρός.

v̄ and ω: In Ionic we find 'Αμνμόξεινος Styra, 19₁₅₅, ἄμωμος Sim. Am. 4, Anakr. 48 and 'Αμώμητος Thasos, 72₁, forms which reproduce the two Homeric adjectives. Hinrichs (H. E. V. A. p. 81) asserts the Aiolic character of ἀμύμων, though it is not clear why the Aiolians should have possessed a monopoly of this word, or why the v̄ should be Aiolic solely.

ώρη Miletos, 1006 = Lat. sūra, from *σΓωρά or *σΓωνρά; οὐρή is

not connected.

Ω.

In §§ 200-204 for the purpose of comparison with other dialects, certain forms in ω are adduced which are not the result of a special Ionic change.

200. Ω for A.

ζώω = ζάω is not restricted to Ionic, since we have in Boiotian ζώω and in Kretan δώω. ζώω in tragedy where there is need of epic colouring. ζώω seems to have been formed from a perfect with the ablaut w. Whether we have to deal with a reduction of ω to o in ζόω that is specifically Greek, and whether the & forms are pro-Hellenic, is not certain. In Ionic both the ω and o forms exist, e.g. Cheir Sim. Amorg. I,; cf. Ches Cη, which Brugmann, M. U. I 8, III 6, classes with his injunctives. Herakl. (weir 86, 92, Hrd. 440. Parallelism of ω and σ is not unusual, as witness γιγνώσκω, Aiol. γνοέω, Attic άμφιγνοέω, χλωρός, χλόη; λώοντο Kallim., λοέω, &c. Homeric ζωόs is a later formation for older ζώs, Brugmann, Grundr. I, p. 458; ζόη. e. g. Herodas I 4, 32 is from ζωή, as νεῶν <νη Γῶν, ibid. p. 463. Ionic ζόη appears in Attic tragedy. Joh. Gr. 240, Meerm. 654 (δλλοι), Aug. 668, Vat. 698, Greg. Korinth. § 29 mention the absurd notion that the Ionians could say ώνθρωπος, ώριστος instead of ανθρ- &c. though Greg. sees that the w is in place only in the vocative or where the article precedes αριστος. ω for α was held to be found in θωυμάζω, ώυτός Greg. Kor. § 30; see § 258.

201.] Ionic Ω where Attic has E.

 $\pi\lambda\omega\omega$, in Homer, Hdt., Hrd. 259, for $\pi\lambda\omega\omega$, though the latter is more frequent (Greg. Kor. 69, Bredow 171). $\pi\lambda\omega\omega$ has been held to contain an ω which is the ablaut of η , i.e. one which does not originally belong in the present; M.U. I 45. It is derived from a perf. $\pi\epsilon\pi\lambda\omega F\omega$.

202.] $\Omega = \hat{A}$.

 θ ῶκα and θ ωκέω in Hdt., cf. Attic θ άσσω, θ ᾶκέω. Since θ ᾶκος is = θ άΓακος, there is no ablaut of $\tilde{\alpha}$ to ω . Hdt. has π αιωνίζω, which is also the Attic prose form except in Xenophon, Symp. 2, 1. The noun has always $\tilde{\alpha}$ in Attic. Theog. 779 π αι $\tilde{\alpha}$ σων, cf. Archil. π αι $\tilde{\alpha}$ ονα, 76. See § 280.

The Ionic Attic form is θεωρός = Doric θεαρός; on θευρός in the Thasiote dialect, see § 286, 1. The ground-form is *θεαΓορός. See K. Z. XXXI 289. The Ionic form for Messenian Μεθάνα is Μεθώνη.

203.] Ionic $\Omega = Attic H$.

For Attic πτήσσω we have the Homeric πτώσσω in Hdt. IX 48; cf. Iliad, IV 372 πτωσκάζω. Ionic πτώσσω (Eustath. on Δ 371) is either a denominative or a present formed from the base of the perfect.

On the suffix -nris, -eris, see under H, § 194.

204.] $\Omega = \hat{\mathbf{l}}$.

αμπωτις Hdt. see § 367. Cf. Aiolic πώνω and πῶ from perf. *πέπωα. See Schulze, Κ. Ζ. ΧΧVII 420.

205.] Ionic $\Omega = A\Upsilon$.

In a few Ionic words the a of av seems sporadically, through influence of v, to have taken upon itself an o colouring, and this o+v to have been pronounced as ω ; cf. Delphic $\dot{\omega}\tau \dot{o}v$, Spartan $\dot{\omega}\tau \dot{\omega}$.

We have thus διαφωσκούση Hdt. III 86, but -av- probably IX 45 (v. l. -ω-, and -a-), and ὑπόφαυσις VII 36. φώσκω may still be heard at Anchialos on the Black Sea. So also w for av in τρώμα, τρωματίης, τρωματίζειν, κατατετρωματίσθαι in Hdt ., with similar forms in Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian, Ind. 19. In Hdt. IV 180, q and z have $\tau \rho \omega \nu \mu \dot{a} \tau \omega \nu$, which Stein rightly rejects. τρωύμα is found in Lukian, d. d. S. 20, in all MSS. except E. $\theta \hat{\omega} \mu a^{-1}$ occurs in MSS. of Hdt. with such frequency that we may well question whether Dindorf's θώμα and τρώμα are not preferable to Stein's θωῦμα and τρωῦμα. The two chief classes of MSS. here follow different principles as regards $\theta\omega$ - and $\theta\omega\nu$ -, the first class having ω , the second ωv ; in the others there is wild confusion. In pseudo-Hippokr. περί τέχνης, § 11, Gomperz finds θωμα in a corrupt reading of A, M. In VI 496, we find θωμάζεται in θ; θαυμάζω Littré, I 499. The pseudo-Ionists, however, offer slender support to θωμα (Arrian, Incl. 34, 40, θαθμα 15, Eusebios, § 3 θώματι); Lukian testifies in every passage to See § 258. θωῦμα.

The ω form in τρῶμα, recalling the Attic and Ionic τρώσω, τέτρωμαι &c. might be derived directly from √τρω; but this method does not avail us in the case of a θῶμα (see § 258. That θῶμα is a genuine form is evident from Argolic Θωμάντας Β. С. Н. IX 355 = C. D. I. 3172 A Phlius); cf. furthermore Θῆβος (- ΘῆΓος · Θαῦμα and θηγεια (θηΓεια)· Θαυμαστά. τραῦμα recalls Slav. ττυμς, τρῶμα (Pind. τρώμα) Slav. trατίτι, τρῦω, τρύχω. Bechtel, Lautlehre, p. 167, derives θῶμα and τρῶμα, θαῦμα and τραῦμα from the ground-forms θωῦμα and τρωῦμα, neither of which has been preserved.

206.] Ionic $\Omega = Attic O\Upsilon$.

ων is the form of the adverb in the Aiolic, Boiotian, Doric

¹ Bredow 142, Struve Quaest. de dial. Herod. III, p. 11 write τρώμα, but δώνμα or θένμα. Cf. Joh. Gr. 240, Vat. 698, Aug. 668, Meerm. 654; κώμα Meerm. 654, Vat. 698. τρώμη (sic) Ionic for τρώσις according to Eust. 1022, 9912, 165322 who says that in Ionic τρώω = βλάπτω (13042, 153212, 18032).

(late Doric ovv) and Ionic ¹ dialects. Thessalian ovv is only apparently equivalent to Attic ovv, which seems to have been engrafted upon Homer upon the authority of Aristarchos, who regarded the poet as an Athenian; unless it may be held that ov became ω as did ov in $\tau\rho\tilde{\omega}\mu a$. Hdt. has $\tilde{\omega}v$, $ov\kappa\omega v$, $ov\kappa\tilde{\omega}v$, $ov\kappa\tilde{\omega$

207.] Ionie $\Omega = OH$.

The Homeric and Herodoteian ὀγδώκουτα is either a contraction for ὀγδοη- (cf. ὀγδοήκουτα, Attic inscription, C. I. G. 1030₂, and Solon's ὀγδωκουταέτη 20₄) or has ω from the influence of ὀκτώ. Neither ὀγδω- nor ὀγδοήκουτα has as yet turned up upon Ionic inscriptions. The Chian ὀκτακοσίων 174 C 23 does not adopt the ω of Aiolic ὀκτωκόσιοι (C. D. I. 281 A 30, Lesbos). Though the Aiolic form records the influence of ὀκτώ, yet since that dialect has ὀγδοήκουτα, nothing is thereby proved as to the Ionic form. It should be borne in mind that, if the Homeric form is a contraction of ὀγδοη-, forms that arise under stress of the verse in Homer are not criteria for the prose form.

Other instances of ω for on are: ἀλλογνώσας, ἐννώσας, ἐννενώκασι, ἐνένωτο, in Hdt.; cf. Theognis, 1298 νωσάμενος, and νώσατο Apoll. Rhod. IV 1409; also ἔβωσα, ἐβώσθην, βεβωμένος, as in Homer, βώσαντι, ἐπιβώσομαι. Stein still holds (Pref. to school edition, LII) to the view that we have to go back to a stem formation in ο (νο-, βο-); cf. Leaf on M 337. ἐβώθεον, ἐβώθησαν from βοηθέω (cf. Aiolic βᾶθόεντι, ἐβᾶθόη) are now expelled from the text of Hdt. Cf. Βαδρομιῶνος Lampsakos, C. I. G. 3641 δ 8.

See under Contraction (§ 296).

The Diphthongs in Ionic.

208.] AI.

aι arises in Ionic as in other dialects by epenthesis: μαίνομαι Anakr. 89, cf. μαινόλα Sappho, 118; by contraction, § 274. For Attic δάς, δάδιον, Ionic has δαίς, δαιδίον, cf. Hippokr. VIII 22, 50. Hippokr. has σφαδαίζω VIII 92 (θ) and δαΐον VIII 124, 274 (θ) and often δαιθυμεῖν, δαίζειν, cf. § 182.

¹ Joh. Gr. 240, Greg. Kor. 16, Aug. 668, Apoll. περί συνδ. p. 228₂₂ Schn. οὐ παρὰ τὸν οὄν ἡ σύνθεσις (κ. τοῦ μῶν), ἀλλὰ παρὰ τὸν ὧν, ὅντα καὶ Ἰωνικὸν καὶ Αἰολικὸν καὶ Δωρικόν.

209.] Loss of a from diphthong AI before a vowel. See Fritsch, V. H. D. 37 ff., Allen, Versification, 72. The inscriptions attest the change in the following instances:—

West lonic. Τερώναον Terone, 7 (before 420), cf. Mittheil. X 367 ff.; ἀειφυγίην Amphipolis, 10_5 , 2_5 (357 B.C.); ἀειναῦτ[aι] Rob. I 172, Chalkis, and according to Plut. 2, 298 C, found in Miletos; 'Ανκάος C. I. G. 7375 ('Ανκαῖος Head, H. N. 518); 'Ακτάων 8431 (vase incr.); Μίνδαον Mende, 17 (500–450), but Μενδαίη after 400; Σπόνδαος Styra, 19141; Αίσκραος 19153; Τίμαος 19315. About the same number of forms with Al are found in West Ionic, e.g. 'Αθηναίη, Volci, Rob. I 191.

Island Ionic. 'Αθηνάης Delos, 54 (fifth cent.)², Νικᾶν Thasos, 72, (300–250),= Νικάην; cf. $l\epsilon\rho\hat{\eta} < l\epsilon\rho\epsilon l\eta$. In l. 10 of the same inscription we have 'Αθηναίης. Fritsch, V. H. D. p. 37, suggests that Νικᾶς is not certainly an Ionian, being merely proxenos. But cf. § 165, note. 'Αθηναίη occurs frequently in the Ionic of the islands: Keos 41 (epigram), 51, Paros 64 (cf. Herwerden, Studia critica in epigrammata Graeca, p. 103, no. XIX), Thasos 7210; cf. also Roberts, I, p. 64, and No. 165, where an inscription of uncertain provenance has 'Αθηναίος twice. Roberts reads 'Αθήνηι, a rare form in an old inscription, No. 26 (Naxos). It recurs C. I. A. IV B 373², where it is not Attic. We have the contracted form 'Αθηνᾶι C. I. A. IV B 373°6 (sixth cent.), IV 373, w (about 400). 'Αθηνᾶι came into general use in Attic about 350 B. C. The old 'Αθηναίη held its ι in part because of the early adoption by the Ionians of 'Αθήνη. On the assumption of an Old Attic 'Αθηναίη, cf. § 78.

Asiatic lonic. ἀεί Iasos, 10510 (end of fourth century, hence not certainly genuine Ionic); Αθηναίηι Φωκαείς Phokaia, 170 (age uncertain), Φωκαέων or -αιέων imperial period, Head, II. N. 507, recalling the Attic inscriptional forms Φωκαές, Φωκαϊκός; Άθηνας Ετγτηταί, 206 A 27, 29, B 20 (in the last example we have 'Αθηνας 'Αποτροπαίας) after 278 B.C.; 'Αθηνας Samos, 216 (before middle of fourth cent.). 'Αθηνας is not certainly Ionic, since this document may contain an admixture of Attic 3. The above list, so long as it is not augmented by more certain proofs of the appearance of α(ι), makes for the conclusion that in Asiatic Ionic intervocalic a from αι is not frequent. 'Αθηναίη is attested in Halik. 240 A 3, 241, Chios, 173; metrical inser. 265 (unc. loc.); Erythrai, 200, 204, 2, Priene, 142; αlεί in Halik. 240 A 6, and so all editors except Ruehl, in 238, Φωκαιεύς Eryth. 207 (not much older than 100 B.C.).

¹ Hdn. II 276₂₀ (Et. M. 66₂₁) "Алкаоз &с.

 ^{&#}x27;Abprda in Attic inscriptions of the sixth and fourth centuries; cf. Alkaios 9, Theokr. 281.
 'Abpra in Attic prevails after 362 B.c. in inscriptions.

In the poets, whose authority stands second only to that of the inscriptions, we do not find any evidence beyond that presented by Ληθαίου Anakr. 14, with at short. γεραιούς Tyrt. 1000 (cf. Tyrt. frag. 17), is called in question by Bergk, though the at is found in all MSS. alel appears Tyrt. 55, Mimn. 17, Sol. 134, Sim. Keos 851, Theognis more than 20 times, Sim. Amorg. 14, 765; the poetical alέν Xenoph. 124, Theog. 631, &c.1; alώνος Anakr. 1124; καίετός Archil. 862 (epod.). 'Αχαιίης should be expected, and doubtless is the correct form, Sim. Amorg. 23, for 'Axaths (Fick, B. B. XI 269), which is due to an Attic scribe. Cf. 'Aχαϊκ[ά] C. I. A. II 723. Herodas has 'Αθηναίη four times.

In Herodotos the chief difficulty as regards settling the question of the occurrence of a for at is presented by alei. Proper names in -αιεύς preserve the ι except in Φωκαεύς, in seven passages according to Stein, though the same editor adopts Φωκαιεύς in thirteen cases. Φωκαείς Bechtel, No. 170, Φωκαιεύς 207, are of doubtful authority 2, the latter at least being very late. Pherek. 44 has 'Aθηναίη as Hdt., &c.

Nouns and adjectives in -aily, -aikós, -ails, preserve the i. Θηβαίς II 28, &c., appears to be correct, since a Θηβαιεύς is

defensible solely on the ground of analogy.

alel is Stein's reading, though the MSS. are uncertain in the extreme. Stein's eclecticism dictates alel, but acivaos I 93, 145, (cf. ἀενάοντα ν 109, alev- AE). ἀεί may be West Ionic, but scarcely Asiatic Ionic. ¿σαεί, in Pherekyd. of Leros, has no parallel form with the at diphthong in that author. Herakl. 2, 20 has alel (but ἀείζωον, ἀέναον), Anaxag. 14, 15 ἀεί in Simplic. 15612, 16418; so also Melissos I &c., where Mullach edits alel. Authors quoting Dem. Mor. have del almost invariably, but alel oceurs 88. Hippokr. alel, e.g. III 182. aleτόs is probably the genuine reading in Hdt. despite the variation of the MSS.; at does not become a in this word and in aleraios, evaletion, &c., in the Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries, though alei and aei contend for mastery in the official Attie documents until 361 B. C., when act is declared the victor. It is incorrect that Ionic did not possess ἀεί. ἐλαίη and congeners, κλαίω Theog. 931, 1041, 1132, Archil. 13, 20, and καίω do not admit the ā form (cf. Theog. 1145). From the stem kaf we have λυχνοκαίη, πυρκαϊή (Hdt., Herakl. 103). On the interrelation of καίω and κάω, see Wackernagel, K. Z. XXV 268; Brug-

¹ àérraos Hdt. I 145, as v. l.

³ Sappho 44 has Φωκάαs.
³ ἀετός is found in Delos, Ditt. Syll. 367, 191. 'Aετίωνος Iasos, Bechtel 10416 (before 353 B.C.) may have lost .. Is Hom. 'Hετίων connected (Blass)? Hdn. II 85912 calls the n of 'Herlay Ionic.

mann, Gr. Gr. § 18, 54. καίω (with diphthongal aι) was also Hollenistic.

210.] Ionic Al = A of other dialects.

έταιρος is the Ionic form. Cf. εταιρήϊος, εταιρητη in Hdt., εταιρείη in Sim. Keos 118. Hippon. 13, Arch. 79, epode 85, Sim. Am. 749, Hdt. have εταιρος, so too Theog. 643 and often. εταρος is epic only, though claimed as Ionic, without any chronological distinction, by Greg. Korinth. p. 457. See Hinrichs, H. E. V. A. p. 90. The accent of εταιρος is due to the influence of εταιρα.

παραιβάτης, an Ionic form, Ψ 132. An Attic inscription, C. I. A. I 5, I (500-456), has παραιβάτης. Attic cult documents

are coloured by Ionisms to a limited extent.

aldaσμος, Chios, 183 A 30, B 30, is an unexplained form for

άδασμος. Cf. Tarent. ἄνεγμα = αἴνιγμα.

παλαιστή in παλαιστιαῖα, ξξαπάλαιστα, τριπάλαιστα Hdt. I 50; Attic inscriptions παλαστή span (παλαιστής wrestler from παλαίω). In later writers παλαιστή as in Ionic, with an anaptyctic ι ; cf. Τροιζήν Τροζήν, Γεραιστός Γεραστός. Upon a late inscription from Milesian territory C. I. G. 2860₁₃ we read παλαστῶν.

leavers is the Herodoteian form, not $l\theta a u$ -, as is found in P. R. II 17; cf. Greg. Kor. p. 551.

 $AI = A(\xi).$

Φαιέννον Thasos (L.) 18 C 5, Παμφαίης Thasos (L.) 19 A 6, Δαναίη Miletos, 99, from Δανάη Ξ 319 in a passage held by some to be an Ionic insertion. The myth of Danaë is referred to nowhere else in the Iliad. Hekataios 358, has $\Delta a v \hat{a} < \Delta a v \hat{a} \eta$. Another instance of $\alpha \iota$ for α is suggested by Bechtel, Thas. Insch. p. 28: ι 222 $\nu a \hat{\iota} o \nu$ δ' δρφ άγγεα πάντα, Aristar.; MSS. $\nu \hat{a} o \nu$. Cf. εννεία, Zeleia, and other forms, § 220.

211.] Varia.

- 1. There is no interrelation between η and aι in 'Αλθημένης, Thasos (L), 4 B 3, compared with 'Αλθαιμένης, similar to that existing between ημισυς and Aiolic αλμισέων, C. D. I. 2139. The η of 'Αλθημένης is that of ἀλθήσκω, ἀλθήσομαι; see Bechtel, ad loc.
- 2. at in εξαιθραπεύουτος, Mylasa, 248, is referred by Lagarde (Gesammelte Abhandl. 70) to Avestan ἐδίθλτα-, εξατράπης and ξατράπης to Old Pers. khšath apārā (Lagarde, p. 68, Le Bas, Voy. Arch. III no. 388).
- 3. Archil. 3, δαίμων = δαήμων. The latter is derived from δαιήμων.
- 4. Hdt. has in compounds formed from yη the ending -yaios: ὑπόγαιος IV 200, II 148, II 100 (ε written over aι in R);

μεσόγαιος I 145, 175, II 7 (-γεος in R) and in many other passages; $\epsilon \pi i \gamma a \iota o s$ II 125 (R as in II 100); $\mu \epsilon \lambda \dot{\alpha} \gamma \gamma a \iota o s$ II 12 (- $\gamma \epsilon o s$ R d z); $\beta a \theta \dot{\nu} \gamma \epsilon \omega s$ IV 23 (dz, - $\gamma \epsilon o s$ ceteri), read - $\gamma a \iota o s$ since Bekker. Hippokr. VI 356 has $\mu \epsilon \sigma \dot{\sigma} \gamma \epsilon \iota o s$. Here the interrelation of $a\iota$ and $\epsilon\iota$ is due to the different treatment of the ground-form. See § 421. Blass thinks that -yeos is the only correct form.

212. EL.

The diphthong EI will here be treated under the divisions-

I. Genuine EI = pan-Hellenic and proethnic EI. II. Spurious EI (monophthongic)=Attic ει, Doric η.

Some doubtful cases will be considered at the close (\$ 225).

213.] Note on the orthography of Ionic inscriptions. Confusion between E and EI as representatives of the two EI's is of not infrequent occurrence upon Ionic inscriptions antedating the year 400. After that period monophthongic EI was gradually diphthongized.

1. Genuine EI represented (a) by EI.

δυνάμΕΙ Teos 156 B 31.

Előús Teos, 156 B 21, 25.

El Halik. 23831.

ΠΕΙθοῦς Thasos, 70.

(β) by E rarely.

ποιήσΕαν Teos, 156 B 30 (but here ι has been dropped). Eπεν Didyma, Roberts, I 139. Cf. Meisterh.2 p. 135. ΑριστοκλΕδ ης Styra, 1910. NεοκλΕδης Styra, 19265.

Spurious E1 represented (a) by E.

 $\pi \rho o \sigma \epsilon \rho \delta E \nu$ Thasos, 68. φεύγΕν Halik. 23837. έπικαλΕν Halik. 23845.

οφείλΕν Thasos, 7111 (fourth century).

In Attic the last examples of E for spurious El date from 350-300.

(β) by EI rarely.

Elχον Halik. 23830. Instances of the writing of είμί, &c., will be given § 224, 9. The diphthongization of the et of elui may be traced back as far as the sixth century in Attic.

214. Genuine El in radical syllables.

Ε.g. Φειδύνων Styra 19326; Φειδίλεω Kyme, Rob. I 174; Mείδων Styra, 1908; Τειχιούσ(σ)ης Miletos, 98, &c.

The following words call for special attention:

1. τει in ἐκτεισιν Zeleia, 11317, ἐκτείσωσι 11335, the future and sorist of τίω (ἴ) being τείσω and ἐτεισα¹: Τείσαρχος Styra 19311; Τείσανδρος Smyrna, 15314; Τεισικράτης Thasos (L), 176, 19 B 3; Τεισίμαχος Halik. 24211. Similar forms occur in other dialects (Diphthong EI, p. 17, A. J. P. VI 443). Names in Τῖσ- are itacistic, but not so those in Τῖμ-. It is better to assume a root qāi, whose weak form is qī in τιμή, than to maintain that case-levelling has produced τῖμ: nom. τείμᾶ; gen. τἴμᾶς, whence τῖμή, through remembrance of the long penult of the nominative (and not with nebentoniges ĩ, King-Cookson, p. 234). See Schmidt's Neutra, p. 396.

2. ἐνεῖκαι² and connected forms (ἐνήνειγμαι Hdt. VIII 37)³: ἐν]ΕΙκάντων Chios, 174 B 4, ἔνεικον Anakr. 623. The ει formation occurs in Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Theokritos, Kretan, Boiotian, Aiolic, and has been explained by Brugmann, Ind. Forsch. I 174, from ἐν (prep.) + √εικ, which is not connected with ἐνεγκ-. Cf. Baunack Inschrift von Gortyn p. 56 ff., Fick, G. G. A. 1883,

p. 590. See § 222, 609.

215.] Genuine El in other syllables.

On τουτΕΙ, νηποινΕΙ, ἀσπονδΕΙ, &c., cf. § 716.

The ει of Διειτρέφης, Keos 44 B 12, is from a stem δι σ and reproduces the old locative. Cf. Διειτρέφης, C. I. A. I 4022, 447 III 53; Kypr. Δι είθεμις C. D. I. 6021; Δίει Dodona 1582, Korkyra, C. I. G. 1869. In Homer, Zenodotos read διειπετής for the vulg. δι ιπετής. Cf. Δηιπέτης (perhaps) Styra, 19181.

ει in suffixes from $\epsilon(\sigma)$ ι is regularly preserved, never becoming ηι (§ 232). Some examples of $-\epsilon$ ιη, $-\epsilon$ ιἄ < $-\epsilon$ σια are given in §§ 175 ff. Others are: ἀδρανείη Aret. 150, 261. ἀεικείη Hdt. I 73, &c., as in Homer. ἀκριβείη Hippokr. ep. 173. ἀσελγείη Hipp. ep. 1730, 44. ἀσθενείη Hdt. IV 135, VIII 51, Hipp. II 78. ἀσφαλείη Hdt. II 121 (a), III 7, IV 33. αὐταρκείη Dem. Mor. 38 (MSS. $-\epsilon$ ια), 39, Hipp. ep. 1737, 44. ἐπιμελείη Hippokr. ep. 1757. εὐλαβείη Hippokr. ep. 124, 1610. εὐπαθείη Hdt. I 135, 191, &c. νωθείη Aret. 208. πολυπληθείη Hippokr. II 60. προσηνείη Hippokr. II 270, Aret. 250.

In many cases we find $-i\eta$ in place of $-i\eta$ in nouns derived from signatic stems. Most of these occurrences may safely be set down to confusion on the part of the copyists. In some words, however, the $-i\eta$ is genuine, having been transferred from

¹ Arkad. τείω is a neologism. Brugmann, Grundr, I, § 314, doubtfully suggests that ἔτεισα is from °ἔτηισα.
² Greg. Kor. 68.

³ Hdt. has κατενειχθήναι, but Lukian d. S. 17, κατενεχθήναι and Astrol. 15, κατενέχθη. Philip of Pergamum, B. C. H. II 273 has έξήνεγκα: of Hdn. II 507; Et. M. 3392; Eust. 71210, 98357, 118245.

nouns with vocalic stems in which -ιη, not -ειη, was the proper termination. To what extent this -ιη has found admission into Ionic is difficult to discover. Of the following examples, ὡφελίη

seems the only certain case.

ἀναιδίη is the reading of O in Theog. 648, of c in 291; elsewhere $-\epsilon i\eta$, cf. § 175. ἀσφαλίη Hippokr. II 634 Littré $(-\epsilon \iota av \ A \ D \ R^1, \&c.)$, but $-\epsilon i\eta v \ II \ 244$, III 234. δυσμενίη Demokr. Mor. 20₂₀; εὐμενίη Hdt. II 45 is written by Holder against the authority of the MSS., which have $-\epsilon \iota a$ or $-\epsilon a$; κακοηθίη Demokr. Mor. 22 (Stob.); πολυμαθίη Herakl. 16 according to Bywater, though Diog. Laert. has $-\epsilon i\eta$. Cobet's πουλυμαθηίη is certainly incorrect. προμηθείη is correctly handed down in Xenoph. 1₂₄. Hdt. has προμηθίη I 88, III 36 ($C \ P \ d -\epsilon i\eta$). A schol., quoted by Bredow, p. 188, says τῆς νεωτέρας Ἰάδος ἐστὶ τὸ λέγειν τῆν προμήθειαν προμηθίαν. ὡφελίη is the better attested form; cf. Hdt. V 98 ($-\epsilon i\eta \ d \ r$), VII 139 ($-\epsilon i\eta \ C \ P \ d$), Demokr. Mor. 184, Hippokr. II 334 Littré (many MSS. $-\epsilon i\eta$), Aretaios 238, Eusebios § 4. In Hippokr. II 626, Littré reads ὡφελείη ($-i\eta \ AC$). With ὡφελίη, cf. ὡφελία C. I. A. I 835, in Thukydides, &c. No Attic inscription has $-\epsilon ia$.

By contraction of $\epsilon + \iota$, § 284, $\epsilon + \epsilon \iota$, § 310.

216.] Genuine El from e+anaptyctic :-

Ionic examples of this phenomenon are εἴσχηκα Smyrna, Berl. Monatsberichte, 1875, 554, l. 7; εἰσχήκατε Erythai, Μουσ. κ. βιβλ. 1875, p. 99; παρείσχηται Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, a 4,—all late inscriptions.

217.] Genuine El from Ef-.

εἰρήνη Eryth. 1999, 2038, &c., perhaps from Γρᾶνα, ἐ-Γῖρᾶνᾶ. The North-West Greek and in part Doric εἰράνᾶ appears to be derived from a root Γρᾶ. If from ἐΓρῆνη, we should expect ἢρῆνα in Doric, ἐρρῆνα in Aiolic, which never occur. I cannot therefore adopt Meister's derivation (G. D. II 93) from ἐν-Γρῆνη. Spitzer, Arkadischer Dialekt, p. 20, attempts unsuccessfully to explain the dialectal interrelation of ā and η after ρ in this word. See also Kretschmer, K. Z. XXXI 288. Attic εἰρῆνη, not εἰρᾶνη, since the ā of the final syllable has become η. Cf. Saussure (Mém. soc, ling. VII 91).

218.] Genuine El from HI.

πλεῖστος from I.E. plēisto- < plēis- by proethnic contraction of \hat{e} and i. The Ionic dialect offers no trace of πλῆστος, Arkadian § 20. On πλεῖον, &c., see § 219. χρεῖος Hom., Theog. 1196, χρῆιος and χρῆος Gortyna (Baunack, Die Inschrift von Gortyn, 51), χρήϊα = Kretan χρήεα Cauer, 12141.

219.] E from EI before vowels.

Genuine EI suffers the loss of its second element, as does AI (above, § 209), though not frequently 1.

1. Inscriptional Forms.

West Ionic: A Chalkidian vase in Roberts, I 189 F, has Αlνέης; cf. Alvείης in Menekrates apud Dion. Halik. A.R. 177 (Jac.). Κλεώ C. I. G. 8369, Latyschev II p. 305, Herodas 303; Θάλεα 8412; Σπεώ 8354.

Asiatic Ionic: ποιήσεαν Teos, 156 B 30; δασέαν Miletos,

1002, 6. Cf. νικηθέη (-ΕΕ) Zankle, I. G. A. 518.

Other examples, as Fritsch (V. H. D. p. 41) states, are not free from the suspicion of not being pure Ionic. Ποσιδέου Chios, 177_Π (about 300 B.C.), Smyrna, 153₃₂ (this name with ει, Perinth. 234 B 34, Th. (L.), 10 A 10); 'Ηράκλεος Eryth. 206 A 12 (after 278 B.C.); cf. 'Ηρακλέων στηλέων Hdt. II 33 (R d, -είων A B); 'Ηρακλεώτου 206 A 38, -εώτης 206 B 26 (after 278 B.C.), Eretria, A. J. A. VII 248, no. 11, Halik. 241 (metrical), 'Ηρακλεωτών Head, H. N. 500, Διοκλέοις Phanag., Latyschev II 351, 'Ηρακλεώτις ibid. 289. Meisterhans,² p. 34, quotes 'Ηρακλειώτου from C. I. A. I 651, before 403 B.C.; 'Ηρακλεώτην II 61316 (298 B.C.). Hdt. has 'Ηρακλέος. Cf. 'Ροδόκλεια Samos, 225, 'Ηρακλείοισιν Teos, 156 B 33 (fifth century), 'Ηρακλείου Erythrai, 20117 (early fourth century). δωρεάς Ephesos, 14716 (300 B.C.); iερατέαι Eryth. 206 C 13,—the only instance of this form, while there are ten of ἱερητεῖαι. ἱερῆ Pantikap. 123 (third cent.), Ephesos, 150 (late), from ἱερε(ί)η; cf. Hdt. ἱρείη I 175, V 72, εξώλεα, πανώλεα Bechtel, 263 (Lykian), may be Ionic or Attic.

Nouns in $\epsilon io = \eta io$ and nouns and adj. from sigmatic and ηv stems generally retain ϵi in all branches of Ionic.

The form δασέαν in Miletos 1002, an inscription dating, according to Rayet, from the fifth century, is as complete a parallel to δασέα in Hdt. as might be desired; and the more interesting, in view of possibility of the Milesian dialect having been that of early Ionic prose, though of course an isolated form proves nothing. See § 18. Greg. Korinth. p. 440, says της θηλείας τὸ τ εξαιροῦσι, καὶ επὶ πάσης πτώσεως τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, quoting Hdt. for θηλέων and θηλέη. Following are the forms adduced from Hdt., with the evidence from other quarters of Ionic. Cf. § 419, 506.

¹ χρόσους, άργόρους, χάλκους, Έκτόρους, Νεστόρους are usually cited by the grammarians, e.g. Joh. Gr. 240 B, 241, Greg. K. 433, Meerm. 650, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677,11, Hdn. II 4261, 8614, An. Ox. I 29221, II 12717 (Theogn.), I 4434, I 35613, Apoll. Conj. 2339, Schn.; κήλευς Hdn. II 614, 8614, Schol. Ven. A on @ 217; παρδάλους An. Ox. I 35613, Et. M. 65235 (also παρδάλη and λευνή, < εη α επ ; μαρμάρους An. Ox. I 273.4, Eust. 3934. See also Hdn. II 27616, 9097, 8614, Et. Gud. 37926, 40626, 45247, Eust. 2820 cf. 6402, Tzetz. Ex. II. 95213 An. Par. III 6916.

2. TABLE OF FEMININES OF ADJ. IN -US.

MSS. OF HERODOTOS.	HOMER.	LYRIC POETS.	OTHER IONIC PROSE WRITERS.	INSCRIPTIONS.
Batta	-éa only O 606, II 766, \$ 213	βαθεΐαν Sim. Am. 796 cf. Sim. Keos 379	βαθέων Arrian 27, 33 βαθεΐαι Hippokr. III 200	
Βαρέα	Bapeia	βαρεΐα Sim. Keos 1148		
βραχέα		βραχεΐα Sim. Am. 7131	βραχέη Aret. 18 Βραχεΐαι Demokr. 47	
ðar éa	ठेवत हो व	darefar Hipp. 192 darefprir 193	δασείαι Hippok. V 634 δασεία II 12 -έας II 92	δασέαν Milet. 1002, ε δασέης Zeleia 114 Ε 4
eùpéa	edpela	edpesaw Sim. K. 846	eὑρέη Euseb. Mynd. 63 eὑρέα Hippokr. III 200, 208	
ήμίσεα				
θήλεα	θήλεια, θήλεας		θηλέην Luk. Syr. 15, 51 θήλεας 54 (θηλείης 27 MSS.) Arrian 14	
10éa	leia		leely Demokr. (evdena Herakl.)	
dţéa	δξεία. Λ 272 δξέαι not probable		δξέων Hippokr. II 226 (v.lει)	
πλατέα adj., also name of the island.		тлатеїa Bacchyl. 37	πλατέαs Ktesias πλατείην Arrian 16 (MSS.)	
ταχέα	ταχεία	raxewr Theog. 715		
τρηχέα	τρηχεία	Tpnxeins Hipp. 473 7pnxeins Sim. Keos 89, cf. 163	τρηχείη, Hipp. II 92 τρηχέα Δτι. 21; τραχεία Herch. τραχείης Vita Homeri 18	[τρηχήαν 3 Kaib. 237 Smyrna II. or I. cent. B.C.
Spinea	Spineia		Spipea Aret. 204	

It is noteworthy that the iambographers refrain entirely from the use of the shortened forms. Doubtful support is however given to the Herodoteian adj. in $-\epsilon a$ by the Homeric ' $P\epsilon a$, $\beta a\theta \epsilon a$, $\delta \alpha \epsilon a^{-1}$. There is but a single occurrence of this formation in the elegy $(\tau a\chi \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu)$. It is inadvisable to refer this adj. form to the influence of the occasional Attic writing ϵa (for the first time in an $-\nu$ - adj. upon an inscription 345 B.C.). In Thukyd. $\dot{\eta}\mu \iota \sigma \epsilon a$, Xenophon $\pi \lambda a \tau \epsilon a$, Plato $\dot{\eta}\mu \iota \sigma \epsilon a$, Philemo $\theta \rho a \sigma \epsilon a$ $\gamma \nu \nu \eta$ are attested. Theokr. has $\epsilon \dot{\nu} \rho \epsilon a$, and $\dot{\alpha} \delta \epsilon a$, a form occurring in Epicharmos and Alkman, Archimedes $\dot{\eta}\mu \iota \sigma \epsilon a$. The Attic forms in literature and inscriptions are too sporadic to have produced so complete a disturbance of the MSS. of Hdt. as that indicated § 506. Cf. Johansson, B. B. XV 184, K. Z. XXX 405.

3. πλέον (§ 543) and related forms are here classed together.

(1) ι-less forms: πλέον, πλέονι, πλέονα, πλέω, πλεόνων, πλέους, πλεόνως (and πλεύν, πλεύνος, πλεύνα, πλεύνες, πλεύνων, πλεθνας²), in Hdt., according to Stein, πλέον Solon 32,, Phok. 4, Anax. 6 (Mullach, Simpl. ει); πλέω Demokr. Mor. 92, Anax. 13; πλέων Herakl. 112 (Cobet, πλείων vulg.); πλέον and πλέον Melissos, § 14; πλέονες Demokr. 115, πλέονας Theog. 605; πλέονεσσι 800; -πλέος Hdt., cf. Archil. 584; πλέον Oropos, 184, Keos, 439; πλέονος Keos, 435, Demokr. Mor. 21; πλέω Miletos, 1002; πλέφ Anakr. 941 (eleg.); πλέον Syr. dea 46. (2) Forms with ι: πλείον Sim. Amorg. 22, and Theog. 606; πλειόνων Demokr. 2013, πλείονα Theog. 702, πλείω 907 (πλείον O). Hdt. has πλείων I 192, πλείους I 167, II 120, 121 (δ) in all MSS. Bredow and Stein unite in expelling these forms from the text, a procedure followed by Holder except in I 167. Hippokrates and Aretaios have both $\pi\lambda\epsilon\hat{i}o\nu$ and $\pi\lambda\epsilon\hat{i}o\nu$. Codex A of Hippokrates has the t-less form sometimes where the other MSS. have et. πλείον lost its inta before any other form, according to Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX 144, because the e bore the accent, while in other forms ι was tonic (πλείων).

4. 'Αμαλθέης, Anakr. 8 (for Bergk's 'Αμαλθίης), seems warranted in the light of Phokyl. 'Αμαλθείης 72. σίοντα Anakr. 49 is probably = trisháti, and not to be written σέοντα (Fick) = tvéshati. Alkaios has σείων 22 (with ει reinstated from the aorist as in Gortynian ἐνσείη), and σέων 26.

οθυέην όδόν is quoted by Hdn. II 558₁₇, from an Ionic (?)

5. In the case of $-\epsilon \sigma$ - stems, we have $-\epsilon \sigma s = -\epsilon \iota \sigma s$ in the following cases in Hdt. which are all open to doubt.

τέλεος, τελεόω, generally, but τέλειον IX 110, Demokr. Mor. 218,

² Greg. Kor. 60, Eust. 77544.

¹ Tzetz, Ex. II. 61₁₅. See Leaf on Π 766, O 606 and ♥ 198.

and Eryth. 20423, τελείοις (about 354 B.C.); in Homer and Demokritos τελεώτατος, in Demokrates 2 τελεότης; cf. Kret. ατέλεα Cauer, 119221. ἐπιτήδεος Greg. Korinth. 65. V. H. D. 43, prefers to derive the adj. from ἐπιτηδεύω, but denies in any case the correctness of the ending -cos, which is the reading of the MSS. in a large number of instances. See § 554. ὑπώρεα, ef. πανώλεα, εξώλεα 263 (Lykia). In citing the fragments of Hekat. Steph. Byz. uses the full form, e.g. 186. ἐπέτειος is now written by Stein. ἀφνεός Theog. 188, 559. Ἡράκλεος Hdt. IV 43, 152, 181, VIII 132. Ἡράκλειος is the best attested form in Hdt. See above, under 1. μουνογενέην Arrian, 86.

6. -€05 in adjectives from other stems.

βόεος (Arrian 149 βόειος), χήνεος, οἴεος, αἴγεος 2 may have existed side by side with the -ειος forms (ἡμιόνειος, μήλειος). 'Αριμάσπεα and Υπερβόρεοs need not be rejected with Fritsch, V. H. D. 44 (Fick, Ilias, 551 ff.), though Hellanikos has Υπερβόρειοι. ἀδελφεός in Hdt., Lokrian, I. G. A. 321 A 7, 29, and

in the letters of Hippokr. 1720, 2720, 34, 35.
7. Mimnermos' (116) κείαται has, like Attic κείωνται C. I. A. II 57310, a later ει3. In Hdt. and Hippokr. κέεται, ἐκέετο, κέεσθαι, with ϵ from $\epsilon(t)$ regularly. $\Delta \epsilon a \lambda \kappa o s$ Thas 836 seems to have

lost iola. Cf. Δείαλκος Thasos, 81 B 14.

8. Expulsion of ι from -ειη.

Iota does not disappear in stems in -εσ-: ἀεικείη, ἀληθείη, &c. (above, § 175). εὐμαρέη seems to be supported, Hdt. II 35, by all the MSS., by Greg. Korinth. § 119, and by Suidas (εὐμαρέη ἀπόπατος παρὰ Ἡροδότω), but cannot stand against the overwhelming mass of counter-testimony.

9. Δεκελέων Hdt. IX 73, as Δεκελέεως C. I. A. II 733, B 6, from Δεκελειεύς, II 660, 4. See Bekk. Anecd. II, p. 601, Steph. Byz. 8. v. Δεκελειᾶθεv = Δεκελεῆθεv, Hdt. IX 73. Hdt. has also Μαντινέη IV 161 (or Μαντίνης), Μαρέη II 18, Μαλέη, Θυρέη and

Θυρέαι.

Upon the expulsion of ι, contraction resulted in lepη, Pantikap., 123, Ephesos, 150; cf. Ionie ἰρείη in Hdt.; ἱέρεια Keos 48 (fourth cent.), as Z 300. The intermediate step between lepely and leph is represented by Kallimachos' 'lepén, epigr. 41 4. In Attic we may have lépeia and lepta (Orestes 261) by suffix exchange. Is Πανακή, Hrd. 48, from Πανακείη = Πανάκεια?

 The explanation of the form Ερμής is as yet too uncertain for it to be classed here. Apparently it is = $E\rho\mu\epsilon(i)\eta s = E\rho\mu\epsilon(as.$

¹ τέλεος in fifth and fourth centuries in Attic inscriptions; τέλειος, second century B.C.

Homeric alγειος, except : 196.
 Cf. Λ 659 κέαται, and κατακείαται Ω 527.
 Gram. Par. p. 680 cites lépea as Ionic, Tzetz. Ex. II. 6116 lepén.

Έρμης in Homer is rare (but often in hymns). Herodotos has gen. Έρμέω; cf. Ἐρμιέω Chios, 180, where -ιεω seems an analogical formation.

220. El from E + glide 1 (before a vowel) occurs before o, ω , cv,

a; as yet there are no examples before ϵ and η in Ionic.

δειόμενον Oropos, 18₃₆ (about 400 B.C.); cf. δείω[ν]τα[ι] C. I. A. II 119₁₄, about 340 B.C.; προσδείηται Ć. I. A. II 167, 43, 48, 334-325 B.C. Attic inscriptions of the fifth century have ε; and so elsewhere in Ionic: δέηται Olynthos, 8 B 4; δέηι Zeleia, 11389 (δεῖ Teos 1588, late). Mimn. 213, ἐπιδεύεται has been unjustly expelled by Fick, B. B. XI 253, in favour of an assumed ἐπιδείεται. δεύω is an Aiolic form (Č. D. I. 21437, 2506, 281 A 19, B 26), and ἐπιδεύεται may be classed with other Aiolisms preserved by Ionic elegists. Traces of this form appear even in MSS. of Hdt. IV 130 (ἐπιδευέες, where ἐπιδείες, i.e. - e e îs is correct).

evrela Zeleia, 11330, shortly after Granikos.

eláv Zeleia, 11320, 39; cf. C. I. A. II add. nov. 14 b, 11 (387 B.C.), II add. 115 b 30, 47 (after 350 B.C.); add. 573 b 13, 18 (after 350 B.C.1, and in Epeirotic.

eΐως Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, ...

πόλει(ω)ς Zeleia 11319.

Θε[ι]όφρων Eryth. 206 C 12, would seem to be the same as Θεόφρων 206 C 11. θ ειόν = θ εόν, Priene, 141, an inscription in Ionic orthography, but not in Ionic dialect.

-ειοs, genitive of -ηυ- stems, called later Ionic (and Lesbic) by Herodian, II 674, ('Αχιλλείος, βασιλείος). No examples occur in Ionic literature or inscriptions. Hdt. Basilios, and so 'Axillios, Olbia, C. I. G. 2076 (late).

On -κλείους in the genitive, see list in § 529. Cf. Meisterhans,

p. 36, and Dittenberger, Syll. p. 780, for other forms.

221. An $\epsilon \iota$ that is never represented by η in other dialects, and which is nevertheless not strictly a genuine diphthong, appears to exist in κρείας by a probable conjecture of Hermann, Ananios, 53. κρέας is found in Hippon. 77, Sim. Amorg. 243. As in λειαίνω Solon, 435, ἀποπνείω Tyrt. 1024, this ει is a mere graphical representation of $\epsilon v < \epsilon F$, and appeared originally only when a long syllable was necessary, a fact not comprehended by later transcribers. Cf. also δειδιότες Theog. 764, δείδιθι 1179 (δέδοικα 780), where δειδ = δεδf.

¹ Cf. also deciden Lokris 'Abnv. I 489.

The oldest certain example of e(1) upon an inscription is Attic NaAeles

^{&#}x27;Εφ. dox. 1884, 161 (418 B.c.).

The a of apeles must not be confused with that of Hom. apeles, which is that of the suffix (Skt. krarya). On apeior see Schmidt Neutru, p. 325.

In elapivós Theog. 1276, Sim. K. 73; elapos Lukian, S. 49, Alkm. 26 (Eaρίνης (?), Styra, 19184, Ananios, ξαρι, tetr. 51, Hdt. ξαρ 1, Theog. ήρος 777), the ει may be due to the development of the glide iota, the ground-form being * napwos, cf. ver from vezr, Old Norse var, but is more probably an accommodation to the necessities of the hexameter (εlapινή B 471, εlapινοίσιν B 89). hoos seems to be from fapos rather than from *hapos. \$ 281.

Hom. ελλάτινος (ἐλάτινος Olynth. 8 B 3) is purely metrical, as

is είνάλιος (Greg. Kor. 387) with είν < ένι-, and είλήλουθα 2.

In the cases where this intervocalic iota appears, we must, I

think, distinguish two distinct classes.

 Cases of ει in poetry, where the ει is a mere graphical expression, not made use of by the earlier poets at least, to represent $\epsilon v = \epsilon F$; e.g. Hom. $\lambda \epsilon lov \sigma i$, $\epsilon loi \kappa v i a i$, $(\epsilon \dot{v} \delta \epsilon l \epsilon \lambda o s?)$, $\dot{a} \pi o$ πνείοντ' (Tyrtaios X 24, Greg. Kor. 453), πλείοντος (An. Ox. I 1314).

2. Cases of the pure glide iota, as in elav, evvela (or even in 'Aχιλλείος, βασιλείος Hdn. II 6744=Choir. 20924, see § 25), where F has nothing whatever to do with the appearance of the t, though in some of the words in question F, as a matter of fact, did once exist; but at the period from which the forms date,

cannot have left any trace of its former appearance.

At the present stage of our knowledge, I hold it best to keep the two classes apart, though thereby not wishing to deny that in certain special instances one class may overlap into the other. In the case of epelomer A 62, it is difficult to determine whether the ϵ_i is = ϵ_v (as in $\lambda \epsilon (ov\sigma_i)$ or is a false transcription of $\epsilon \rho \dot{\eta} o\mu \epsilon v$. Λειώκριτος and Λειώδης = Ληο-, Ληω- are from the misunderstood E, rather than due to the glide ξ in $\Lambda \epsilon \omega$. Aristarchos wrote ει before a vowel except (1) in verbal endings as ήη, which seemed to be a 'distracted' η̂, (2) where the κοινή had no parallel form in ε, as in περιστήωσι, κήαντες, or where it had a parallel in η as τεθνηώς (τεθνηκώς), and (3) in nouns where an et would have thrown the declension out of gear. See B. P. W. 1891, p. 38. In Homer monophthongal ει before vowels is gene-

B 404 does not hesitate to call the addition of ι in σκιδειν Ionic.

¹ hp in Hdt. must be corrected. The form in Lukian cannot stand, unless it can be proved that he here imitates an epic, not an Herodotoian form. Hippokr. and Aretaios have no trace of elap, their MSS, fluctuating between πρ and εap. The Gram. Par. p. 680 holds that elap (sic) is Ionic. See also Eust. 1851... Unfortunately the Boiot. FEIapuro I. G. A. 250, and FEIapuros Sitzungber, d. preuss. Akad. 1885, 1035, no. 46, do not decide whether the et is

rally capable of being resolved into $\epsilon\epsilon$, ϵa , or is to be written η . The substitution of $\epsilon\iota$ for η in the above mentioned Homeric forms, and in ϵ . g. $\beta\epsilon\iota\omega$, $\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$, $\tau\epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\iota\omega$ s cannot well have occurred before the period when the parasitic ι (§ 220) was current.

Homeric $\epsilon l\hat{\omega}$, $\epsilon l\hat{\omega}\sigma i$, $\epsilon l\hat{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$, Ionic according to An. Par. III 150₁₆ (cf. Schol. Ven. A on E 256), have been attacked by Nauck who proposed to read $\epsilon \delta \omega \sigma i$, &c. Schmidt (Neutra, p. 326) suggests that the original reading was EEOXI and that the a of $\epsilon \delta \omega$ became ϵ before o in primitive Greek. Cf. § 136, 687.

Some verbal forms with ει, which is probably an incorrect transcription of E, are claimed as Ionic by the grammarians, e.g. δεικανᾶσθαι, on which see Osthoff, Perfect, p. 50. So too in the case of other forms with an ει in the syllable of reduplication, where the ει is for η as in δείδεκτο, cf. Skt. dācati.

The \$\epsilon\$ of the Homeric \$\epsilon_{0.5}\$, \$\epsilon_{0.5}\$, was regarded as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 240 B, G. K. 442, Apoll. Adv. p. 14922 Schn.

222.] ηνεικα, ενείκαι, in Hdt. are forms which stand in no conceivable relation to ηνεγκον, &c. Lukian follows well in the wake of Hdt., but Hippokrates and Aretaios have throughout the Attic forms. See § 214, 2.

223.] Itacism.

See above, § 197, for instances of $\epsilon \iota$ for $\bar{\iota}$, and cf. §§ 145, 175.

224.] Monophthongal El.

1. A few sample, and some of the most important, forms under each head will illustrate this characteristic feature of Ionic. On 5-12, see § 338, 382, and Solmsen and Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX. When Homer has forms in ϵ parallel to those in $\epsilon \iota$, there is a presumption in favour of the former being Aiolic.

2. Spurious El from evf.

ξείνος 1: Ξείνος Styra, 1954, 76, 277, Ξείνων 19279, Ξείνων 19402, Ξείνιος 1974, Ξείναινος 1973, Ξείνοχάρης 1976, 278; Ξείνοκρίτης Amorgos, 228; Ξείνοθεμις Perinthos, 234 B 28, Φιλόξεινος Styra, 19230, Τιμόξεινος 19318, Πρόξεινος 19389; Θευξείνίδου Smyrna, 15329, &c. Hdt. has πρόξεινος VI 57, though Eustathios, quoting Hdt., uses the form πρόξεινος. In the poets we have εί forms, Sim. Amorg. 719, 201 101; Archil. eleg. 7, 192; Anakr 57 (not ξένοις as Bergk reads); Theog. 521, &c. Lukian had ξείνος, though cases of ξένος occur. Arrian. 26, 28, has ξεν-; and so too Aretaios and the Vita Hameri. Even the supposititious letter of Pittakos to Kroisos (Diog. L. I 81) has ξείνος side by side with Aiolic forms. In other pseudo-Ionic sources, though there is great fluctuation, the weight that Herodotos' un-

¹ Joh. Gr. 241 B, Greg. Korinth. 387, 442, Apoll. D. Pron. 3 A; cf. An. Ox. I 300₂₀.

impeachable Esivos carries may pardon the adoption of this form.

Attic ξένος in some relatively pure inscriptions: Oropos 189; Miletos, 1006; Eryth. 1994; later documents, Thasos, 723; Eryth. 206 B 12; Ephesos, 147₁₉; Phanag. 165. So ξενιτείη, Demokr. Mor. 38. Theog. ξενίης 518 is to be regarded as an epic reminiscence. Is Anakr. ξένοισι 84 Aiolic? ξένος in Attic must be derived directly from EévFos, not through Eévvos. Solon has ξένος 232. On ξείνος in tragedy, see § 77.

κεινός 1 = Attic κενός (κενότερος, cf. μαν(2)ότερος). Homer and

Melissos have κενεός.

στεινός 2 = Attic στένος (στενότερος). Arrian has στεινός three times, στενός an equal number. Aretaios seems to have the vulgar form; cf. Hippokrates, III 208, στενο- or στενώτεραι. With Sim. Amorg. (14) στενυγρή (not un-Ionic), cf. Messenian Στενύχλαρος.

είνεκεν perhaps=εμ+Fεκα (Osthoff, Perfect, 334, Brugmann, Gramm. § 13) in Hdt. and Demokr. 87 (cf. on Prepositions, § 715). εἴνεκα³: Sim. Amorg. 7₁₁₈, Anakr. 45, Theog. 46, 730, &c., Demokr. 184. οἴνεκα, Theog. 488, 854, Xenoph. 2₁₉, Solon, tr. 37. See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVIII 109 ff. Vita Homeri

has the Attic Evera, &c.

εἴνατος, εἰνακόσιοι, Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVIII 132, G. Meyer, Gramm. p. 379, Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 101 (Greg. Kor. 453, Eust. 38835).

3. Spurious EI from epf.

δειρή, Hdt. and Theog. 266, but δέρη Anakr. 80.

accent, see § 119. Attic δειράς is from δερσ-.

πείρατα, Arch. tetr. 55, Solon, eleg. 16, Theog. 140, 1078, 1172. Skt. párvan. On Ionic and Attic ἄπειρος, see K. Z. XXXI 443.

εἴρομαι (Greg. Kor. § 73, Max. Plan. in Anecd. Bachm. II 552) appears to be a present formed from the agrist stem with prosthetic vowel (è-ρ F έσθαι)4. εἰρωτάω5 in Hom., Theog. 519, Hdt. III 14, Hrd. 378; ερωτώμενον I 86, is rejected by Stein in favour of εἰρωτεόμενον; Thasos, 72₁₂, ἐπερωτῆσαι is Attic (300-250 B.C.); cf. C. I. A. II 601₈. Attic inser, have also ἐπερέσθαι.

J. G. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 442, Gram. Meerm. 652, Vat. 697.
 Gram. Meerm. 652, Vat. 697.
 Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. 452, poetic according to Eust. 388₃₅, An. Ox. I 130₃₁, Bekk. An. II 968₁₉, Apoll. Conj. p. 238₂₂ Schn.
 So my Diphthong EI, p. 64, and also G. Meyer, Gramm.², p. 425. Or Ερομαι as well as Homeric ἐρέω, ἐρέομαι, ask, and also Attic ἔρομαι, are based upon the transference of *ἔρευμι, *ἔρυμαι, to the Ω conjugation (ἐρέβω, ἔρΓομαι; Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 64). Monro H. G. § So with Curtius refers ἐρείομεν to ἔρημι. See above § 221.
 Eust. 388₃₅.

ελρύομαι ¹, Hdt. See Leaf on A 216 (ελρύω draw, \sqrt{f} ερυ; ελρύομαι protect, $\sqrt{\sigma}$ ερF). Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 235, holds to the view that ελρύσαι is from * $\hat{\epsilon}$ \hat{f} ερύσαι.

elpior (Hom., Hdt., Hippokr.), είρος δ 135, ι 426 from FeρF, cf.

vervex. Hom. and Aiolic ξριον (Apoll. Adv. p. 14922 Schn.).

4. Spurious EI from $\epsilon \lambda F$.

είλίσσω, Hdt. probably from \sqrt{f} ελf. Homer has both είλίσσω and έλίσσω. Hdt. II 148 has έλιγμοί. Is είλω from fέλνω?

5. Spurious El from -ενσ- or -ενς.

The sigma may represent either I.E. s in a final syllable, or

secondary (dialectal) $\sigma = \tau_i$.

On ϵls , $\epsilon l\sigma\omega$, and the orthography in inscriptions, see § 715. $\epsilon l\sigma\ell = \ell\nu\tau\ell$, $\lambda\nu\theta\epsilon\ell s < \lambda\nu\theta\ell\nu\tau s$, $\chi\alpha\rho\ell\epsilon\iota s < \chi\alpha\rho\ell\ell\epsilon\nu\tau s$, $\delta[\pi\sigma]\kappa\tau E\nu\epsilon\iota(\epsilon)$ Teos, Rob. I 142 B 11. $\mu\epsilon\ell s$, T 117, Hdt. II 82, Anakr. 6 (Hesiod and Pind.), gen. $\mu\eta\nu\delta s$ Halik. 2384, Oropos, 186. $\kappa\ell\nu\sigma\alpha\iota$ Ψ 337, $<\kappa\ell\nu\tau\sigma\alpha\iota$, for $\kappa\epsilon\ell\sigma\alpha\iota$, with the ν of $\kappa\epsilon\nu\tau\ell\omega$.

πείσομαι did not arise directly from *πένθσομαι, nor πείσμα from *πένθμα but from πενσ- a new formation, the ν having disappeared in aboriginal Greek before $\theta\mu$ without compensatory

lengthening.

6. Spurious El from $\epsilon \rho s$.

κείρας, Paros 67. διέρσης, διέρσαι, pseudo-Hipp. IV 108, διέρσας IV 296 are certainly not original or genuine Ionic.

7. Spurious El from ελς.

άγγείλαι, αποστείλαι. For σκήλειε Ψ 191 read σκειλ-.

8. Spurious El from $\epsilon \mu s$.

ἐνείματο, &c.

9. Spurious El from εσμ.

είμα[τ]ίο[ιs] Keos, 432, with the ει of είμα. Cf. Andania, Cauer, 4716, 19, 20, 21, είματισμός ibid. 15. Hdt. has ιμάτιον. Brugmann, M. U. II 223 (cf. Osthoff IV 133), separates τμάτιον from είμα, thereby implying that itacism does not here exist. That G. Meyer, Gramm. § 115, Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 73, are incorrect in maintaining the itacistic character of the ει, is clear from the old Ionic form cited above and from Attic Ιμάτιον, C. I. A. II 755, 8, 9 (349-344 B.c.), &c. We have double forms in είμάτιον and ἱμάτιον. ἱμάτιον arose from Γισμάτιον, the weak form of Γεσμάτιον (cf. § 144), the ι being the 'minimum' vowel. Cf. Fick, K. Z. XXII 116, Prellwitz, Deut. Litt. Zeit. 1890, p. 1538. είμασιν, not ίμασιν of the MSS. in Sim. Am. 21, is correct.

Medial $\epsilon \sigma \mu$ is preserved by analogy in Ionic as in other dialects.

The orthography of the word elul fluctuates between EMI and

¹ elpirarta: Hdn. II 503, Et. M. 304,; elpirare An. Ox. I 157,.

EIMI. All inscriptions, not otherwise dated, are earlier than 400 B.C.

With E.

Kyme, 3 = Rob. I 177. Kyme, Rob. I 173, 185. Naxos, 25 = Rob. I 27.

Chalkidian, Rob. I 175, 186. Arkesine (Amorg.), 29 = Rob. I 158 D.

I 158 D.

Prokon. 103₂ = Rob. I 42.

Samos, 214 = Rob. I 155.

Naukr. Rob. I 132 A, E, G, and often upon the Naukr. inser., Asiatic Ionic, Naukr.

Bechtel, 259. Kameiros, 256, Rob. I 164. With EL

Miletos, 98 = Rob. I 138.

Theodos. 125, written IEMI (after 400).

Olbia, Rob. I 163 A. Naukr. Rob. I 132 C.

For a similar fluctuation in other dialects, cf. my Diphthong EI, p. 60. EI $\mu\ell$ in Attic is as old as 570 B.C. (Rob. I 42_1), this proving that $\epsilon\iota = \bar{\epsilon}$ had a tendency toward diphthongization at an early period. In a few other words the same phenomenon may be observed. On the monophthongization of the diphthong $\epsilon\iota$, see Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 15, Lewis, Paper of the American School, IV 263.

10. Spurious EI from εσν.

ἐπείννσθαι, Hdt. IV 64 (A B) according to Stein. Holder follows PR's ἐπένννσθαι. Cf. καταείννσαν, Ψ 135 (elsewhere six cases of ἔνννμι). είννμι is not a direct descendant of ἔνννμι which is derived from a later *ἔσννμι, brought into life through

the influence of ἔσσω, ἔσται, &c.

κλεινός < κλεΓεσνός: κλΕνογένης, I. G. A. 396 (Keos). "Αργεννον near Erythrai is perhaps due to the Aiolic element in the neighbouring Chios. "Αργεννον occurs in Troas and Lesbos, ἀργεννός being an Aiolic word, Hinrichs (H. E. V. A. p. 56). Other traces of Aiolism are Πελινναῖον, name of a mountain in the north of Chios, χρνσοφαέννων Anakr. 25, and Φαιέννον Thasos (L.) 18 C 5; ΑΙΟΙΙC, § 97, and ΙΟΝΙC, § 17.

The orthography of $\epsilon l \nu a \iota$ in Ionic inscriptions shows the fluctuation in the representation of the closed $\bar{\epsilon}$ sound. It is held by Brugmann, Gram. § 146, that $\epsilon l \nu a \iota$ is not derived directly from * $\ell \sigma \nu a \iota$ but that it owes its $\epsilon \iota$, as Arkadian $\ell \nu a \iota$ its η , to the influence of $\epsilon l \mu \epsilon \nu$, $\ell \mu \epsilon \nu$. It is not probable that the adulterine $\epsilon \iota$ (η) was borrowed from $\epsilon l \mu \epsilon \nu$ ($\ell \mu \epsilon \nu$) at a time so remote as to precede the adoption of - $\nu a \iota$ in Ionic-Attic and Arkadian, which, it is claimed, was abstracted from - $\ell \epsilon \nu a \iota$, - $\mu \epsilon \nu a \iota$. Neither dialect has any trace of - $\mu \epsilon \nu$. The possibility of $\epsilon l \nu a \iota$ having originated from * $\ell \epsilon \sigma \nu a \iota$ is very slight.

With E.

Halik. 23829, 24, 42 (fifth cent.). Rrythrai, 1995, 16, 11 (after 394).

Keos, 434, efeiras (fifth cent.).

With EI.

Halik. 238₂₇, 29, 20.

Thasos, 71₅, 6 (fourth cent.) 72₉, (300-250).

Oropos, 18₃₂ (about 400).

Amphip. 10₁₂ (about 350). Eretr. 15₁₄ (fifth cent.).

elv, Olynth. 8 A 3, B 5, 7 (betw. 389 and 383).

έξεῖν, Orop. 1831.

11. Spurious EI from $\epsilon \sigma \lambda$.

χείλιοι = Aiol. χέλλιοι, Lak. χηλίοι.

χείλος < χέσλος Sim. Am. 27. See Windisch, K. Z. XXVII 169.

12. Spurious El from $\epsilon \nu_{i}$.

According to Brugmann, Gr. § 54, Homeric εlv is = ενι + vowel. We find ενάλιος in Archil. 748 (tetr.), εlνάλιος in Theogn. 576.

The ει of duelver is due to compensatory lengthening (i.e. ει is a spurious diphthong duervo- being Aiolic. dueινότερος occurs in Mimn. 142, 'Αμεινοκρότης, Mykonos 921ι, duElvor (?), Rob. I 159 a, Amorgos.

13. Spurious El from ελι.

14. Spurious El from ερι.

δφέλλω, increase. The ει of δφείλω would seem to be genuine, despite the pair δφέλλω: δφείλω (with different significations), because of δφΕΙλέτω, Chios, Rob. I 149 A 14, δφΕΙλόντων, ibid. l. 17, Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 4, and δφΕΙλΕν Thasos, 719-11. EI is also attested, C. I. A. 4014, I 58, 324 A 52. We have however E in C. I. A. I 32 A 3, 8, B 22, ib. 413. See Johansson, D. V. C. p. 212. δφέλλω, sweep, in Hippon. 513. δφέλλειεν Π 651, β 334 is an Aiolism. Cf. L. Meyer, B. B. VII 311.

Γείρω sny < Γερ₁ω. Ionic εἰρ-θην Hdt. IV 77, 156, &c. < ε̄Γερέθην, Attic ε̄ρρήθην < ε̄-Γρή-θην. πέπειρα Anakr. 87, πέπειρος Hippokr.

Naυστείρης Styra, 1924, Homeric στείρα or στείρη A 482, β 428, and nowhere else (Diphthong EI, p. 65). Theog. 757 ὑπειρέχοι with ὑπειρόχους Hdt. V 92 (η), adopted by Stein, is alien to the form usually accepted by the historian, and can be defended solely by those who hold to the assumption of a phonetic ποικιλία in the Herodoteian dialect.

15. Spurious EI from contraction of $\epsilon + \epsilon$, see § 262.

κείνος, written κΕνος, Teos, 156 A 4, 5, 11, 13, 156 B 28, 39, but with El, 156 B 7; ἐκΕlroς, upon inscriptions tinged with Atticism, Teos, 158₁₅, Mylasa, 248 A 11, 16, B 15, C 19. See § 564. Prellwitz rightly holds that the ει is a monophthong,

and divides (ε)-κεί + ενος: his proposed etymology, B. B. XV 155;

see also Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 94.

With the variation between Ionic κεῖνος, Aiolic κῆνος, Wackernagel compares (B. P. W. 1891, p. 6) Νηλεύς in Homer and Νείλεως in Hdt.

225. El of doubtful origin.

Σειλήνη Paros, 66, a late inscription with ει not in accord with the common Attic-Ionic form (Sappho σελάννα; Doric σελάνα; Archim. σελήνα?).

Είλειθνίει Delos, 56, Paros, 66 (Είλειθνίηι). See Baunack's

Studien, I 69. Ειθύμαχος Styra, 1939. See § 198.

Teιρεσίας. Cf. τείρεα Σ 485 < τέρας (cf. γέρεα Miletos, 1007). 226.] OI.

On οι < οF1, οσ1, see § 298, from ε+οι § 311, from ο+οι

§ 314, 0+€1 § 315, from ω1 § 241.

This seems to have been pronounced as a genuine diphthong. Bechtel, Ion. Inschr. p. 37, has refuted the view that in Styra or was pronounced as ü, and that the dialect of Styra was herein influenced by the Boiotian change of or to v, i.e. ü. Μέτυικος, 1970, may or may not be correct; but in the fifth century, the period of this leaden tablet, Boiotian or had not abandoned the old diphthongal pronunciation of or. Cf. Blass, Aussprache, 3 p. 57.

227.] Antevocalic OI = O.

See above for A(I), E(I) in Ionic.

A. In inscriptions.

Roman figures refer to centuries.

WEST IONIC.

A. Εὐβοεύς Styra, 1938 (V);
 Β. ἐποίει Eretria, 14 (V); ἐποίησε
 Adesp. 21 (VI); ἐποιησάτην 265 (Euboian or Island Ionic)
 (V).

ISLAND IONIC.

A. ἐπόει Delos, 57 (II); ποε(î) Thasos, 72₄ (300–250); Β. ἐπ[ο]ί-ησεν Naxos, 26 (B.C. 500); [π]οιεῖν Keos, 43₂₁ (end of V); Εὐκοίης Keos, 44 B 9¹ (IV?); Ποιασσίων Keos, 47₂ (IV); Ποιᾶσσαν Keos, 47₁₀ (IV); θανματοποιός Delos, 55, 3 (270); ἐχσεποίησεν Paros, 58 (VI); ποίημα Paros, 60 (metr.) (V); εὐνοίας Thasos, 72₆ (III).

ASIATIC IONIC.

ἐξεποίησ' Abdera, 162 (metrical) (V); ποήσασθαι Eryth.
 199₁₃ (394); ἐπόει Samos, 222 (pre-Rom.).

¹ Cf. когата G. G. A. 1883, р. 119.

B. a. Before η , $\epsilon\iota$.

ἐποίησε Miletos, 94 (VI); ἐποίειν Miletos, 95 (VI); ἰεροποιῆι Miletos, 1006 (400); ποιεί[ν] Didyma, Rob. I 139 (V?); [π]εποιήπασιν Iasos, 1054 (end IV); ποιήσεαν Teos, 156 B 30 (470); ποιήσει Teos, 156 B 39 (470); ποιήσαι Teos, 15814 (II or I); ποιήσει Chios, 174 A 12 (V); ποιῆι Chios, 174 C 9 (V); ποιῆται Chios, 174 C 11 (V); ἐποίησεν [Chios?] Rob. I, p. 64 (V): ἐποίησεν Eryth. 207 (II); ποιήσειν Sam. 22124 (322); ἐποίει Sam. Rob. I 157 (V); νεωποιήσαντες Sam. 222 (pre-Rom.); πδιησεν Halik. 241 (metr.)(?); ποιήσαντες Myl. 248 A 12 (367/66); ἐποιήσαντο Myl. 248 A 13 (367/66); ποιήσαντος Myl. 248 B 6 (361/60); ἐποιήσαντο Myl. 248 B 12 (361/60); ποιήσασθαι Myl. 248 C 9 (355-54); ποιησαμένη Myl. 248 C 16 (355/54); ἐποίησεν Adesp. 264 (VI); οἶη, νίλαρε, Chios, 183 A 46 (350); Οῖην Eryth. 20127 (IV); αλδοίην Adesp. 264 (metr.) (VI).

β. Before o.

y. Before a, ai.

νεωποίας Ephes. 147₁₅ (300); νεωποίας Halik. 240₆ (450-400);

εὐνοίαι Ephes. 147₈ (300); εόνοιαν Samos, 221₈ (322).

 $\pi o \iota \epsilon \omega$ is the word most frequently affected by the change, and in it the *iola* never disappears in any dialect before o, but only before η , $\epsilon \iota$. In the MSS, of Hdt, and of other Ionic prosaists, $\pi o \iota \epsilon \omega$ is the only form found.

Cf. πόης Theokr. 29_{21} ; ἐπόησε Theokr. 29_{24} , Aiolic, C. D. I. 218,; ποήσασθαι Aiolic, 281 A 19, B 24; πόη = ποιῆ, 238, ποήσω 281 B 54; ποείμενος 305, Arkad. ποέντω 1222, ther

examples, G. Meyer, Gramm., § 155.

The optative sign in -olaro is never lost.

B. Lyric Poets.

Anakr. ἀδοϊάστως 9.5 (eleg.), ἐπτοήθη 513 (ἐπτοίηθεν χ 298, πτοιῶμαι Mimn. 52), but ποιήσεις 60, πεποίημαι 97 (eleg.). Herodas 2_{34} ἢλόησεν, but ἀλοιήση 2_{51} ; πὄεῖς 6_{9} , but ἐπόει 4_{23} , elsewhere or retained.

C. Herodoton, &c. Cf. Fritsch, V. H. D., p. 45 ff. Eùsoeús VII 156, VIII 4, 19, 20; Eùsots III 89.

Εὐβοϊκός III 89, &c. In fact, Εὐβοιεύς is found in no Attic prosaist, and Εὐβοιές only in poetry: Trach. 237, 401; Εὐβοίς

Trach. 74, Eurip. Herakleulai, 83.

edroin and mpovoin.

ποίη, as in Homer ποιώδης. Attic ποία is poetical, elsewhere

πόα, as Sappho, 543. On the accent, see § 122.

ροιή, Homer ροιαί, Attic ρόα, but ροιά in Aristotle (Greg. Korinth. p. 220, quotes ροιά as Doric). On the accent, see § 122. στοή, according to Stein, III 52 (R has στοιή); στοιά in Ekkles. 684, 686 may be taken from the sermo familiaris, though στοά is the only form found in inscriptions. στοιά is Doric (Ditt. Syll. 36925) 1. Why Hdt. should use ποίη and ροιή, but στοή, is not clear. Hence I doubt Stein's reading.

φλοιός IV 67, also Homer and Attic.

χλόη Archil. 108, Hdt. IV 34 (Stein); χλοι- regularly in χλοιοῦσθαι Galen, Lex. Hippokr., χλοιώδης Hippokr. Attic has always χλόη, hence in X]λοί[ης] C. I. A. II 722 B 18, if correctly restored, we assume that the ι is the glide iota.

όμοχροιίη has MS. authority, I 74, where Stein prefers -οίη.

Diog. Apoll. 6 χροιής, Attic χρόα (Aristoph. χροιά).

 $\phi\theta\delta\eta$ is a medical expression adopted by Plato, perhaps from Hippokrates. Wackernagel's (K. Z. XXV 268) objection to the hiatus is well founded if we compare Skt. kshayá and apply Fick's law as to the interrelation of ι and yod: when the accent falls originally, as here, upon the final syllable, ι not yod should appear. Cf. Fick, B. B. VIII 168, Bechtel, Gött. Nachrichten, 1885, No. 6, and on $\rho o\iota\eta$, $\chi\rho o\iota\eta$ under Accent, § 122. Evidently in some of these words contamination of the original forms has given rise to those now found in our texts.

δοή for δοιή, Ionic papyrus (Philol. XLI 746).

228.] OI (Varia).

(1) There appears to be no certain instance in Ionic of of for o before a vowel (as in δγδοίης, &c.). καταβοιῆς, however, occurs upon the very ancient papyrus (Philol. XLI 746) which is chiefly Ionic. For ἐπίπλοου, Hipp. has ἐπίπλοιου VIII 122 (C, θ), but the latter form contains suffixal -μο-. κοιίλη Mimn. 120 is a conjecture. It has not been shown that a κοίιλος arose in the manner assumed for γελοίιος ὁμοίιος (Hartel, Hom. Stud. III 41). A preferable solution is that κοΓιλος (κοΓ=cav-us)=κουιλος was represented graphically by κοίιλος, cf. § 221. This oι=ου is probably not Aiolic, hence in Alkaios 155 read κούιλαι.

(2) [T]ροιζήνιος Iasos, 10420, before 353 B. c., disproves the statement of G. Meyer, Gramm., § 112, that this form (with anaptyctic ι before ζ) does not appear before the imperial period. Cf. Τροζάνιος Ι. G. A. 7013, Schneider, Dial. Megarica, 39,

Müllensiefen, Dial. Lacon. 88.

(3) δεσπόνησιν Kyzikos, Rob. I 148 = δεσποίναις, if correct, is

Also C. I. G., 248322, Astypalaia.

a unique form. The converse appears in Φιλοδέσποιτος (Papers of the American School, III, No. 218). Cf. § 151.

(4) οι appears for εοι in the Herodoteian οἶκας, οἰκός, with absence of reduplication, as in οἰκοδόμηται Ι 181, Herakleian Tables, Ι 137.

(5) The ancients regarded noise as Ionic in contradistinction to

ήφος and έφος: Eust. 72753, 53, 114254, 150444.

(6) πρήξοισιν Chios 174 Å 16-17 for πρήξουσιν, subj. with short modal vowel, is an Aiolism as regards the ending.

(7) For -oîa in the fem. part. = vîa, see § 605.

(8) οι < ωι, see § 241.

229.] YI.

The second mora of the diphthong vi may disappear before a

following vowel.

ύός Paros, 67 (late), Ηυύς 266, of uncertain provenance. Cf. υίός Δ 473, λ 270; δύη ν 286. ἀφύη, often used by the comic poets, may be an lonic loan-form (G. Meyer, Gramm., p. 36). Cf. μυσσόβαι Β. C. II. VI 32, 33.

viós is found, Amorg. 35 epigr.; Priene, 141 (in Ionic alphabet); 265, uncertain locality; Delos, 57. On viós, viós in metrical inscriptions, cf. Allen, Versification, p. 71 ff., on v(1) in Attic,

Meisterhans, p. 47.

Diphthongs κατ' ἐπικράτειαν.

230.] Â1.

 $\bar{a}_i = \text{pre-Hellenic } \bar{a}_i$, gave way to η_i at the earliest period of Ionic that can be reconstructed by us.

231.] HI.

Whether III is really a δίφθογγος κατ' ἐπικράτειαν in such forms as βασιλήιος is not perfectly certain (Blass, Αυεκρτ.³ 22, Johansson, B. B. XV 182). Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 252, writes βασιλήος, and holds that η_i became η between the time of Hipponax and Herodotos ¹. Between βασίληιος (or βασίληιος, cf. Attic βασίλειος) and βασιλήιος there is a far greater difference than between ἀνδρήιος and ἀνδρήιος,—the important difference of the accent position. While MS. testimony possesses slight, and even inscriptions but little more value (the ordinary HI, e. g. in such a form as ΚΛΗΙΩ, being indifferent to the question at issue), the evidence in favour of the existence of the long vowel and of diaeresis in certain Ionic prose authors is drawn (1) from the cases of η i in the poets; (2) from the Attic TEHOI, Τήϊμοι or Τήϊοι, C. I. A. I

¹ In Hdt. the correct form is je, not fie.

234₁₅ (446 B.C.) and TEIOI=Tήτοι, C. I. A. 229₁₁ (451 B.C.), forms whose η \ddot{u} , even if not Attic, is certainly Ionic; cf. THIOΣ Naukratis 700 ¹ (cf. K. Z. XXVII 264); (3) from Kyprian $\mu\nu\dot{a}\ddot{u}_{l}o(\nu)$ (?), Meister. G. D. II 144; (4) from Boiot. $\mu a \nu \tau \epsilon \iota l a$, = Delph. $\mu a \nu \tau \eta \iota a$, cf. Aiol. or Thess. $\mu a \nu \tau \dot{\eta} \iota o \nu$, C. D. I. 1558. In any event Hippokrates certainly made use of $\eta \ddot{\nu}$ much less often than Hdt. See below, § 286.

232.] Medial HI before vowels.

(1) In this category fall chiefly the derivatives in $-\eta \iota o v$, $-\eta \iota \eta$ = Attic $-\epsilon \iota o v$, $-\epsilon \iota \eta$, from stems in $-\eta v$. In dealing with the much-vexed problem of the interrelation of these terminations it must be borne in mind that originally an $-\eta v$ - stem yielded $-\eta \iota \eta$ or $-\eta \iota o$ -, except in the case of such feminines as had adjectival motion (§ 174); while sigmatic stems produced $-\epsilon \iota \eta$ and $-\epsilon \iota o$ -. This original mark of distinction has been obliterated to a great extent in all the dialects, and especially in Ionic. The retention of the traditional accentuation in this treatise does not imply that in all cases, notably in that of the pseudo-Ionists, $\eta \iota$ was pronounced with ι as a distinct phonetic power. The conduct of $\eta \iota$ upon Attic inscriptions shows that at an early period ι was a vanishing sound. $\eta \iota$ must sometimes have been written when it was not diphthongal, e.g. $\mu o v \sigma \eta \iota o v$ Herodas 1_{31} .

All the forms of the ην stems have been collected by Fritsch, V. H. D., pp. 9 ff.; e.g. Hdt. ἀριστήιον, ἀρχήιον, ἱερήιον (Greg. Kor. 3), μαντηίη (μαντείας Tyrt. 42), μαντήιον Pherek. 60 (Herakl. 11 -εῖον), πολιτηίη, πρυτανήιον, as Prokon. 103 (fifth century).

στρατηίη (and στρατιή), ταριχηίη, χαλκήιου, &c.

Also from -ην- stems adjectives and nouns in -ηιος, -ηιον, -ηίη, = Attic -ειος, -ειον, -εία. βασιλήιος Theog. 1191, Hdt., Hekat. 175, Charon 2, βασιληίη Hdt., Herakl. 79; and the following forms in Hdt.: δουλήιος², εξοδηίη (Stein -δίη), κηρυκήιον, 'Οδυσσήιος, ἀρήιος, ἐρμητηίη, as in Diog. Apoll. 1. Mimn. has Νηλήιον 91; θεραπηίη Hippokr. VI 492, 586, VII 172, 180, IX 268, v.δ. -είη, no v.δ. VII 246, but θεραπείη V 686, II 14, 110, III 72.

In the pseudo-Ionic prosaists we find the -ηι- forms are not so prevalent as in Hdt. and are largely artificial: θεραπείη Lukian, Syr. 31, Aretaios often; θεραπηίη occurs only in the letters of Hippokr. 157, 167, 1720, 23. -ηι- forms occur as follows: μαντηι- Luk. Syr. 36, Astr. 8, 23, 24; πολιτηίη Hipp. ep. 1732; βασιληι- Luk. Syr. 18, 25, Astr. 12, Arr. Ind. 3, 8, 39, Hipp. ep. 1734, 41; ἀρήιος Arr. Ind. 7, 11, 12, Euseb. 2; παιδηίοις

II p. 68 (a late metrical inscr.).
² Cf. Anakr. 114, epigram. δουληίην. Hdt. has also δούλιος VII 8 (γ); cf. πολεμήιος and πολέμιος, ξεινήιος and ξείνιος.

¹ Coins of Teos have THI Head H. N. 511, and so THION Naukr. I 209,

Euseb. 2; Ιρήιος Luk. Syr. 42, 58, 57, cf. Arr. Ind. 18. The following have no variant in -ηι-: μοιχείη, δυναστείη, γοητείη, προφητείη, φαρμακείη, πρεσβείη, έρμηνείη. στρατηίη is the only example in the Vita Homeri.

Fritsch's thoroughgoing examination (V. H. D. pp. 8–30) shows that here and there the Attic forms have forced themselves into the MSS. of Hdt.; and in the inscriptions we meet with the following forms in $\epsilon \iota$ where we might expect an Ionic - $\eta \iota$: :— $d\rho \chi \epsilon \hat{\iota} o \nu$ Iasos, 105₁₂ (end of third cent.); $\pi o \lambda \iota \tau \epsilon \hat{\iota} a$ Zeleia, 114 ABC (late), Samos, 221₂₇ (322 B.C.); $\pi \rho \nu \tau a \nu \epsilon \hat{\iota} o \nu$ Kyzikos, 108 B (first cent.); $\kappa a \pi \eta \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota} o \nu$ Iasos, 1044; $\pi o \rho \epsilon \hat{\iota} a$ Samos, 221₂₁ (322 B.C.).

All these forms occur in inscriptions so late that they may be

ascribed to Attic influence.

(2) Furthermore, -ηιο- occurs (Attic -εῖο-) where there is no -ην- stem involved. Herodotos has ἀνδρήιος (Protag.), ἀνδρηίη, (cf. Arrian 174) but ἀνδρειότερος Ι 79, ἀνδρειότατος Ι 123, IV 93, IX 37, γυναικήιος (where Homer has, λ 437, γυναικείας, Phokyl. 32 γυναικείων (cf. Fick, B. B. XI 272), Archil. γυναικείον, 910; Rutherford's γυναικήιον, Hrd. 61, is incorrect). Hdt. has also ἀχρήιος (Hom.), ἐργαλήιον, ἐταιρήιος, -ηίη (Sim. K. 118 -είη), Καδμήιος but Καδμείη Ι 166, and Καδμεῖοι often. Hdt. μυημήιον (Arr. 10), οἰκήιος, -όω, -ότης, cf. Demokr. 94, 124, 168, σημήιον, Diog. Apoll. 5 is not found in Simplicius. σημήιον is hesitatingly adopted by Littré in Hippokr. Demokr. 6 ἐμψυχήιον.

(3) -ηιο-= Attic -ειο- from non -ην- stems: Hdt. has ἀνθρωπήιος (Hippokr. VI 468, v. l. -ίνην; and -ειος, as Herakl. 91,
 (6), βορήιος (Phoinix apud Athen. 495 E), Εὐρωπήιος, κηλωνήιον, (κηλωνεύω is late), Φοιβήιος, φοινικήιος 1 (φοινικήια Teos 156 B 38, 470 B.C.), ἀγγαρήιον, λαισήιον, 'Αλήιον, Λιμενήιον. Hipponax,

57, has τροπήιον from τροπέω, an Ionic verb.

(4) Non -nv- stems yield -nvo- in the later Ionists in the

following cases:—

olκήιος Luk. Syr. 22, 53, 54, 57, Arrian, Ind. 20 (elsewhere -ει-); àrθρωπήιος Luk. Astr. 27, ἐμψυχήιου Luk. V. A. 6. From consonantal stems we have ἀrδρήιος Luk. Syr. 15, 26, 27, Euseb. Mynd. 56 (Hippokrates has -ει- always); γυναικήιος Luk. Syr. 15, 27, 51, Arrian, Ind. 8, Aret. 60, 61, 62, 285 (Hippokrates -ει-, and also Euseb. Mynd. 54); σημήιου Luk. Syr. 15, 17, 49, Astr. 4, 7; Arrian, Ind. 28. Hippokrates and Aretaios adopt the Attic σημείου rather than the Ionic -ηιου. We have here a line of distinction drawn with tolerable distinctness between the medical writers and Herodotos, Lukian, and Arrian. Arrian, Ind. 10, has μνημήια, θήρεια 17, 24, and Αιθιοπείφ 6.

¹ Heavehios has, however, Φοινικκία Λυδοί και Tures τὰ γράμματα ἀπό Φοίνικός τιres . . . ; purple in Hdt. is φοινίκεος.

The grammarians call -ηιος Ionic: ἀρήιος, 'Οδυσσήιος An. Ox. I 36₂₀, Πηληιάδεω An. Ox. I 346₂₇: μνημήιον, σημήιον, βασιλήιον An. Ox. II 123₂₁ (Theogn.), ξυνήιον Et. Gud. 416₂₆, Schol. Ven. A on A 124, An. Par. III 1246; ολεήιος is called Doric by Hdn. II 558₂₀, though he reserves -ήιος for Ionic; cf. I 361₅.

(5) The inscriptions have ηι in πρυτανήιου Prokon. 103 (600 B.C., the Attic copy has -είου), φοινικήια Teos, 156 B 38, ἰερήου Οτορος, 18₃₃, 36 (see § 234); ἡμιμνήιου and σπουδήιου Paros, 62; Σαραπήια Naxos, 28¹; Τήϊιος Naukr. I 62, No. 700. ΠοσιδΗΙΩυ C. I. A. I 283₁₇, is probably Ionic as the Attic form is Ποσειδεών usually, cf. Ποσιδηίου Maroneia 196₅, and Ποσιδηιών Anakr. 6. Ποσιδήιου and Φοιβήιου in Hdt., other names of festivals having -ιο-.

On inscriptions we find ει where ηι might have occurred: `Ανδρείων Eryth. 206, Β 48, 56 (278 Β. C.). οἰκειότητος Ephesos, 1474 (300 Β. C.). οἰκεῖοι Lykia, 263 (perhaps an Attic form). Εὐφρονιεῖοι, Θαλεῖοι Eryth. 206 Β 46. Λνκείον Eryth. 206 Α 20 (Steph. Byz. Λνκήιον). ἱερητεῖαι Eryth. 206 Α 44, Β 1, 45, 60, C 7; ἱερητειῶν Α 14, 36, ἱερατέαι C 13; Priene, 1447, ἱερατείης. ὁρκυνεῖον Halik. 24044 (fifth cent.). See under (1) above.

(6) -ηιο- in Ionic has, as Fritsch has shown, in the class ἀνδρήιος and ἀνθρωπήιος extended by analogy its sphere beyond that of the -ην- stems. In no case is there any justification for the adoption of -ηι- even in such -ες- stems as yield abstract nouns, e.g. ἀληθηίη, which has been foisted upon Herodotos by the Aldine edition. Even the Astrol. of Lukian has ἀληθείης (§ 1). The few instances which occur of ηι=ει are of late date. ᾿Αργήιος, Ditt. Syll. 4215 (400-350), which is certainly on the stone, may be an error as it dates from a period when there was a fluctuation in the orthography. Sim. Amorg. 27 has ᾿Αργείη. Hdt. VI 52 ᾿Αργείην.

For examples of forms in -ειη, see § 175 ff.

Ξενοκρατήμα is not to be classed with Delphie Καλλικράτηα, &c., where the η is a late graphical expression for ει, as often, e.g. επιμέληαν Mitth. X 314, No. 2, l. 9 (Odessos), πολιτήαν Mitth. XI 83, l. 3 (Amorgos). It is scarcely probable that a stem in -ησιο- should manifest itself so late as the first century B.C. when it is not beyond peradventure proved in the case of older forms.

If it can be shown that there are stems in -ησιο-, which have as yet not been shown to exist, such apparent anomalies as Aiolic κυπρογένηα, and Boiotnames in -γενειιος, -μειδειιος, may be cleared up. See Johansson, B. B., XV 181. Ξενοκρατήια Eryth. 208 is an hyper-Ionic form, and not to be regarded

¹ In Doric inscriptions πρυτανήιον, ανδρήιον, πρειγήια (πρεσβεία) οίκηίως, μαντήιον.

as an example of -nois. That yod should lengthen a preceding vowel, as G. Meyer, Gramm.' § 67, still holds, is of course out of the question.

dγγήιον without variant, Hdt. II 121 β, δ, IV 2, Lukian, Syr. 20, 48. This is the sole support for this supposed Ionic form. Keos 4310, with δ]γγεία, is not free from the suspicion of being Attic, though this form is undoubtedly Ionic too. Cf. δγγείον and κενεσγγείη in Hippokr. and Aretaios.

aphier in Hesychies is probably Doric, not Ionic as was held by Curtius Εt. 5 155.

(7) Feminines derived from masculines in -evs have ϵ_i , not η_i . In Keos, 48, lépeia; Pantikapaion, 123, $l\epsilon\rho\hat{\eta}$; Ephesos, 150, $l\epsilon\rho\hat{\eta}$. In Herodotos, the MSS. have generally $l\rho\epsilon l\eta$, but occasionally the shibboleth of the Ionic η_i is disclosed (II 53, 54, 55). Cf. also $\beta\alpha\sigma(\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha)$, not $-\eta l\eta$. So àtôpe $l\eta$ not $-\eta l\eta$ Hdt. VI 69.

233.] Medial HI before consonants.

1. Masculine patronymics 1.

In but one case in Hdt. VIII 132 Baσιληίδεω, which must be an error. Cf. [B]ασιλείδης Chios, 1799, the same form on a Chian coin, Denkmäler der Wiener Akad. IX 322 (400–350). If Σελληίδεω in Archil. 104 is correct, it is the only instance in the lyric poets, and Σκηβηίδης Teos, C. I. G. 306428 (late), the only instance in the inscriptions. In all other cases -ειδης, on which see § 235.

2. Feminine patronymics 2.

Hdt. Nηρηίδων II 50; Νηρηίσι VII 191 (cf. Νηιρείδων Eryth. 206 B 27); Βοιβηίδα VII 129, not to be written ηϊ, a poetical form introduced by the grammarians. Doubtless -ήιδης and -ήις (-ής) are here correct. Upon Attic inscriptions of the fourth century we sometimes meet with the spelling -είς, -είδος.

3. Dat. Plur. of \hat{A} (η) stems.

-ηισι (-ησι) was the regular Ionic form in the fifth century in Hdt. and in the inscriptions. The last Ionic -ηισι of which we have any knowledge dates from 394 B.C. (Erythrai, 1996). After this, as is the normal ending. See under *Declension*.

4. In compound names (two stems).

Δηιδαμαντ- Aigiale, 28 A; Δηιλέων Smyrna, 153₁₈ (cf. Bechtel, ad loc.); Δηίλλεος Thas. (L) 7, B 9; Δηιθράσης Th. (L) 3 A 8; Δηιπέτης Styra 19₁₈₁, perhaps; Δηίαλκος Thas. (L) 9₀, (cf. Δείαλκος Thasos 81 B 14, Δέαλκος 83₆; § 236). Αλεξι]δήιος Naukr. 667, 838; 'Αρηίθους Th. (L) 14 B 2, 16 B 7; 'Αρηιφίλου ³ Anakr. 106, as ἀρηιφάτους Herakl. 102.

5. Greg. Korinth. p. 377, quotes κληισθέντες as Ionic. Μαρω-νηιτέων Maroneia, 1962, though from the same period (before

¹ Πηληίδης Greg. Kor. 379, together with Πηλείδης and «ηιόδης (p. 488); the Et. Gud. 466, has Πηλείδης Πηληιάδης, «ηιόδης Eust. 1227, Πηλείδδοω Joh. Gr. 239 Β. Πηλείδοω and Πηλείδδοω Μοντιπ. 655.

Nyldes, Nypyldes Eust. 622m, 1954s.

³ An. Ox. I 18_n, I 36₂₀.

400) we have Μαρωνειτέων 19631, cf. § 197. ηι, as augment, is

preserved e.g. ήιρημένους Samos, 22135.

6. δυήιστος Phoinix in Athen. 495 E, Anaxag. 10, Herakl. 114, κληίσκεται Hippokr. IX 84, cf. θυήσκω μιμυήσκω according to the grammarians. θυήσκω occurs in Attic inscriptions and κικλήσκω in MSS.

234. Medial HI becomes H.

ίερήου Oropos, 18₂₃, 36, about 400 B.C. Greg. Korinth. p. 379, mentions ἱερήιου as Ionic. Also Aiolic and Delphic.

A remarkable form is λητουργείν, on a Teian document in Κοινή, Ditt. Syll. 12672 (306-301 B. C.).

235. Medial HI passes into EI.

1. before vowels.

Here belong the forms mentioned under § 232 from inscriptions, from the lyric poets γυναικεΐου, Archil. and Phokyl., unless Fick's defence of the form as it stands (=γύναιου) holds good. Or shall we read γυναικῆου? [ά]γγεῖα Κεοs, 4310, while Hdt. has ἀγγήια IV 2; Homer, ι 222 ἄγγεα. Fritsch holds that ἀγγεῖου alone is correct, which is probable (cf. ἄγγος).

2. before consonants.

In all masculine patronymics, except those mentioned \$ 233. Hdt., as Attic writers, uses -ειδης with but the single exception of Βασιληίδεω: Αίγειδαι 2 IV 149; 'Αριστείδης VIII 79-82; Ατρείδαι VII 20; Νηλείδαι V 65; Περσείδαι Ι 125; 'Αλκείδης ΕὐθυνΕίδης Styra 19194, ΝικολΕίδης 19272, ΠεριλΕίδη(s) 19283 are transcribed -ειδης on account of the extreme rarity of Πιθείδης Keos, 44 A 10, 'Αρι](σ)τείδης Thasos, 77 A 9, -nions. 'Aριστείδευς B 14, are all too late to be of moment, though they apparently support the general conduct of the patronymic in Ionic prose. As Attic inscriptions of the fourth century have -ηιδης, the older form existing parallel to the younger -ειδης (to say nothing of the fifth century with its $EI\Delta E\Sigma$), so in Ionic we might assume the contemporaneous existence of both forms. In this case Βασιληίδεω would be correct despite the numerical weight of evidence against -ηιδης in Hdt., though the weakening of $\eta \iota$ to $\epsilon \iota$ in the majority of the instances is surprising. Ionic dialect is usually tenacious of ni and nfi < evi generally becomes ηι. He who with Fritsch holds that Βασιληίδεω represents the only correct form of the patronymic ending must have the heart to expel every case of -ειδης from the text of Hdt., even though -ειδης can be shown to have existed before the fifth

1 Cf. Hdn. II 8672.

² In a fragment (99) attributed to Anakreon we read Alysidsw.

century. If -είδηs is Homeric Ionic, it may well be Herodoteian Ionic. The cases (§ 232, 1) in which Attic forms have forced themselves into the text of Hdt. belong to a different sphere and are numerically insignificant in contrast with the almost total extinction of -ηιδηs in the MSS. of Hdt. See also §§ 238, 239, 286.

236.] Medial HI becomes E.

The month Ποσειδεών from -δηιών, C. I. G. 23094, Delos, 366427, Kyzikos (Attic?). With Δέαλκος Thasos 836, cf. Δηίαλκος § 233, 4. Δείαλκος Thasos 81 B 14 is not to be explained with Bechtel according to § 237.

237.] Medial HI becomes Eî.

This metathesis quantitatis was first proposed by Fick (B. B. XI 267) on the score of Anakreon's four syllable Θρηικίη (96) by the side of Θρηκίη (49, 75), Hipponax' Θρηικίων 42 (ἐπ' ἀρμάτων τε καὶ Θρηικίων πάλων). Bechtel, Ion. Inschr., p. 13, goes so far as to claim for Ionic and Attic that, wherever et appears for ηι, ηι passed through the stage εί. On any view -εί<ηι is found chiefly in Eretrian Ionic, since in Asiatic Ionic -ηι lost its iota and did not become ει. From prose inscriptions we can scarcely expect proof, and even if we accept Θρεϊκίων, we are not compelled to extend this metathesis quantitatis over all the territory claimed by Bechtel. The parallelism of later λειτουργεῖν and τεῖ does not disprove the rocalis ante rocalem corripitur rule, or necessitate the hypothesis that in Ionic-Attic there was a middle stage εῖ. See § 232. The form Θρῆίκιον occurs in an hexameter, Hdn. I 118, Θρέισσα Hrd. 179.

238.] Final HI is retained.

1. In the dative singular.

νηl, perhaps from νη̂ from the analogy of νηός, &c. (Alkman has ν̂ according to Blass, *Hermes*, XIII 25). On Πριη[ν]η̂ι see § 510.

2. In the subjunctive (Island and Asiatic Ionic, but not

generally in West Ionic). See § 239.

The i ἀνεκφώνητον is but rarely misplaced; e.g. είηι (opt.), Teos, 158₁₅, 30, (second cent.). Cf. the similar form on an old papyrus, Blass, Ausspr. 48, and the confusion between είη and είη, Η 340, Σ 88. είηι occurs on the papyrus that has θείηι.

239.] Final III becomes El.

1. In the dative singular of $\hat{A}(\eta)$ and $-\eta v$ - stems.

For the forms from Euboian Ionic, see § 433, 3. The Herodoteian $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \bar{\iota}$, or $\beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota}$, is due to the analogy of other cases. Apel, found Sim. Amorg. 113, may be read App; Apel in Homer will readily yield to Apel, or App (Φ 112, 431, B 479). Smyth, Diphthong EI, pp. 36, 42.

In the subjunctive. Here we have to distinguish between
 ε_t, an original form with short modal vowel (Schulze, Hermes,

XX 491 ff.).

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κατάξει Teos, 156 B 37, 

ἐκκόψε(ι) Teos, 156 B 38, 

ποιήσει Teos, 156 B 39, 

ποιήσει Chios, 174 A 12, 

ἀποκρύψει Ephesos, 145<sub>1</sub>, 8, 

ἐπάρει Ephesos, 145<sub>2</sub>,
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Cf. παραμείψεται Mimn. 3, and also in Kretan (Baunack, in his Studien, I 3; Bechtel, Gött. Nachr., 1888, p. 402).

This $\epsilon\iota < \eta\iota$ is restricted in Ionic to the division of the West Ionic and in so far presents a proof of the progression of West Ionic and Attic along the same phonetic lines 2 . In Attika the change of $\eta\iota$ to $\epsilon\iota$ occurs about 376 B.C., the sound being represented either by $\epsilon\iota$ ($\beta ov\lambda \epsilon \hat{\iota}$) or by ϵ ($\alpha \hat{v}\tau \hat{\epsilon}$). $\eta\iota$ has here become a closed $\hat{\epsilon}$. There are no examples of this later $\epsilon\iota$ from other portions of Ionic territory, and even in West Ionic the change has not been thoroughgoing (Olynthos, 8 A 6, B 17 $\check{\iota}\eta\iota$; B 14 $\check{\delta}o\kappa \hat{\eta}\iota$). In the Kyklades and in Asiatic Ionic we have $-\eta\iota$ in the verb and nouns, except where ι has fallen off. The change of $-\eta\iota$ to $-\epsilon\iota$ precedes in Amphipolis that of $-\omega\iota$ to $-o\iota$. In Olynthos, 8 A 6, Bechtel reads π] $o\lambda \hat{\epsilon}\mu o\iota$ whereas we have $\kappa o\iota p\hat{\omega}\iota$ in 8 B 4 (as well as $-\eta\iota$).

240.] Final H from HI.

Rarely, and then not in West Ionic, in the dative: Μάνη Kyzikos, 108 (sixth century); τη βουλή Eryth. 1991 (after 394 B.C.); Μαλυείη Eryth. 2011 (fourth century); τη Zeleia, 11315 (after 334); δημοσίη Mylasa, 248 C 15 (355/4); θύη Chios, Paspates 9.

241.] ΩΙ.

προίρης in Hesychios has been regarded as an example of an Ionic change of medial ωι to οι. Final ωι becomes οι only in the

due to Boiotian influence the shortening of diphthongs whose prior member is a long vowel. Both this and the use of $\tau\tau$ for $\sigma\sigma$ seem to be Attic rather than Boiotian in colouring.

tàr δὲ δεῖ Teos, Ditt. Syll. 1267 (306-301), is Attic.
 The editor of the Oropian inscription No. 18 in Hermes XXI 91 regards as the to Boiotian influence the shortening of diphthongs whose prior member.

inscriptions of Western Ionic. See § 461 for examples. The ι of nom. -ωι in the declension of nouns in -ώ, -οῦς has been lost at a very early date in Ionic as elsewhere. On ω + ι, see § 299. λάβωισιν Chios 174 B 16 is an Aiolism. In an Eretrian inscription (Ἐφημ. 1888, 83 ff. l. 180 C, ΣΟΙναργο has been read Σοιναύτο(ν) = Σωι-γινώισκειν Hrd. 5_{21} is a slip rather than an analogue of μιμνήσκω, Aiolic μιμναίσκω.

242.] AY.

Hipponax 2 has καύης or καύηξ, whereas in o 479 we find κήξ, though ACKQSV have here κηθξ, cf. Lobeck's Paralip. 101 ff. Kretschmer's attempt (K. Z. XXXI 354) at explaining the interrelation of the two forms is unsatisfactory. δεδαυμένων is found only in Sim. Am. 30. The above mentioned forms and Homeric κήξ may be referred to κωκύω. According to Schol. V on Il. XV 421 δαυλός was New Ionic for Homeric δαλός; δαλός is from *δαf-ελός (cf. δανός), δαυλός from *δαf-ελός. δαfελός was Lakonian (Hesychios s. v. δαfελός). In Ionic and Attic before sonant vowels, αυσ-, ευσ-, υσ- became α, ε, ο, e. g. ἀκούω contains an υ reinstated from the fut., aor. &c.

243.] $A\Upsilon = AO$ in inscriptions.

Αδτοκλῆος Latyschev, II 140, Pantikap., αδτοί Priene, 1449; αδτός Chios, 184; αδτόν Samos, 22114; αδ[τῶ]ι Eryth. 202111, 263 (Asiatic); αδτοῖς Samos, 22121, 27, 28, Eryth. 2032 (ταῦτα 1. 8); αδτοῦς Samos, 22121, Leros, 1071; ταῦτα Leros, 10712, Chios, 184, Eryth. 20210, 18, Samos, 22114, Halik. 2407 (the only example of the change in the dialect of Halikarnassos); ἐαστῶν Samos, 22120, 263 (Asiatic); Γλαῦκος Eryth. 2091; also Imh.-Bl. G. M. 290 Erythrai; Ταορέας Eryth. 2092; Καοκασίωνος Chios, 183 A 33; but κα]υκασίων Chios, 1779 and καυκασέ[α]ς Β. Ρ. W., 1889, p. 1195; cf. Eryth. 206 A 19; Ναόλοχον Priene, 141, an inscription not in Ionic dialect but in Ionic orthography; Ναῦκλος Paus. VII 3, 6 may be compared; Styra, 19284, has Ναυστείρης; Olynth. 8 B 2 ναυπηγησίμων. In ναυμαχίη, ναυπηγήσιμος, &c., we find ἄ not η.

The graphical substitution of o for v is practically confined to Ionic territory. Kumanudes, ' $E\pi\iota\gamma\rho$. ' $A\tau\tau$. $\epsilon\pi\iota\tau\dot{\nu}\mu\beta\iota\sigma\iota$, 2597 ($A\dot{\sigma}\tau\sigma\kappa\rho\dot{\alpha}[\tau]\eta s$), offers the only example from extra-Ionic territory. So far no evidence for this $\alpha\sigma$ has been found in any portion of Ionic except that of the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands.

This method of writing, however, does not of itself necessitate the conclusion that Ionic av was of different colour from Attic av. Perhaps the Naxian AFTTO represents nothing more than an attempt at showing the pronunciation of av in a clearer manner

¹ About 350 B.c. No. 199, Eryth. (394 B.c.) has coron twice.

than by AΥ, Blass, Aussprache³, pp. 74 ff. The suggestion that AFTO was meant, and AFTTO was a correction of the engraver (αρὐτοῦ) is excluded by the Old-Attic αρὐτάρ (Δελτ. ἀρχ. 1890, p. 103). See under F. This αF for av before a consonant is chiefly the property of Kretan, and sporadically of Lokrian and Korinthian.

244. AY = Ω .

See §§ 205, 258, for $\tau \rho \hat{\omega} \mu a$, διφώσκω, &c. The substitution of o for v is more frequent in Ionic than that of v for o. At present but one example of the latter orthography is known to us in Ionic: Μύλανρος, Styra, $19_{133} = \mu v \lambda \omega \rho \acute{o}s < -aoρos$. Cf. $\pi v \lambda a v \rho \acute{o}s = \pi v \lambda \omega \rho \acute{o}s$ in Hesychios and the other examples quoted, G. Meyer, Gramm. § 120. Hdt. III 72 has $\pi v \lambda o v \rho \acute{o}s$ with the v. l. $\pi v \lambda \omega \rho \acute{o}s$. The grammarians went so far as to hold that av became ωv in a supposititious form $\mathring{\omega} v \tau \acute{o}s$. Greg. Korinth. p. 419.

On OY from AY, see under OY, § 256.

245. A from AY.

In late inscriptions v is sometimes not written before a consonant. In Kaibel's Epigrammata I find τοὕνομα τὰτόν 311 Smyrna; ὰτῶν 321 near Sardis; ἐατοῖς 340, valley of the Makestos; ἀτῆς Sterrett, Papers of the Amer. School, III 235, ἀτῆς Latyschev, II, p. 305 (199¹).

246.] EY.

On Δεύνυσος, see § 138, on Διένυσος, § 137.

EO for original ET is not specifically Ionic, though this orthography was more extensively adopted by the Ionians than by any other Greek people. EO is here invariably diphthongal.

1. Inscriptions of the fifth century 1.

βασιλεός Chios, 174 C 10; Κεφαλεός Adesp. 266, see Bechtel ad loc.

2. Inscriptions of the fourth century.

φεόγειν Āmphip. 103; φεογέτω Amphip. 1024; φεόγο[νσιν] Chios, 18516; κοπρεόων Chios, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1195; Εὐνομίδης Miletos, 1021; Εὐέλθων Ephesos, 1513, Mionnet, VI 122; Εὐπαθίδη(s) Ephesos, 1514; Εὔχωρος Ephesos, 1516; εὔνοιαν Samos, 2218; εἰργέτην Eryth. 2026²; Εὐθύδαμος Klazom., Le Bas, Voy. Arch. Inscr. III 1, No. 86, Head, H. N. 491; Λεοκαῖος Klazom. 1693, Head, H. N. 491. Cf. λεοκοῖς Priene, 141, Ionic orthography as in Nαόλοχον; Θέοττις Chios, Zeitschr. f. Numism. XIV 153, No. 3. Cf. Θεῦττ[ις], l. l. No. 4= Bechtel, 194 (both fourth century). Λεόκωνος (and Λεύκωνος) Latyschev, II 296.

ι εδδοξε I. G. A. 390 Amorgos, an obscure inscription, placed by some as early as the first half of the seventh century.
 Bechtel's [εδργ]έτην Eryth. 1992, is doubtful on account of αὐτῶι l. 5, 12.

3. Inscriptions of third century.

Eδαγόρης Thasos, 833; cf. 834.

4. Of uncertain date.

Εδρύδα(μος) Eryth. 2093; Σινωπεός Sinope, 116.

On coins $E \delta \sigma \epsilon \beta \dot{\eta} s$ Imh.-Bl. G. M. 324 Miletos, cf. 290, $\epsilon \epsilon \rho \epsilon \delta s$ Chios, Pasp. 9_{11} , $E \delta \pi a \theta (\delta \eta s \ i b)$. 39.

Eδπάμονος (Bechtel, Ion. Inschr., p. 104), held by Boeckh (C. I. G. 2121) to be Phanagoreian, cannot well be Ionic on account of -παμων = κτήμων, despite πολυπάμονος Δ 433, which must give place to πολυπάμονος of many MSS.¹ That eo = ev is not confined to Ionic is clear from the following list: Εδβωλος Knidos, C. D. I. 3550; άνεο Sunium, C. I. A., III 73,2 (period of the empire), the only instance in Attic; 'Ορφεός C. I. G. 7049; Σεοῆρον C. I. G. 3423, δίς κυίσσα Kos in J. H. S. IX 334 ll. 57, 61, Εδρυνόμο[ν], Herakleia, the Megarian colony, C. D. I. 3083; cf. ε[ν]ο[ρ]κίσσι, Krete in Mus. It. III 563 ff. l. 38 (Itanos). See Hausoullier, B. C. H., III 51. Bechtel proposes to refer Εδπάμονος to Knidos.

This ϵ_0 is sporadic merely, and does not indicate that the pronunciation of ϵ_U (i.e. I. E. e+u) was different in the localities where these ϵ_0 forms were at home from that prevalent among all Ionic speaking Greeks. The following list shows the retention of ϵ_U in words that in the above list had ϵ_0 .

φεύγοι[το]s 136, Chalkis (?), found at Olympia; φεύγων 138; φεύγειν Iasos, 1046; Εὐαγόρης Thasos, 834; Εὐθύδαμος Klazom. Head, H. N. 491; Εὐ(π)ορία Pantik. 121; Λεύκων Theod. (?) 127; Λευκ[ά]ριος Styra, 19124; Λεύκαρος 19389, Λεύκωνος Phanag. 164; Λευκαΐος Klazom. Head, H. N. 491 (4th cent.); [ε]ὐώνυμον Eph. 1455; Εὐκράτον Teos 1593.

There are no indications of ϵo for ϵv in the literary monuments. On ϵv for original ϵo , see also under *Contraction*, § 287; on $-\epsilon v$

in the genitive singular, § 426.

247.] ϵvo represents the diphthong ϵv in $\Pi \iota \tau \theta \epsilon vos = \Pi \iota \tau \theta \epsilon v s$, Ephesos, Num. Chron. 1881, 16, with an v between ϵo that recalls the f of Naxian $af \dot{v} \tau o \dot{v}$, Attic $af \dot{v} \tau d \rho$, cf. Prellwitz, Deut. Litt.-Zeit. 1890, p. 1538. $\epsilon o v$ stands for $\epsilon o = \epsilon v$ in $\Delta \epsilon o v v \dot{v}$ s, Maroneia, on a coin in Imhoof-Blumer's collection, referred to by Bechtel on 196. $\epsilon o v = \epsilon v$ also in 'Aristotokheon's Thasos, 721, Europo $\theta \dot{v} = \epsilon v \dot{v}$ Samos, 217. Analogous is an in $\Pi ao v \lambda \lambda \dot{v} \dot{v} \dot{v}$ C. I. G. 6665, G. Meyer, Gr. § 120. Cf. § 529, Baunack's Studien, I 72, B. B. II 269.

An hyper-Ionic ev, due to a supposed fondness of the dialect for this sound, takes the place of ov in MSS. of Hdt. (§ 690), and

in such forms as χασκεύση Herodas 442 (§ 44).

3 takes the place of v in the late κατεσκέβασεν Kyzikos, C. I. G. 3693. Cf. the same form C. I. G. 2015 (Gallipoli), and

¹ On Палитимогібає и 305, see Wilamowitz, Hom. Untersuch. 70, note. See §§ 169, 344-

such forms as Boiot. εὕδομον C. D. I. 491,7, εὐδομέκοντα 3206,47 (Korkyra).

248. Loss of T in ET.

Before vowels v, like ι , may be expelled. Scanty evidence of this phenomenon is furnished by the Ionic poets, Hipponax using ϵv as a short syllable in $\epsilon \tilde{v}\omega vov$ 22 B (cf. Ἐωνυμε \tilde{v} s Kumanudes, Ἐπιγρ. ᾿Αττ. ἐπιτύμβιοι 5013), θηρε \tilde{v} ει 22 A, according to the scholiast on Hephaistion (p. 156, Gaisf. ²=p. 106, Westph.), who says that Hipponax often treated $a\iota$ and $o\iota$ as short. Herodas $3\tau_1$ has $\tilde{\iota}$ κετ $\tilde{e}\tilde{v}$ ω. The shortening of ϵv is very rare; cf. Pind. P. VIII 35 $\tilde{\iota}$ χνε \tilde{v} ων.

Inscriptions offer us but doubtful evidence :-

'Εαλκίδης Styra, 19₁₈₃, may be due to carelessness, as Blass suggests; at least we have Εὐαλκείδης Thasos, 77 B 10, and

Εὐαλκίδεω Τh. (L.) 3 A 10.

πρυτανέ(ο)ντος Priene, 14410, Ross' conjecture for -εωντος of the transcribers. Johansson, D. V. C., p. 61, retains -εωντος, which he explains as = -ηοντος, comparing Lesbian ἀδικήω. This is, however, entirely unwarranted and has in fact been partially

withdrawn by the same scholar, B. B. XV 171.

[βασιλ] έοντος C. I. G. 2107 c, Pantikapaion, is not free from suspicion, since Ionic verbs in $-\epsilon\nu\omega$ retain the v^1 : e.g. βασιλεύοντος Pantik. 118, Mylasa, 248 ABC; εξαιθραπεύοντος 248 A 2; θεραπεύεσθαι Oropos, 18_{21} ; [κιξα]λλεύοι Teos, 156 B 19; μνημονεύοντος Halik. 238_{12} . There is no confusion here between $-\epsilon\nu\omega$ and $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs such as is discussed by Bredow, p. 81.

249. EY for AY.

πέτευρον Oropos, 18₄₂, deserves notice as it has been called the Ionic form, found also Theokr. XIII 13. πέταυρον, expelled from Nikander on the authority of π , occurs now only in the Septuagint. πέτευρον < πετ + ηυρον = πετ + ἄυρον, πέταυρον < πετ + ἄυρον.

εύληρον = Doric αύληρον, < α-Γλη-, cf. Hesych. ἀβληρά. Cf.

Bekk. An. I 4649, Bachm. An. I 16490.

250. Genuine OY.

The diphthongal ov is generally represented upon inscriptions by OY or in a few cases by OY ($\Omega\Upsilon = o\tilde{v}$, and $\Omega\Upsilon\Delta E = o\tilde{v}\tilde{v}\tilde{e}$, Thasos, 68). OY in TOYTO, Halik. 238_{21} , $_{23}$, $_{32}$, $_{35}$, TOYTOS, Amphipolis, $_{10_{20}}$. TOTO = $\tau o\tilde{v}\tau o$ 175 = Roberts, I 150 (Chios), and Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 14, as occasionally in pre-Eukleideian Attic documents 2. APOAHI Teos, 156 B $_{17} = \tilde{a}\rho o\tilde{v}\rho\eta\iota$ (?)

κατεσκέασε Magnesia (Μουσ. καὶ βιβλ. τῆς εὐαγγ. σχολ. Σμυρυ. 1878, p. 46),
 is late. Cf. similar examples from Kyme (C. D. I. 31143), Korkyra (C. I. G. 1838 B 6), Tenos (C. I. G. 23445); κατασκεώσηται Delphi (W-F), 2636.
 ² Cf. K. Z. XXIX 140.

is a vexatious spelling, compared with Kyprian $a \cdot ro \cdot u \cdot ra \cdot$ where the diphthong is genuine, and due to the ground-form $\tilde{a}\rho\rho-\nu\rho-a$. The suffix $-\nu\rho$ - is the weak form of $-fa\rho$ -. On a Thessalian inscription, C. D. I. 371, we find $\tilde{a}\rho O\rho[as]$, and in one MS. of Acharnians, 762, $\tilde{a}\rho\omega\rho a\tilde{a}oi$ (Rav. $\tilde{a}\rho\sigma\nu\rho a\tilde{a}oi$), where the ov would seem to be adulterine. Misteli (K. Z. XVII 178) suggested that * $\tilde{a}\rho\rho\rho f\tilde{a}$ is the ground form. Cf. Archil. 148.

Genuine ov (i. e. o + u) is retained in Ionic as in other dialects. It occurs in ablant forms, such as $\sigma \pi o v \delta \eta$ and probably in $\beta \rho o \tilde{v} \kappa o s$ dep($\delta \omega v \epsilon \tilde{t} \delta o s$. Two s (cf. $\beta \rho \epsilon \tilde{v} \kappa o s$ $\tilde{\eta}$ means $\tilde{u} \kappa \rho (\tilde{s})$, since an Ionic \tilde{v} is not, despite its pronunciation, represented in Hesychios by ov. ov also occurs where v has been joined to o as in $\tau o(\delta)-v-\tau o$ (particle v). On genuine ov from contraction, see $\frac{\delta v}{2}$ 295, 312, 317.

ova Hippokr. II 500 and in Theophrastos, from ovov sorb-apple, contains a genuine diphthong despite & Plato, Symp. 190 D (so the MSS.). oa was found in the text of Hipp. by Galen.

251. Spurious OY.

The monophthongal ov is generally written O; e.g.:

δρκΟν Halik. 238_{26} , = δρκοῦν; τΟρμοκράτεος Prokon. $103_2 =$ τοῦ Ἐρμο-; βΟλεύοι Teos, 156 B 24 BOΛΗ Thasos, J. II. S. VIII 401₂₁ and Δι]ονύσΟ l. 17, an inser. that has also OY l. 21, 23; τιμΟχέοιτες Teos, 156 B 29; ΤειχιΟσης Miletos, 98.

Sporadically OY appears:-

TOY Amphipolis, 1013, only case in older Ionic of this writing of $\tau o \hat{v}$.

 $\beta a \rho \beta a \rho O \Upsilon \Sigma$ Teos, 156 B 26; in every other case of the accus. pl. $O \Sigma$.

Spurious ov by contraction of o + o, see § 266.

252.] Spurious OY before nasals 1.

μοῦνος < *μονΓο-s, Hom., Hdt., Herakl. 65, Demokr. 70, 107, Archil. epod. 894, Sim. Amorg. 724, 143, Anakr. 842, Kall. 121, Solon, troch. tetr. 336 (§ 52); μουνόκερα Archil. 181; μούνορχος Theog. 52, Sim. Keos, 87, but 88 μόνος, as Solon, 243, 93. In Herodas we find μοῦνος 289, 34, 616, 78, μόνος only once (670). Aischylos and Euripides have the Ionic form occasionally in dialogue parts (§ 77). μοῦνος survives in late inscriptional poetry; e.g. Papers of the American School, III 3416 (Pisidia). Lukian, Abydenos, Aretaios, and other later Ionic writers have συ. Arrian varies between μοῦνος and μόνος, but the prevalence of the former in Aretaios and Hippokrates is so striking that there can be no question but that μοῦνος was accepted by all the pseudo-Ionists,

Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. p. 390, 453, Et. M. 60734, An. Ox. I 29637, An. Bachm. II 644 (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 6123 and on Hed. W. D. 12.

except the author of the Vita Homeri. Attic Movv- in Movvvxia,

Μουνιχιών, see § 75.

yούνατα < youf-, Hdt., Theog. 978, Tyrt. 1019; Archil. tetr. 75 γουνουμένω; Lukian, d. d. δ. 22 γούνων; Arrian, 36 γόνατα. Hippokr. and Aretaios have the ov form, which is found in Hom., Hrd. 5₁₉, 7₁₀, cf. Greg. Kor. 489. χλούνης, of the wild boar, Il. IX 539, and in Hipponax, 61, where it is generally translated 'robber,' is from χλοσν-, cf. Skt. ghrsti, 'boar.'

The etymology of obv is uncertain. It is found Hipponax, 61, though there probably an Atticism. Sim. Amorg. 745 has the genuine Ionic form. Wackernagel (K. Z. XXIX 127) suggests that δν was extracted from μῶν. μῶν is not found in Ionic, save Hipponax, 52. See § 206.

The principle that the exigencies of the Homeric verse cannot force any Greek form 1 upon the ordinary dialect life of the people is fatal to a genuine Ionic ovvoua2, despite the fact that Lukian, &c., read it in their copies of Hdt., and that it is supposed to have been used by Pherekydes of Syros. Steph. Byz. attributes it to Hekat. (frag. 180), while Herodian reports ovona (frag. 328). In Herakl. 60, 65, 66 ovona is the best MS. reading, yet Bywater writes ούνομα in all three passages, despite ονομάζεται 36. In 65, Clemens has ovona almost side by side with μοθνον, while ούνομα is found in Eusebios cod. D. Hellanikos, frag. 150, has ŏvoµa. Stein writes ούνομα in Hdt. although the MSS. are in a constant flux, and δνομαίτω, δνομάζω. ὄνομα is the genuine Ionic prose form, found Oropos, 1830, and so also in 'Ονομάστου Kyme (Roberts, I 174). ovoma is found in poetry, Theog. 246, Tyrt. 1231; ovomaστός Theog. 23, 'Ονομάκριτε 503, cf. Hdt. VI 127, VII 6. ούνομα receives poor support from Sim. Amorg. 787, κοὐνομάκλυτον, a form alien to the genius of the folk-dialect (misread from KON?). In Hippokrates, II 190, VI 392, VIII 186 (θ), Lukian, d. d. S., de Astr. (Vit. Auct. 5, où- poorly supported), Arrian, Aretaios, ούνομα prevails over ὄνομα; in the Vita Homeri, ὄνομα over ούνομα. δνομάζω is the accepted form in later Ionic prose, while δνομαστί varies with οὐνομαστί. The Homeric form and the possibility of misunderstanding τούνομα brought into the texts of the Ionic prose writers all the instances of ovvoya.

253.] Spurious OY before p3.

1 είγεκα was not completely enfranchized until the imperial period.

² Joh. Gr. 240 B, Birnbaum 677₂₆, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667.

³ 7b objos interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 157, Joh. G. 240 B, Greg. K. 390, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Bachm. An. II 64₃₈ (Max. Plan.), objos, boundary, Birnb. 677₃₆, Eust. 23₂₈, 488₇, 1774₅₈, 1871₂₈₋₁₁, cf. 1282₁₅ (149₁₈, 194₂₈, 1121₃₈ objos is called Aiolic or Ionic through the grammarians muddling it with the ev of εύκηλος, see An. Ox. III 39830°, οὐροπύγιον Eust. 187145; κοῦρος, κούρη Et. M. 60736, Eust. 2327, 4885, 1535501 G. K. 387, An. Ox. I 24231, I 29637, Bekk. An. III 1096, Bachm. An. II 6425 (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 1243, schol. Ven. A on A 275 (interlin. schol.).

1. -opF-.

ουρος 1, mountain, Simonides of Amorgos 141; Theognis 881 phoeos, &c.; Hekat. 172, 173 ούρεα, ούρεσω. In Hdt. and Homer we find both ούρος and όρος. The latter is the sole reading of the MSS. in about nineteen passages in Hdt. other places where the word occurs, ABR have opos, CPd oupos; whence Stein concludes, in opposition to Dindorf and Bredow, that opos is the genuine reading in Herodotos. Of the pseudo-

Ionists, Lukian has οὖρος, d. d. S. 8, 28; Arrian has οὖρος but once (§ 11), opos fourteen times. Hippokr. II 58, 70, 72, &c., and Aretaios have the o form, as the Vita Homeri; opos in Hekat. 44, 227, 344, Tyrt. 57, Archil. tetr. 749, epod. 115 (hexameter perittosyll.), Anakr. 25, Theog. 1292. The Hipponaktian (356) δρείας is suspicious, and was attacked by Renner (p. 179), whose πέτρας yépaios has not met with favour. The form δρείοι is certain, Arrian, 17. 'Οροβιή[της] or 'Οροβιε[ύς] Chalkis, Roberts, I 172, an inscription not adopted by Bechtel. Οὐράλιος is an uncertain conjecture of Roehl, No. 394 = Bechtel, No. 42. From Homer

we obtain no information as to the character of the ov. since all the forms in ov are found under the ictus (23 times).

ουρος, boundary, Hom., Chios, 174 A 6, 8, 10, ουροφύλακες 174 A 15, 19 with O; ὅμουρος Halik. 240,; οὖρος, not ὅρος, Samos, 216; and if I. G. A. 406 is Ionic, then HOPOΣ must be read Hoθρος. In Herodotos οθρος, δμουρέειν, οθρίζειν (a form found only 2 in MSS. of Hdt.), &c., Herakl. 30, Demokr. Mor. 8, 9, οῦρος. The MSS. of Hippokrates have ὅρος very frequently. In Arrian 2 όρος, 40 οῦρος, Euseb. Mynd. 13 οῦρος. Solon, trim. 364, has the Attic form. Upon a term-stone from Thera, οὖρορ Cauer, 147, οὖροι Dittenb. Syll. 377, Kretan οὖρεια Cauer, 121 B

9, οὐρεύωντι C 41.

δουρ- is not found in MSS. of Hdt. except I 79, where Stein reads δύρατα, cf. VII 89, 224, IX 62, δόρασι VII 41. δούρατα is here correct. Tyrt. 1120, 37, Archil. eleg. 35, Anakr. 219 have the ov form, which alone is genuine Ionic (Greg. Kor. 489). Cf. Δουρίης Adesp. 21 (Western Ionic) of the sixth century. δορί Archil. eleg. 21, 2, recalls epic δόρυ, though Hom. has δουρί, etc. κοῦρος, κούρη, Hom. κούρη is also found on Knidian documents,

C. D. I. 3538-41, 3543-44. On κούρη in Attic, see § 75 (2). οούρη Naxos, 23 (but Κόρηι Paros, 65 (late); Κόρης Eryth.

¹ Οδρειος, οὐρεσιβώτης in the tragedians make for an Ionic οὐρ-. Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 358, goes so far as to hold that in Spor Dor. and Spor, w and o are ablaut vowels, and that by qualitative assimilation of open pan-Hellenic w and closed o, a closed w - ov resulted in object. The etymology of the word is uncertain, and is here only tentatively regarded as based upon opf; cf. Johansson K. Z. XXX 419.

The Hesychian gloss obplosit belosit reparated as been referred by some to obplicin from object favourable wind in tragedy.

206 B 22, almost an Attie inscription); Διοσκουρίδης Halik. 240₃₂; Διοσκούροισι Naukr. 665, cf. 675-682, 833-836; Δ]ιοσκούρο[ι]σι 257 (unc. loc.); but Διοσκόρων Eryth. 206 A 7 (Attie); Διοσκουρίδευς Thasos (L.), 11 C 11; Διοσκουρίδου Pantikap., Lat. II 239, Thasos (L.), 20 B 3. In the poets we find κουρ-, Tyrt. 10₆, 15₂, 16 (Dorie!); Anakr. 69, 76; Hrd. 1₃₂, 3₆₀, 4₆₄, 4₇₁, Bergk. P. L. G. III 710; Διόσκουρος Hipponax, 120, and so in Hdt., who has also κουρίδιος. Aret. 18 has κούρησι.

κόρος, Attic, Hdt. only IV 33, 34. Archil. 120, in the

iobacchies, uses κόρης.

In Attic we find Διόσκουροι (Thuk. III 75, IV 110), see § 77. 78; in Seleukeia, Διοσκουρίδου Imh.-Bl. G. M. 573. For κωρίδες Sim. Am. 15 we expect the ou form, which Athen. III 1c6 D strangely enough declares to have been used by Sophron and Epicharmos. The ω form is attested in Epich. 67 (Lorenz, p. 244). Epicharmos may have used Ionic words (Phot. 1839), but not Ionic vocalism. On Έπίκουρος Styra, 1935, Samos, 2212, ef. Schulze, Quaest. Hom. 17, Solmsen, K. Z. XXX 600.

2. -ορσ. οὖρον Hdt., οὖρα Hipp. II 682, and often.

οὐρή tail, illustrates Wackernagel's theory (K. Z. XXIX 127) that the Greek accent was partly exspiratory in character, ὅρσος becoming ὅρρος, ὀρσή becoming οὐρή.

254.] Spurious OΥ before λ1.

I. ohf.

οὐλαί Hdt., $\tau \rho (\chi o v \lambda o s)$ Archil. 196 = οὐλότριχες, Hom., Hdt. (Syrak. ὀλβαχόϊον), < FολF. The accent is troublesome on account of the probability of λF , when preceding the accent, becoming $\lambda \lambda$. Hdn. II 11020 cites οὕλας from γ 441. Schmidt, Neutra, p. 48 note, thinks the old-time explanation of οὐλαί as ὅλαι κριθαί may ex-

plain the accent in Hdn.

Hom., Xenoph. $\partial \pi o \phi \theta \epsilon_{Y}$. 2, $o \tilde{v} \lambda o s^{2}$, entire, $< \dot{c} \lambda F_{0}$ is, it is claimed, not represented by the same form in later Ionic. If there is no form except $\tilde{o}\lambda o s$, the parallelism between Hom. Ionic ov by compensatory lengthening = Doric ω = Attic o would not be complete. In Herakl. (59) some MSS. have $o \tilde{v} \lambda a$, which Bywater reads. We look in vain to Herodotos, who does not use the word in any form. Herodas has $\tilde{o}\lambda o s$ only. Theognis 73 is the first occurrence of $\tilde{o}\lambda \omega s$ and here the initial o is not specifically Ionic. Hippokrates certainly has $\tilde{o}\lambda o s$, e.g. II 612. Greg. Kor. 80 says that $o \tilde{v} \lambda \epsilon \hat{c} v$ was used instead of $\tilde{v}_{Y} \iota a \hat{c} v \epsilon v$; cf. Hesych. s. v. $o \tilde{v} \lambda \epsilon$ (ω 402).

If κολεόν in Hekat. (Hdn. I 61_{12}) is Ionic (as it is Attic), κουλεόν Γ 272 is not from κολΕεΕον, but due to metrical lengthening.

2 Joh. Gr. 241 B, Vat. 694.

¹ Μούλιος from μολεῖν (!) Eust. 804₃₇, 882₂₃, 1852₄₀; οὐλένη (!) Eust. 46₁₆, ἀλ*being called Doric.

Proper names in Πουλυ- have come to light in Megarian, Thessalian, and Attic as well as in Ionic. Hdt. has πολλός ¹, a form that is found in Arch. 81, 101 epod., 103 epod., Herodas, Anakr. 11, 43₃, 93, in a metrical inscription from Abdera, 162, in Demokr. e.g. 185, &c. πουλύς in Theog. 509 need not be Megarian, but is to be classed with such Ionisms as πουλύποδος ε 432, Hymn Apoll. 77.

Πουλυδάμας Smyrna, 1537, Eretria, 16 B 5, -χάρου Eretria, B. C. H. II 277, Πουλύωνο[s] Chios, 187, Πουλυάναξ Thasos (L.), 8 B 1, Πούλυος Thasos, 78 B 11. There are no names in

Πουλυ- in Hdt.

Cf. also in other dialects:—

Πουλυτίων in the Hermokopidai process (Thuk.), Megara, Πουλίας C. D. I. 302559, Πουλυχάρης C. D. I. 302928, Πουλυδόμας

C. D. I. 3021₂₆, Πουλυ- 3025₄₀.

There are no names in Πολλο-, but those in Πολν- are abundant. Πολυάρκης Styra, 19₂₈₇, and perhaps 19₄₀₈, Πο]λυαρ[κίδης] Naukr. I 195, Πολύδωρος Styra, 19₂₈₈, Π[ο]λυξειν[ί]δης Styra, 19₄₀₇, Πολλυξίδης 19₂₈₆, framed from Πολύξενος, Πολύθρους Thasos, 75 B 11, Teos, 158₂₇, Πολυάρητος Abdera, 163₁₂, Maroneia, 196₁₅, Thasos, 72₃, Πολύνικος Maroneia, Head, H. N. 216, Πολυδάμας Thasos, 76₈, Πολυαίνετος Thasos, 81 B 11, Thas. (L.), 3 A 7, 6 A 9, 15 C 10, Πολύσκτος Eretria 16 B 37, 49; also Thessal. 345₇₅, Πολύχαρμος Smyrna, 153₁₁, Πόλυος Smyrna, 153₂₂, Πολυπείθης Erythrai, 206 A 28, Πολύϊδος Halik. 240₄₆, Πολύφαντος Thasos (L.), 6 D 9, Πολυάλθης Thasos (L.), 10 A 11, Πολύτιμος Thasos (L.), 21₅, Πολυ- Thasos (L.), 16 A 17, B 3, Πόλυ[β]ος Volci, Roberts, I 188 H.

Bechtel holds that the names in Πουλυ-, in whatever dialect found, are due to the influence of the epos. This, even if true, would not render nugatory our contention that the Homeric verse cannot impose its forms upon the dialects. Proper names have their own peculiar history. But that πουλυ- is a genuine prose form 2, from contamination of πολυ- and πουλ- (πουλοσίginating in the oblique cases, e.g. πολυ-ός) is evident from the Attic πουλύπους, πουλυπόδειρου, Πουλυπίων in comedy.

In Hdt. πουλύς is not supported by MS. testimony of such a character as to demand its insertion. It is but sparingly attested in the late Ionists. Lukian and Arrian follow Hdt., while the medical writers use now πουλυ-, now πολυ-. πουλύ occurs in the letters of Hippokrates (XVII 16 in c); elsewhere πολύς and πολύ should probably be read (Lindemann, p. 12 ff.). Cf. § 479.

It is no contradiction of the laws of phonetic development that πουλ- and πολυ- (e.g. πολυκρότη Anakr. 90,) should be co-

¹ Greg. Kor. 12 quoting Homer only.

Ionic according to An. Bachm. II 6424 (Max. Plan.).

existent at one and the same time in a single dialect. Ionic, so too in Megarian (Baunack, Stud. I 229) both forms are permissible. A πωλ- is, however, foreign to Ionic, despite πώλυπου in Sim. Amorg. 29. Perhaps Sim. of Keos is the Simonides referred to by Athenaios, VII 318 F. In Hippokr. VI 214 the oldest MS. (θ) has πώλυπος, and so in VII 50, 52 (with variations in -o- and -ov-) of the excrescence in the nose. In VII 222 πολύποδας (θ), VI 550 πουλύποδες (θ), VII 276 (the animal).

2. -ohv.

οὐλή, scar, Lat. volnus. ούλος, crisp, < Foλνο-?

βούλομαι, probably from βολνο-, from βωλν-? Forms with O are: βΟληται Oropos 1831; ΚριτοβΟλης Kyme, 2; Θευβούλου and Βουλοθέμιος Naxos, 28 with OΥ (late).

The ou of Οδλυμπος 1 appears to be due to the metre alone in Homer and Theog. 1136. In Herodotos 'OA- is to be written, a form attested by Xenoph. 22, Theog. 1347, Solon, tr. 362, Sim. Amorg. 721, Arch. tetr. 742, Hipponax, tr. 30 A, Anakr. 24; 'Ολυμπίω (dat.) Miletos, 101 (late), and 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, Smyrna, 15327 (before 350 B.c.).

Likewise due to the ictus is the ou of οὐλόμενος Hom., Tyrt. 72, Theog. 156, 1062, Cf. Anecd. Bachm. II 6425 (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. Il. 6121.

255. Other cases of OY.

Editors of Hdt. rightly reject οὐδῶν, ways, I 123, which is found in R. Samos, 220,30, 36, has odoû (346/5 B.C.). οὐδόν, threshold, I 90, is from obfos and is the form proper to Ionic

prose and poetry, cf. Od. ρ 196, Hrd. 172, 338. νοῦσος 2 Herakl. 104, Hdt., Mimn. 6, Solon, 2410, Theog. 274, Hrd. 48, 17, Pindar, &c., is not from *νογκιος=*νονσσος, as Curtius held in his Studien, X 328. I formerly derived the word from συοίτιος, = Old Norse snaudr, stripped, poor, bereft, sneydiligr, destitute (Germ. schnöde), but now am inclined, in view of the coexistence of νοσέω and νοῦσος, to set up with Aufrecht, K. Z. I 120, as a ground-form *νοσ fo-, which would yield νοῦσος οτ νοσ έω in accordance with the accentual principle mentioned, § 164, whereby νοθσος 3 would depend upon *νόσ Fos, νοσ έω upon *νοσ Fós. νούσ[ου] must be read in Teos 156 B 1, where Rob. 142 B 1 has νόσ[ov]. That ov is not due to metrical necessity is clear from Mimn. 6. Lukian (π. δ. ί. σ. § 16) says that νούσος was a part

¹ Οὔλυμπος Vat. 694, Anecd. Bachm, II 6455 (Max. Plan.), Tzetz. Ex. II. 6155, called poetic merely Choir. 51610.

² νοῦσος is found twenty-one times without variation in the MSS. of Hdt.; νίσος comes to light about ten times. νοῦσος is called Ionic by J. G. 240 B, Greg. Kor. p. 390, Gram. Meerm. 652, Et. M. 60726, An. Ox. I 290,6, Apoll. Διος. p. 14921, Schn., Anecd. Bachm. II 6434 (Max. Plan.); poetic Bekk. An. II 69421 and Choir. 510.

Schulze (Quaest. Hom. p. 35) thinks the proper Homeric form is vooos, for

which vovoos is an error of transcription.

of the medical language of his day. A list of the occurrences of rovos upon late epigrams will be found in Wagner, Quaest. de epigram. 27, to which add Lat. II 167, II p. 303, B. C. H. VIII 502, No. XI, from Phrygia, Papers of Am. School at Athens, III 3413. Lukian adopts the form seven times in the Syria dea, Arrian has it chap. 15, Herakleitos, epist. V, Pherekyd. and Hippokr. epist.; and so too Aretaios. Hdt. always uses νοσέω, if MS. authority means anything, sometimes in conjunction with rovos (III 33, 149). Hippokrates, Lukian, and Aretaios agree in adopting νοσέω, cf. Lindemann, 6. The MSS. of these authors (cf. also Demokr. 67) fluctuate constantly between νόσημα and νούσημα, to the former of which preference is generally given. Sim. Amorg. 112 has νόσοι, which was changed by Ahrens and Renner (see especially the latter in Curtius' Stud. I 178). In Hymn XV I we find νόσων. The author of the Vita Homeri used the o form only.

Συρακούσιος appears to exist in Ionic side by side with Συρακόσιος. That the latter is not a fictitious form is evident from its occurrence in Latyschev, II 300 (fourth century, from Pantikapaion), in C. D. I. 1200, incorrectly supposed to be Arkadian, and in inscriptions from Agrigentum, Cauer², 1999, 13, &c. -κουσα is from -κουτία, -κοσα from -κοτία, instead of -κατία, by influence of the former termination.

μοῦσα (An. Ox. I 278₁₅) from μοντια; on οὖς, see §§ 266, 292, 545. ὧς is Doric, ἆτα Tarantine; Sim. K. 37₁₄ has οὖας. οὖς is from ϭϭς, ὧς from ϭϭτα-.

256. Interrelation of OY and AY.

έουτῶν Panionion, 144 (=C. I. G. 2909), an inscription but

indifferently written.

 $\ell\nu\tau\sigma\hat{\nu}\theta a$ Oropos, 18₁₇, whereas Sim. Amorg. 23 has $\ell\nu\tau a\hat{\nu}\theta a$, Hdt. $\ell\nu\theta a\hat{\nu}\tau a$. This and the preceding example present no slight difficulties, since in no Greek dialect is there a well-attested instance of an interchange of av and ov. These forms if genuine at all may be rescued on the view that they show the influence of other pronominal forms ($\sigma\hat{\nu}\tau\sigma s$, $\ell\nu$ $\tau\sigma\hat{\nu}\tau\phi$).

In the Attic Οὐλιᾶται C. I. A. I 2317=Αὐλιᾶται, C. I. A. I 226₁₃, this recourse to the influence of analogy being out of the question, we find that we must accept a change of a to o under the influence of a following v. This change is unique, recalling only

indirectly ω for av. See § 244.

257.] HY.

In the dialect life of Greece wherever nu appears before a consonant it is not an original diphthong 1. So in Ionic ypnûs, mûs

¹ In a pre-dialectal period êu, ôu, du, having become êu, &c., before consonants, their history is the same as that of I.E., êu, &c.

with η from the oblique cases (νη f-ός γρη f-ός); so too in πρηύς, whence Πρηύλος, a Thasiote name (and Πρεάνθης Keos, 50, IV 65), from root prāi. ηυ in the augment (e.g. ηὐξήσατε Solon, 113) is not proethnic eu or au. In Attica nu as augment of ev- verbs held its ground until the second half of the fourth century. Hipponax, 632, has κατηυλίσθην, but Hdt. often avoids ηύ-.

258.] ΩΥ.

Like ηυ, ωυ is not an original diphthong in the dialects. originates in Ionic chiefly by crasis, as in τωυτό (Ε 396 ωὐτός) 1, $\dot{\epsilon}$ μεωυτοῦ, σεωυτοῦ, $\dot{\epsilon}$ ωυτοῦ < $\dot{\epsilon}$ ο + αὐτοῦ. All the Ionic forms in the other cases are based on the genitive. Attic ¿μαυτοῦ, σαυτοῦ, are from analogy to $\dot{\epsilon}\mu(\epsilon) + a\dot{\nu}\tau\dot{o}\nu$, $\sigma(\epsilon) + a\dot{\nu}\tau\dot{o}\nu$. Whether $\kappa o\dot{\nu}$ in $\kappa O \Upsilon \kappa$, on a papyrus, cited Blass, Aussprache3, 43, is for κωύ, as in Sappho's κωὐκ $\mathbf{1}_{24}$, κωὐδέν, Epicharmos, $\mathbf{1}_{92}$, may well be doubted. The same Ionic papyrus has KEN, i.e. κ' + έν, and Sappho's δαὖτε by the side of δηὖτε shows the possibility of elision, i.e. κ' $(a\iota) + ου$. Nor would I agree to Blass' explanation of ἐουτῶν Priene, 144 =C. I. G. 2909 (Mykale), from ἐωυτῶν. A form ἐωυτῶν is ntterly unknown on Ionic inscriptions. The a of ἐαυτῶν became o either through assimilation to the following v, as & became o in Kretan ψουδία, or ξουτών is due to the influence of οὖτος, &c. See \$ 256.

To a limited extent outside of crasis, ων appears in Ionic. The cases are however all suspicious. Herodoteian MSS, have θωθμα², θωυμάζω, τρωθμα IV 180, in one MS.; Dem. Mor. 208 θαυμαζομένων, 20₁₄ θαυμάζων; Luk. Astr. 3, Syr. 7, 8, 10, 30, has θωθμα, θωυμάζω 13, 32, 36, θωυμαστή V. A. 6, and the Vita Homeri, θων-. Arrian, Ind. 15 θαθμα, but θώμα 40, as Euseb. § 3. epistles of Hippokr. as the genuine works (cf. Galen, XVIII A 443) have generally the Attic form. τρωθμα is found in the majority of the MSS. Syr. 20, while Arrian, Ind. 19 has τρώμα 3. Greg. Korinth. p. 420, in quoting ωντός as Ionic for αὐτός, seems to regard we and as interchangeable. Aretaios abounds in forms which indicate that the grammarians were ignorant of the

true interrelation of wv and av. See §§ 205, 244.

Lindemann (de dial. Ion. rec. p. 30) suggests that the ων of θωῦμα is due to the influence of ἐωυτοῦ &c. Perhaps θωῦμα may be explained as the ablaut form of θηF-os (Hesych. θηβος θαθμα), cf. θαFέσμαι = Ionic θηέσμαι, § 685; and

§ 25, note.

¹ This thorn in the flesh of Aristarchos with his views as to the power of δ in Homer, forced the Alexandrian to the assertion that εριστος was an

Homeric form for άριστος.

³ Struve (Quaest, de dial. Herod. specimen III, 1830) first treated the occurrences of θωύμα. He compared the ωυ of the Ionic pronoun (Attic ωυ) with the ωυ of θωύμα (θαύμα). See § 565. Cf. Birnb. 678₁₈, θωυμάσιον Eust. 482₂₉.
³ τρώμα Eust. 893₈, cf. 102₃₂, 991₆₀, 1653₅₂. Ionic τρώειν=Attic Βλάπτειν,

was thus the ineentive to the formation of a $\tau \rho \omega \hat{\nu} \mu a$. This suggestion must, however, fall to the ground in case an original $\omega \nu$ became ω and had $\alpha \nu$ as its ablant.

Outside of Ionic the diphthong ωυ is due solely to crasis, and in Ionic we must abandon θωῦμα and τρωῦμα.

259.] Vowel Contact.

I. Contact of like vowels.

II. Contact of unlike vowels.

III. Contact of vowels and diphthongs, diphthongs and diphthongs.

Under these heads will be treated actual contraction, poetical

synizesis, diaeresis, and crasis.

Both medial combination of vowels and diphthongs and

sentence phonetics are thus included.

Under the head of a short or long vowel $+\eta$, ω , are included $\eta\iota$, $\omega\iota$. Examples of the crasis of ι and υ diphthongs are placed under the head of a, ϵ , o + the vowel in question (e.g. $o\iota + \epsilon$ under O + E). In citing inscriptions I have generally selected only those of considerable antiquity. Fuller information as to such contractions as occur in the inflection of nouns and verbs is to be found under the head of *Declension* and *Conjugation*.

260.] It is almost a canon of current belief that the Ionic dialect, in its impatience of all contraction 1, occupies a position entirely unique. New Ionic has been regarded as more pronounced in its hostility to the closed forms than even Homer himself. The MSS. of Herodotos and of the other early Ionists have been made the corner-stone of this belief from the time of the editio princeps of Herodotos to the present day, and in justification thereof the pseudo-Ionists have been called upon to give their testimony. In the history of no dialect is there a parallel to the retention, for such a period as that from the time of Homer to that of Herodotos, of vowels brought into contact by the disappearance of the spirants yod, sigma, and rau.

The Homeric language is, on the one hand, not an appellate court to determine the genuine reading of the text of the Halikarnassian historian. Where Homer discloses strata of various periods, the stratum of latest date is apt to recur in the fifth century. On the other hand the evidence of Lukian and Arrian, and the other pseudo-Ionists, is conclusive only

for the text of Herodotos current in their day.

In but few cases do the Ionic lyric poets and the inscriptions desert us in the endeavour to discover the principles regulating vowel contraction. These trustworthy witnesses tell us that with but few, and these clearly marked, exceptions, vowels of

^{1 &}quot;leves biaperixáraroi Apoll. Pron. 121 A.

like nature are fused (δοκεί, δοκείν, ἐποίει, βασιλείς1), while dissimilar vowels are either contracted or kept open. Cases of synizesis in the lyric poets, such as πορφυρέη, ποιέει, are manifestly nothing more than accommodations to the theory that the Ionians preferred open vowels. The test to which we put the prose monuments by no means disproves the statement that the Ionic dialect dislikes contraction. In a majority of cases inscriptions and poets agree with Herodotos. When disagreement occurs (chiefly in reference to combinations whose first member is ϵ), the text of Herodotos refuses to adopt the forms preserved in the iambic poets and current in his time, and either accepts or extends the system of Homer—a system that in the main was obsolete in the fifth century. In many cases dissimilar vowels are either kept apart in the Ionic orthography even when they may be contracted, or contraction has actually ensued. Orthography is here as elsewhere no exact test of pronunciation, and scope must be left for minor dialectal variations. When the first vowel is not original contraction may not have resulted in certain cases.

The artificiality of the Herodoteian system is patent if we reproduce the results of Merzdorf's careful investigations in the

eighth volume of Curtius' Studien.

Subje

ct to no change:	Subject to change		
αεϊ	εεε becomes εε		
αεε	LEE	33	LEL
oι€€	υεε	"	VEL
	ηεε	"	nel
	0€€	"	OEL
OFFEF	0664	99	066
	LEEL	"	LEL
ιεα	€€α	33	€a
νεα	EEal	32	€ai
	(LEEAL	"	177)
	€€0	>>	€0
ιεω	€€ω	33	€ω
υεω			
οεω			
	οιεη	>>	οιη
	OLEOL	22	OLOL.

It is impossible to conceive of a system more perverse. We ask in vain, if οεει, ιεει, οιεη, οιεοι grated upon Ionic ears, how could οιεει be regarded as vocalic harmony?

Diaeresis is relatively more frequent in the Ionic lyrists than

¹ To preserve inflectional endings, like vowels may not coalesce, e.g. ηρωσε. The only case of open εη in inscriptions is that of names in -κλέης in Western Ionic.

in Attic poetry. Whether the MSS of Hdt. represent in regard to discresis the usage of the language of his time is impossible to discover. Θ PHIKH is either Θ $\rho\eta$ ik η or Θ $\rho\eta$ ik η . Open $-\epsilon i$ in the dative cannot be supported. As regards crasis, no rule can be formulated. Even when the scriptio plena occurs in the inscriptions, we dare draw no conclusions as to ordinary Ionic produnciation. As might be expected, the forms of the article present the majority of instances in the inscriptions. On Apocope, see § 324; on Elision, § 323.

The ancients adduce as proof of the love of the Ionic dialect for διάλυσις such examples as the following:—ἄκρη πόλις, Πέλοπος νῆσος, ἄγριον ἔλαιον, ἄγριον εἶγα, συὸς ἀγρίου, ζῷα γράφειν, ἐῦ- in ἐῦτρέφω, ἐῦπλήσασα (cf. An. Par. III 310,', ἤια for ἤειν, Οἰδιπόδαο from Οιδιπόδου (Tzetzes on Hsd. W. D. 162). Tmesis is Ionic, Joh. Gr. 241, Tzetz. Ex. Il. 8325, hyperbaton is Ionic, ibid. 1241.

I. Contact of Like Vowels.

261.] A + A.

1. ἄfā=ā in ắτη (except Archil. 73, where ἀάτη is possible); ἀάτη is generally permissible in Homer and occurs in Kallim.; ἄτηρός Theog. 433, 634, ἄτη Solon 436, 1313, 68, 75. Open in γλαά Hom., Anakr. 943 (eleg.).

ασα = ā; κρέā Sim. Amorg. 24, and Hdt. (Schmidt, Neutra,
 p. 321 ff.); otherwise -as stems have -εα in Hdt. καράδοκεω in

Hdt. viih kapā from *kapāσa.

3. In the verbal forms lorâoi, lorâoi.

4. Hdt. τάλλα, τάγάλματα, &c. (Bredow, 201). τάλλα we find in an almost Attic inscription, Teos, 158₁₃; τὰ άλλα Eryth.

204₁₈; and τὰ ἀγάλματα Miletos, 93.

5. Crasis of AI + a = Ionic \bar{a} ; κανεπίφραστοι Sim. Am. 1_{21} ; καποθυμίη Sim. Amorg. 7_{35} ; κασκερίσκα Hippon. 18; καναρίθμιος Arch. tetr. 63; καλαλητῷ Anakr. 63 $_8$; καλαθοίς Sol. tr. 36 $_{16}$, Iasos, 105 $_2$, as in Hdt. I 30, καλαθοίσιν Sim. Am. 1_{10} ; κατιμος Chios, 174 A 14; καπόλλωνι Thas. 68, καπόλλων Hipp. tr. 31, καπέλουσεν 33, καλειφα 58, καμαθουσίων 82, καριπρεπής Sim. Am. 7_{88} . Crasis with καί is almost always omitted in inscriptions: καὶ ἀγαθοί Samos, 221 $_8$; καὶ ἄρσεν Thasos, 68; καὶ ἀγαξίλεως Miletos, 93.

262.] E + E.

1. €F €.

(a) uncontracted; in the MSS. of Hdt. we find ρέεθρον, as in Homer (εὐρεέτης, εὐρρεέος εἰς), though there is no reason to doubt that ρείθρον was the genuine Ionic form of his day. Hippokr. has δξέες, πρηέες, &c.

εε<ηFε<eve is kept open in the MSS. of Hdt. (βασιλέες, νέες 1), but is closed in the inscriptions in the forms of the -ηυdeclension (see under H+E). ηχέεντα Archil. 748; τελέεντ Tyrt. 42; χαιτέεσσ' Sim. Amorg. 7572; Περίκλεες Arch. 91, 16; Ήράκλεες 119₂ (hymn).

(β) contracted in Kλεῖτος Th. (L.) 20 C 9, &c., late inscriptions. κλειτός, in Theog. 777, Mimn. 17; Κλειτώνυμος Thas. (L.) 8 A 9. κλειτός is from *κλεέω as αίρετός from αίρεω (cf. Κλεήσιππος, and κλειτ- in Argolic, Arkadian and Oinoian, I. G. A. 16). Contraction also results in ἀναχείσθων Anakr. 42, εἴθισθε Hrd. 7128.

2. εσε contracted to ει, e.g. in είχον, είων, and in like augmented forms. In the es declension the inscriptions have without exception - eis, the prosaists - ees; in the future of liquid verbs the MSS. of Hdt. do not contract ee, save when an a precedes. Unfortunately there is no evidence from the stone-records to test this principle of the MSS, which seems to lack foundation. In Ionic on the expulsion of intervocalic sigma and yod, no

metathesis quantitatis took place.
3. εμε becomes ει in Ionic. Examples of -εε-, such as Hdt. Ι 39 φοβέεαι, ΙΙΙ 34 επαινέεαι, Ι 41 απολαμπρυνέεαι, ΙV 9 εὐφρανέεαι, ΙV 163 αποθανέεαι, and other similar monstrosities in the imperative act., imperfect active and middle, present indicative and inf. mid., occurring only in the texts of the prosaists, are to be found under the sections on the verb 3. All these forms are probably figments of grammatical doctrine. In nouns, pronouns and adj. ειε yields ει invariably: πόλεις, τρείς, ήμεις (ήμέες is pseudo-Ionic), (ἐ)κείνος (see § 224, 15).

Whether the infinitive ending is Fev, σεν, or μεν, the result of the combination of this ending with the final e of the stem is always -ear (e.g. ¿κχεῖν Keos 4322, ἐπιτιθεῖν, &c.); also in θεῖναι, &c.

4. Contraction does not ensue in the case of iteratives, but there is no basis for the belief that in the fifth century ee in the pluperfect ($\epsilon \omega \theta \epsilon \epsilon$, &c.) had not been contracted. See § 597.

263.] E+H (see Fritsch, V. H. D. p. 31 ff.).

(a) contracted in νήνι < νεήνι, Anakr. 143 (Et. M. 44800, Drakon

1 Cf. -ées for - ns in Attic 'Adaiées, &c.

² Fick, B. B. XI 266, 271, writes εη<ηε in all these cases. This metathesis quantitatis is however not a necessary, only a possible, change in Ionic. Forms in ηε are usual, see § 264. 'Αλέεντος Mimn. 9, may be correct. Hdn. II 921, calls ἡχέεις, βρωμέεις instances of poetic shortening.

³ ἐκτέετο, ἐχρέετο, οἰκέεται, Πυθέεω, in Hdt. are forms due to grammatical theories, and do not represent any actual dialect. The only rule deducible from the study of the MSS. of Hdt. as regards the imperfect active is that effer a consonant and constant without a strength of the MSS. Of Hdt. after a consonant and oi, εε was written; after vowels, ει. Oftentimes good MSS. have the contracted form, ε.g. in II I the Romanus has ποιεῖσθαι.

46₁₂); νήνις on an Athenian lekythos, C. I. G. 7629. νή=Attic rea, Hdn. II 9128 quoted from Σαμίων δροι, and vηs Aristoph. frag. Kock I 395₉. Sim. K. 84₈, Hippon. tr. 49₄ have κληδών, a form found also in Hdt. IX 91, 101, properly without the iota; epic κλεηδών and κληηδών.

On -κλης and κλέης, see § 526. Western Ionic has the open,

Island and Asiatic Ionic, the closed forms.

(b) uncontracted in δέηται Olynth. 8 B 4, Νεήπολις Neapolis 41, parallel form to Neo-; κενεή Aret. 146, κενεής 170. Adj. in -alin generally remain open, but in Arch. 89s, Anakr. 43s the forms with synizesis occur. Attic κερδαλέα to differentiate the word from κερδαλέη, fox. ἀδελφῆι Roberts, I 158 B (Amorgos-Arkesine), is not in itself an obstacle to the validity of the Herodoteian ἀδελφεή, though we have ἀδελφή Mykonos, 92, (Attic?), and Halik. 240 D 34, feminine to the masc. ἀδελφός 1.

eη < η Γ(ι)η < ēviā in πλέη Hdt. I 178 (πλη, Diogenes of Apol-

lonia, Hdn. π. μ. λ. 7, 8).

 $\epsilon \eta < \eta F \eta < \bar{a} v \bar{a}$ remains open in $\theta \epsilon \eta$, $\theta \epsilon \eta \mu a$ Sim. Amorg. 7_{67} , θεήσεσθαι, θεησάμενον Hdt. Ι 11 (but θησάμενος Abders, 162, eleg.).

 $\epsilon \eta < \eta f \epsilon$ in $\lambda \epsilon \eta \lambda \alpha \tau \epsilon \omega < \lambda \eta f(0) + \epsilon \lambda \alpha \tau \epsilon \omega$, K. Z. XXVII 269.

2. εση.

On έη, ή in παρεί Oropos, 18₂₆ and on έην, ήν, see §§ 706, 711. 3. είη.(a) In substantives.

In the nouns in $-\epsilon \eta s$, $-\hat{\eta} s$, we find that the poets use the contracted forms: ροδής Arch. 292, γαλής Sim. Amorg. 780, συκή Arch. 19, Hipp. 34, Anan. 52 (-έης). κωλην Xenoph. 51, Θαλης six times in Herodas, and in Phoinix of Kolophon in Athen. 495 E, γενη Hrd. 21, 32 'Ερμης Hipponax, 32, 55 B, Anakr. 1113, eleg. (voc. 'Ερμη Hipp. 1, 16, 21 A, 89), 'Ερμηι Abdera, 162 (metr.), Lampsakos, 171; 'Απελλης Ιακοκ, 10418, 42, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 385 Chios (and so probably Anakr. 72 B, where Bergk writes έης), Μεγίστης = Μεγιστής?, Anakr. 162, 41, 742.

In the inscriptions, κωλήν Miletos, 1002, Λεωνής Keos, 44 A 5; $\Delta\eta\mu\eta\hat{s}$ Thasos, 78 C 14, Thas. (L.) 13 A 10; $\Theta a\lambda\eta\hat{s}$ Miletos, 93 (sixth century). Hdt. has also $\Theta a\lambda\eta\hat{s}$ I 74. Cf. § 415, 3. With such authoritative testimony in favour of the contracted form, we cannot but conclude that $Bop\hat{\eta}s$ is the genuine Ionic form, despite the fact that the MSS. of Herodotos prefer -ins, though in VII 189 there are four occurrences where the MSS. with but one dissenting voice speak in favour of -η̂s. The same con-

¹ That the contraction of alleaged took place early is evident from the form άδελφός, appearing first in Aischylos (Hom. -ειός and -εός', which is in reality formed from influence of ἀδελφό<ἀδελφοή. Cf. Wackernagel, K. Z. XXV 271.

clusion will hold good in the case of $\beta o \rho \hat{\eta} s$, $^{\prime}A \rho \iota \sigma \tau \hat{\eta} s$, $\Pi \upsilon \theta \hat{\eta} s$ (not $\Pi \upsilon \theta \hat{\eta} s$ as Steph. Byz. has it). Pherekydes Syr. used the form $^{\prime}P\hat{\eta}$ according to Hdn. π . μ . λ . 7, $5=\Pi$ 91123, cf. I 4056. Cf. $^{\prime}P\acute{e}a$ O 187 and $^{\prime}P\acute{e}\eta$, Hymn to Demeter, 460, Luk. Syr. D. 15. Mavt $\iota \upsilon \hat{\eta}$ or Mavt $\iota \upsilon \eta$ Hdt. IV 161, where C has Mavt $\iota \upsilon \eta s$, Aldus and Stein Mavt $\iota \upsilon \iota \dot{\eta} s$, following the Homeric Mavt $\iota \upsilon \dot{\eta} s$.

γη is from γέα < *γη a from γαιά as is shown under Declension,

\$ 421.

Kallim. fr. 241 has γενήν; cf. Et. M. 22524, and γονή. γενεή

is open in Solon, 2710, Paros, epig. 59, Hdt. (§ 435).

Avoidance of contraction will have to be accepted in a few proper names: Alvεητῶν Ainea, 12 (550 B.C.), later, Alνητῶν (end of fourth century); Nεμέην Thasos, 69 (fifth century); Kρεήτη Archil. 175=Kρήτη (a pun on κρέαs?); Hdt. Τεγέη, Θυρέη.

(b) In adjectives (masc. $-\epsilon os$; fem. $-\epsilon \eta$, $-\eta$).

The forms will be quoted under the A Declension. The inscriptions prove that when η follows ϵ , contraction ensues, when o or a follows e, the forms are kept open till the latest period of declining Ionism. In the poets - \u03c3 almost without exception (κυνέην κυνέη Tyrt. 1132), χρυσης Mimn. 11, Theog. 1293, 1381, πορφυρέη Anakr. 141; πορφυρέη Anakr. 23; πορφυρής Sim. If it is certain that Anakr. 33 contains a Amorg. 116. If it is certain that Anakr. 33 contains a 'choriambie' monometer with anacrusis + a first pherecratic, as Sappho 54 may be scanned, we must admit the existence of one open form ἀργυρέη (the schol. Pind. Isth. II 9 has οὐδ' ἀργυρέη κότ' ἔλαμπε). Hiller reads ἀργυρή correctly. In Herodotos we find $-\hat{\eta}$ generally, but not without exceptions; e.g. διπλέη III 42, for which Stein correctly reads διπλή, a form found in Hippokr. V 640. Attic διπλη from διπλε(ί)a, cf. Kret. διπλεία.

(c) In adverbs Δεκελήθεν Hdt. IX 73 from Δεκελέη. Cf.

Steph. Byz. s. v. Δεκελειάθεν.

(d) As regards the forms of -E Ω verbs, Merzdorf's 'law' that after consonants $\epsilon\eta$, $\epsilon\eta$ remain open, but are contracted after vowels (e.g. Hdt. $\sigma\tau\rho\alpha\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\tau\dot{\epsilon}\eta s$, $\pi\sigma\iota\dot{\eta} s$) has been accepted in many quarters; but incorrectly, as is clear from the fact that his contention is based upon a mere numerical count of MSS. For the establishing of the dialect of Herodotos we cannot assume that a given form is genuine Ionic merely because a varying per cent. of Hdt.'s MSS. speaks in favour of its adoption. The inscriptions proclaim that the Ionians in their decrees adopted the contraction without exception 1; and the poets unite with the inscriptions in their opposition to the Merzdorfian view. In the aorist passive $\epsilon + \eta$ are invariably fused. Bekker sought

The forms of δέω and δέομαι occupy a special position.

in vain to discover the uncontracted form δεηθέη in Hdt. IV 154. On έθεῆτο in Hippokr. see § 685. The μι verbs contract $\epsilon + \eta$.

264.] H+E.

I. ηF€.

From $\bar{e}ve$, contracts in $\tilde{\eta}$ or, from $\tilde{\eta} + f\epsilon$ (Lat. ve); but remains uncontracted in a few forms of the $-\eta v$ - declension, as in $\phi ov \tilde{\eta} \epsilon s$

Archil. 59. See under E + E.

āve in ἡέλιος¹ (σāf ελιος): the elegiac poets adopt this form only (Tyrt. II₆, Mimn. I₅, 2₈, 12₁, 14₁₁, Solon, 13₂₃, 14, Theog. 168, 1183, &c.). The iambographers contract: ἡλιος Archil. tetr. 74₄, Hipp. tr. 15₅, Sim. Amorg. I₁₉, Herodas V I, 3₅₈, 8₃, Anak. 27; and upon an inscription Arkesine, 33, Zeùs Hἡλ[ιο]s (fifth century), Hekat. ἡλιος 173, 190, 193, Pherek. Leros, 33 Å, Diog. Apoll. 6, Anaxag. 6 (Simplik. 156₂₁, Diels), and 10 (Simpl. 157₁₈), Hipp. II 24, and so Herodotos II 92 (Bredow, 45), as Arrian II; Lukian uses ἡέλιος Astr. 3, 5, &c., d. 8. 29, 34. Both άλιος and ἀέλιος form a part of the poet's material in Aiolic (Sappho, 69, 79). Ποιῆσσα, i.e. ποιήεσσα, is the name of a city in Keos.

ηε also in adjectival forms (nom. -ήεις), Kall. $\mathbf{1}_6$ τιμῆεν; Mimn. 5_6 τιμήεσσα; 12_7 τιμήεντος as Sim. Keos 84_5 ; Phok. 3_3 χαιτη-έσσης. On Fick's εη, Archil. 74_8 , Sim. Amorg. 7_{57} , Mimn. 9_6 , see § 262. ηε in these forms is found often in Hdt., ηε in the poets and in prose writers only when F followed η. Forms with ηε seem to be obsolescent in the seventh century. φωνήεντα remained uncontracted in Attic as a technical term, originally Ionic. On -ηειν see § 319.

also $\xi a \rho \iota = \eta \rho \iota$, Ananios, 5_1 .

2. ημ€.

 $[\chi]\rho\hat{\eta}\sigma\theta[\alpha\iota]$ Keos, 4312, is not necessarily for $\chi\rho\eta_k\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha$, since it

may be formed directly from $\chi\rho\eta + \sigma\theta\alpha\iota$. Cf. § 167.

 $\tilde{\epsilon}$ χρη in Tyrt. stands for $\tilde{\epsilon}$ χρη ϵ or for $\tilde{\epsilon}$ χρ $\tilde{\epsilon}$ η, if we assume that $\eta_{i}\epsilon$ in Ionic becomes $\epsilon\eta$. $\tilde{\epsilon}$ δίψη Hippokr. III 36, 42, διψην Hdt. II 24, i.e. $\eta + -f\epsilon\nu$ or $-\sigma\epsilon\nu$.

4. Crasis and Aphaeresis:

With $\eta \pi a \rho \dot{\eta}$ Teos, 156 B 36 ($\tau \dot{\eta} \pi a \rho \dot{\eta}$ B 24, Chios, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1195, as $\tau \dot{\eta} \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho \eta$ Arch. 932²), $\mu \dot{\eta}$ 'λάσσονες Chios, 174 B 24, $\dot{\eta}$'s Chios, 174 A 2, compare $\dot{\alpha} \rho \epsilon \tau \dot{\eta}$ 'στιν Theog. 147 and Phokyl. 17 (oldest example of aphaeresis in the case of $\epsilon \iota \mu \iota$), $\dot{\eta}$ 'κ

Hdn. II 229₁₄, 490₂ = Et. M. 261₁₄.
 TETEPE1 = τητόρηι, Rob. I 167, of uncertain dialect. Bechtel suggests Asiatic-Ionic. Cf. § 134 note.

Theog. 577 (in A), δη 'πίκουρος Arch. tetr. 24, perhaps Μιμιή 'κατομήχανε Hippon. 49, δδύνη 'πιαλεῖ 21 B, and Hrd. δουλή 'στι 453, μὴ 'λασσον 358. There is no example of the crasis of τη in Hdt.

265. H+H.

 $\eta + \eta$ is contracted almost universally. On $\eta \eta \rho$ in Hippokrates (åFήρ), see § 169. Ionic of the post-Homeric period does not possess such subjunctives as στήη, φανήη, σαπήη. On έθηῆτο, v.l. Hdt. I 10, &c., see § 685. η held its ground longer than ηη.

266. 0+0.

So far back as we can follow the history of Ionic, o + o became ov. In view of this fact the position assumed by many scholars that in Ionic o + o first became ω and afterwards ov is without The Doric dialects, which at different stages of their existence had ω and ov, offer but a specious parallel to an Ionic $ov < \omega$. $o\sigma o$ in Homer never becomes ω as $\epsilon \sigma \epsilon$ never $= \eta$.

ούρανός with spurious diphthong (Ούρανίη on an old amphora, C. I. G. 8412, οὐρανίηι Phanag. 164, 168) from o-Fopavos, whence

Aiolie and Dorie ωρ-; Aiolie σρανος from Foρανός.

C. I. A. I 322 A 93, OΣ shows that ovs has an adulterine ov. ovs. probably from *oy(σ)os; &s in Delos, B. C. H. II 322 (before 167 B. c.) is formed like φως. Theog. 1163 ούατα, Anakr. 214 ωσί,
 Hdt. ὧτα; Lak. ἐξωΓάδια, ὥΓατα have their ω from the nom. ωs, as ἐνώδιον < ἐνουσίδιον has its ω from ωτός. See Wackernagel,

K. Z. XXIX 141, Schmidt, Neutra, 407.

In a few nouns 1 and adjectives of the O declension oo is apparently kept open to a limited extent: the MSS, of Hdt, have νόος, εύνοος, πλόος (Hekat. 303 -ov-), σόον, but χοῦς ΙΙ 150, &c. Love of the old-fashioned orthography dictated voos in the MSS., Sim. Amorg. I 3, where vovs, or voos, must be read 2. voov in the same poet (71) must be an archaism, if the authority of the inscriptions is accepted. $\pi[\rho]\delta\chi o\nu\nu$ occurs upon a vase from Naukratis, Roberts, I 132 bis. Perhaps contraction resulted during the seventh century, since Archil. 89 epod. and Mimn. 58 have voor. Homer preserves vóos, but the beginnings of the later forms appear Ω 354, κ 240 (Menrad, p. 46). Later inscriptions have 'Αστύνους Eryth. 206 C 9; Καλλίνους Thas. (L.) 7 A 7; έκπλουν, έσπλουν Eryth. 2027; Πολύθρους Thasos, 75 Β 11 (Πολύθρου Teos, 158,). xoôv Hdt. II 150, xoô Arr. Anab. II 27, 4 (xóov

¹ Joh. Gr. 241 B, Greg. Kor. 479 cite νόον, βόον, Gram. Meerm. 654 βόος, χνόος, θρόος, but cf. Hdn. II 921₈. ἀκηκοότες, &c. do not contract.

² νοῦς Theog. 1185; νοῦν Theog. 350, 898; Sol. 27₁₃, νοῦν, βοῦν 41. It may be noticed in passing that Cobet's εδνοι δντες in Lysias VIII 19 is at fault. εδνονς, found in a Palatine MS., is proved by Attic inscriptions to be correct.

C. I. G. 1838, Korkyra). In Herodas 168, 475 we find νοῦν, 327 ἄνουν. The attitude of the κοινή towards such forms as πλόος has not received deserved attention. That the κοινή admitted only those forms which had already suffered contraction in Attic, is an entire misconception of the nature of this phase of Greek. πλόος in a Lykian inscription in Le Bas, 1311, was not newly constructed by the κοινή. In fact in its literature this 'dialect' contrives to effect a union of the living language with imitations of the dead language. In this light many of the open forms collected by Lobeck, *Phryn.* p. 453, may be regarded as parallel to the Lykian πλόος. Cf. also Lobeck, *Path.* p. 300.

νόος, ρόος, πνόος, -χροος, άθρόος, generally are found in the

resolved forms in the pseudo-Ionists.

In composition: σκηπτοῦχος Sim. Am. 7_{69} , Αθηναίηι Πολιούχ[ωι Eryth. 200 (epigt.), and so Roberts, I p. 64; Πολιούχου Paros, 64₁₆, and Hdt. I 160; τιμοῦχοι Teos, 158₂₈ (τῆμος in Aischylos); Αριστοῦχον Ross, 148; εὐνοῦχος Hippon. 35₈, [σ]αμβαλούχην Hrd. 7_{10} .

2. 040.

Σαπφόος, Λητόος, called Ionic by Herodian II 338₁₈, 755₂₁, and ηοῦν by Greg. Korinth. § 35, are supported by no such formations in the existing monuments of the dialect. Hdt. has Λητοῦς, Λητοῦν, &c., and φλοῦν; ηοῦς Orop. 18₄₆. On the retention of -οιο < o(σ)_έο, see under O declension.

In $\delta i\pi \lambda \acute{o}os$, o + o was probably not separated by f but by god, though Hdt. has the open form. The pseudo-Ionists have $\delta i\pi \lambda \acute{o}os$, though they avoid the open forms in the compounds in

-πλόος. See on E + H.

3. In verbs in -oω, ov, and never εv, arises from o + o whether yod or sigma intervened. The examples of εv collected by Merzdorf in Curtius' Studies, VIII 218, show the confusion as to the character of the Herodoteian dialect in the minds of the diascewasts.

4. Crasis. o+o=ov in $\tau o \tilde{v} v \circ \mu a$; ov+o=ov as in $\tau o \tilde{v} \rho v \theta os$ Hrd. 4_{20} .

267.] $O + \Omega$.

I. of ω.

χῶν Κεος, 43, fifth century; cf. $\pi[\rho]$ όχουν Naukratis, § 266, 1. The MSS. of Hdt. keep νόφ, συμπλόων, σόων uncontracted. In the dative -οφ is generally kept open in the MSS. of Hdt., though contraction ensued by the fifth century.

2. οσω.

Always contracted, e.g. in gen. plural, O declension.

3. οιω. Contracts in verbal forms (δικαιώ). ζώμεν Sim. Amorg. 32, from $\zeta \delta \omega \mu \epsilon \nu < \zeta \delta \omega \rho \epsilon \nu$ (so the MSS. I₄), and $\delta \iota \gamma \omega$ Hipponax, 16₂, 17, from $\delta \iota \gamma \delta \omega < \delta \iota \gamma \delta \omega$, cf. $\delta \iota \gamma \delta \sigma a$ Sim. Am. 7₂₆; $\lambda a \gamma \delta s$ Hipponax, 36<-0 ωs , from - $\omega o \nu s$ (Hdt. uses $\lambda a \gamma \delta s$), if we extend the limits of metathesis quantitatis beyond those ordinarily set up for Ionic.

4. προώσας becomes πρώσας Hippokr. VII 314.

268.] Ω+O.

I. wFo.

ῆρωος, Μίνωος Hdt.; ζωός ¹ Hdt. Meliss., 17, &c., Tyrt. 10₃₀, with ω preserved before a short vowel by the interposition of F; ζοοῦ ² is the correction of Porson for the traditional reading ζωοῦ Archil. 63. Σῶος Styra, 19₂₃, 300.

2. wwo.

έζωον Hdt. IV 112, ζωόντων I 86, but ζῶντα ibid., ζῶσα IV 205. The latter appear to be regular, yet the uncontracted participial forms may be defended. See B. B. XV 170, 175, and M. U. I 8. On ζῶμεν, see § 267.

269. $\Omega + \Omega$.

www.

ωω preserved in ζώω, Hdt. ζώων, Kallinos, 1,9, Demokr. 206. Anan. 5, λαγῶν is either from Hom. λαγωός or Hdt. λαγός.

270.] I+I.

I. IF L.

The Ionic dialect permits, but does not require, contraction: $\Delta\iota\iota$ Paros, 65, a late inscription, Mylasa, 248 C 6 (fourth century), both examples probably Attic; $\Delta\iota$ Eretria, 14 (fifth century), Samos (?) in Roberts, 157, Asiatic-Ionic, Bechtel, No. 260. Hdt., Pherekyd. Leros, &c. have $\Delta\iota\iota$. I do not find either form in the poets. $\Delta\iota\iota$ is doubtless from analogy to $\Delta\iota\iota\delta$ s, $\Delta\iota$ a.

2. On $\bar{\iota}$ in the dat. sing. of *iota* stems, see under *Declension*. In the optative of roots ending in *iota*, contraction of $\iota + \iota$ is pan-

Hellenic.

271.] Before passing to the concurrence of unlike vowels, we may here treat of $v+\iota$, strictly not a diphthong, but a phonetic combination, the v of which was probably \ddot{u} . On the treatment of the $v\iota$ of $vl\acute{o}s$, see § 229. In the forms from which ι is absent, Cauer held (Curtius' Studien, VIII 275) that v and ι had been fused as in $\delta\acute{v}\eta$, v 286. Whether $\delta\acute{v}\eta$ was the model for $\epsilon \kappa \delta \hat{v} \hat{\nu} \mu \epsilon v$, or whether the length of the v is due to the fact that $v\bar{\iota}$ in the ground-form * $\epsilon \kappa \delta \hat{v} \hat{\nu} \mu \epsilon v$ was followed by a consonant, cannot be made out. $lo\chi\acute{v}\iota$, $v\eta \delta\acute{v}\iota$, as edited by Herodoteian scholars (cf. $-\epsilon \bar{\iota}$ in the dat. of $-\epsilon s$ stems), probably do not represent the pronunciation current in the fifth century.

1 Cués Greg. Kor. 57.

² Coos Epicharmos and Theokr.

II. Contact of Unlike Vowels (horizontal and vertical vowels).

272.] A + E.

I. ăF€.

(a) Uncontracted in δέκων Theog. 371, 467, 471, 1379, δεκούσως Theog. 1343; both forms in Hdt. and in Lukian. Hippokr. III 216 has δέκων, Aretaios, 58 δεκουσίου. δέκων may be read in every case in Homer. The contracted form is best supported in Homer in τω δ' οὐκ δκουτε πετέσθην. In Attic the form is open in the law of Drakon (C. I. A. I 6134), but contracted before the middle of the fifth century in δκούσι[a] C. I. A. I, 1 B 1. In Ionic, contraction must have taken place in Herodotos' day.

ἄεθλον Archil. ep. 104, Tyrt. 1213, Mimn. 113; πενταεθλεύων Xenoph. 22; Hdt. ἄεθλον, ἀεθλοφόροι, πεντάεθλον, &c. (ā?). Contracted ἄθλα Theog. 971, 994, 1014, Hrd. 151, Hippokr. II 64; πενταθλεῖν Xenoph. 216; ἄθλοις Roberts, I 174, Kyme, and in ᾶθλον Kolophon, Mitth. 1889, p. 317; ἄελπτος Arch. tetr. 741, Solon tetr. 35; ἀελπτίη Arch. tetr. 543; ἐξηκονταέτης Mimn. 62; ὀγδωκονταέτης Sol. 204; πενταέτης Hdt., cf. Attic πειταέτης and πεντέτης; ἐκάεργος Tyrt. 32, Solon, 1353; ἀεργός Theog. 584, 1177, ἀεργοί Hippokr. Vl 22, but ἀργός Hipp. tr. 28, Hdt. III 78; ἀέξω Sim. Amorg. 785, Sol. 275, Theog. 1031, 1276, Sim. K. 845. Hippokr. αὕξω, αὐξάνω, Mimn. 22, Theog. 362 αὕξεται, Sol. 113 ηὐξήσατε, are from ἀf(ε)ξ-.

αλέλουρος, not ἀελ-, is the Herodoteian form.

(β) Contracted ἀρθείς, preferred by MSS. of Hdt. to ἀερθείς (Bredow, 193, Merzdorf, Curtius' Stud. VIII 186), is undoubtedly the genuine form. Anakreon, 19 ἀρθείς. See on ἀείρω, § 305.

άλής in Hdt. from ἀΓελής, not from ἀολλέες as Wilamowitz claims (on Eurip. Herakles, 411); cf. ἀλίζω in Hdt., ξυναλισθή

Hippokr. VI 102.

Contraction of $af \epsilon$, both in a privative and other forms seems to have been possible at least as early as the sixth century. In the ordinary speech of the people many forms were doubtless contracted which were kept open by the artifices of poetical expression.

In the inf. active a+-fer (or -σer', e.g. ἐσορῶν; see § 305. Hippokr. MSS. have often such apparent Dorie forms as δρῆν, μελετῆν, συνορῆν but -ῶν II 440 in A) which are due to the supposed tenacity of η after ρ in Ionic. δρῆν, once created, was the cause of the creation of a μελετῆν. On τεθνῶνω Amphip. 10₁₀, and Mimn. 2₁₀, as the MSS. read, or τεθνῶνω <τεθνα + ενω (cf. γεγον-ένω), see § 700, 3.

2. ἄσε.

=ā in λαρινοῦ Xenophan. 5_2 , as in Homeric λαρός. ἄριστον, breakfast in Hom., Hdt. III 26 is from *ἄ $y(\sigma)$ εριστον.

3. ăie.

Always contracted in verbal forms: δρᾶτε, ὅρα, ὅρα, ὁρᾶσθαι, βιᾶται, διεπειρᾶτο, ἐφοίτα; Hdt. χρᾶσθαι from χρᾶ + εσθαι, Keos, 43_{12} , χ]ρῆσθ[αι] from χρη + σθαι, or from *χρηίομαι 2. χρῆσθαι is found in all MSS. of Hdt. I 47, 210; in I 196 χρέεσθαι B²C, χρῆσθαι reliqui. Cf. §§ 167, 687.

In the MSS. of Hippokrates such Doric forms as lηται, lησθαι, ὑποθυμιήσθω, ὀδυνηται II 424 (but correctly -αται in A) come to light. In the forms after ι, the error was caused by such forms

as lητρόs, after ρ, by the analogy of ώρη.

κ' èν l. 6, but κάμοί on an archaic papyrus, Philol. XLI 746,

ef. κένκαύσιος Epidauros, C. D. I. 3325966.

273.] A+H.

I. ăFŋ.

Open in ἀηδόνος Archil. 156, contracted in $\Delta av\hat{a}$ Hekat. 358; on the other hand in $\Delta avai\eta$ Miletos, 99, a glide iota has been generated between a and η , as in Παμφαίης from Παμφάης; cf. $\Delta ava\eta\varsigma \Xi$ 319. $af\eta = a$ also in ἀδής ἀτερπής Hesychios, cf. Phryn., Bekk. Anecd. I 22, 3: οἱ Ἰωνες τὴν ἀηδίαν συναλείφοντες τρισυλλάβως γράφουσι. See under O + A.

2. ain.

In verbal forms: τιμᾶ, τιμᾶτε (Doric η). Νικᾶν Thasos, 72₈ < Νικάη; cf. ἰερῆ < ἰερείη. μνᾶς Hippon. 20 < μνᾶῆς, Attic μνᾶς from μνᾶᾶς.

3. Crasis of καὶ + ην = κἄν, Ephesos, 1453, 4, Chios, 174 C 5 (in both inscriptions ην, not ἐάν or ἄν); Hippokr. καὶ ην V 594,

1 Blass reads χρείσθαι.

³ Schmidt follows Baunack in deriving xpneo- from xpnFeoro.

606, as Hrd. 3₉₁ (κην 2₅₄, 7₁₀₂), κην V 646, 692, 698, 720, II 48, &c.; κηλειφόμην Sim. Amorg. 16; χημέρη Theog. 160, κημέρης Anan. 5₁₀, cf. Hrd. 7₁₁₂, who has also κηπιώ 4₆, χηρακλης 2₉₆. Where crasis might take place in the inscriptions it is omitted in και Ηγήσανδρος Miletos, 93; και Ἡρακλείοισιν Τεοs, 156 B 33; καὶ ἡθμόν Prokon. 103₈.

274.] A + I.

ăFι.

= $a\ddot{i}$ and ai. $\pi d\ddot{i}$ ¹ occurs in but one passage in older Ionic poetry (Archil. tetr. 70 πάι). Renner (Curtius' Stud. I 189) seeks to find an excuse for the se judice irregularity of the Archilochian πάϊ by assuming a 'poetic diaeresis.' No such license can be admitted; and these forms find their explanation, in comparison with Hipponax' παίδα 1, παίδας 141, and at in Solon, in the fact that the disyllabic at in nominative and vocative and the monosyllabic as in oblique cases are an inheritance from Homeric times. πάις is, however, not an archaism whose observance was enforced. Sim. Amorg. 1, has maî, Hipponax, 38 παις. Anakreon has παι 12, 41, 621, 631; πάις 2118 (?, vulgo παις, Herm. παις ό), παις 242. Oblique forms: παιδα Hipp. I, παιδί Anakr. 173 (αι possible, Wilamowitz conj. παρ' Ἰάμβη); παιδες Anakr. 45; παίδων Mimn. 213 (aï possible); παισίν Mimn. 19, 32; παίδας Hipp. 141; Hdt. παίς. This shows clearly that παίς, and not πάις, was the form as pronounced in the fifth century; and with this knowledge falls the view that vowels originally separated by F remain open as a characteristic of Ionic. #dis is nowhere necessary in Herodas.

κλαίων Archil. 13, is possible, κλαίω 20, necessary; πυρκαίης Anakr. 1002, el. (αὶ possible); ἀτδηλος Tyrt. 117 (cf. v. l. Ε 757, Δ 897), ἀιστώσει Hdt. III 69, ἢτστωσε III 127. See § 160 on Atδης. ἄιδρις Theog. 683; ἀιδρίη Solon, 94; ἀιδρηίη Hdt.; αΙκιζοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 124, from ἀΓικ- rather than ἀΓεικ-. So too in the case of αἰκέλιος Theog. 1344. On ἀτω, see § 275.

In suffixes: δάίζω Tyrt. 1117; παίζω Anakr. 53, but παίζω 755; σαλαίζω Anakr. 167, Hippokr. ραίζει VII 122, ρηίζει VIII 38, ραίση VIII 20, 266 and 34 in θ, δαιδός VIII 22, δαιδίοισι VIII 50, but δαίδος VIII 92, σφαδαίζει VIII 92 (θ, -αι- Littré), cf. § 182; ἀγλάίζομαι Sim. Amorg. 770; Σάίων Arch. el. 6; and in the suffix -αικος in Hdt. Hrd. 235 has δάδας.

275.] Â + I.

ā٤ι.

Πολυπαίδη Theog. 25, 57, 61, 541, from $\pi \tilde{a}$, § 169, or due to the ictus and = $\pi a v$; 'Αριστολαίδης Hdt. I 59.

¹ wdz Ionic, Drakon 1576, cf. 1612.

Aἴδης is probably the Ionic form of the fifth century. See

\$ 160.

àtôiov Iasos, 1046, Melissos, 9, Diog. Apoll. 3, may be a later form, built out of $\tilde{a}\epsilon i$. The length of the a in àtôios is attested but rarely, e.g. Hymn 293 where it may be due to the ictus, i.e. =av. àtôios contains the suffix -òios.

ἐπαίω in Hdt. III 29, Herakl. 73, 107 should be read ἐπάω if the a is long, as it is generally in Attic. See Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 253 ff.; ἄτω Xenoph. 65 may be a present derived from the

aorist.

'Axatη Sim. Amorg. 231, where aiiη might be expected. Hrd. 5_{61} has àxaïκas fetters (?). Since the reduction of au to aï in Attic ensued as early as the fifth century ($\Phi \omega \kappa at \delta \epsilon [s]$ C. I. A. I 1997), the traditional reading in Sim. may be correct. See § 209, on a from antevocalic ai.

276.] Â+H.

Original $\tilde{a} + \eta$ did not remain in Ionie; see H+H.

277.] A+O.

On the theory that in primitive Greek a, when followed by an o sound, became ϵo , see under Contract Verbs, § 688.

I. aFo.

ἀείναος Hdt.; σαόφρων Phok. 9, as in Homer, but σωφρονεῖν Sim. Amorg. 7_{108} , σωφρων Theog. 756, σωφρονέστατον Hippon. 452, need not contain a contraction. These forms are placed here tentatively, as it has not been shown that F intervened between a and o in σάος. Certainly Roehl's reading σαFοῖ, in his No. 532, is too much a matter of dubitation to be admitted in proof. Perhaps σάος stands for *σασος. See Ruehl in Philol. Anzeiger, 1886, 14, note 8, and § 294.

θυρωρός Anakr. 52 < θυρά + Fορός as θεωρός < θηΓά Fορός. On Doric θεάρός see Kretschmer, K. Z. XXXI 289. θυρα Fορός, or - Fωρός, occurs in Kyprian. Fick derives θυρωρός from θυρεωρός < θυρη Fορός. Since, however, τιμωρός not τιμεωρός is the only correct form, τιμά Fορός (and θυρά Fορός) must be the ground-form.

Cf. 'Αλκάθοος.

àyhaós:

(1) Not contracted: ἀγλαόν Kallinos 1₀. 'Αγλαοκύδης Thasos (Louv.) 20 A 8 (about 175 B.C.); 'Αγλα(ό)νικος Styra, 19₄₃₃ (fifth century). The preponderance of names in 'Αγλω- has made Bechtel question whether we should not read 'Αγλώνικος. 'Αγλαοκύδης shows that Bechtel's statement (that 'Αγλω- is the invariable rule in Ionic inscriptions) is not accurate. It must, however, be confessed that this form of the name is, if Ionic, an obsolete form for its period, 'Αγλα[ο]φῶν Κυχίκος, C. I. G. 1780

is late. A noteworthy feature of the naming system of the Ionians is their fondness for names compounded with ἀγλαός, whereas in Attic these are not very frequent. Adjectives containing ἀγλαός were too elevated for the sermo familiaris of the classical period. The open form is found in Boiotian, "Αγλαος C. D. I. 41335, 'Αγλαοφαίδαο 478.

(2) Contracted: 'Αγλώχαρος Amorgos, 227 (sixth century); 'Α(γ)λωθέστης Amorgos, 37 (unc. date); 'Αγλώνικος Keos, 50, II 11 (fourth century); 'Αγ]λωφῶντος Thasos, 78 A 2 (beginning of third century); 'Α[γ]λωφῶντος Thasos (Louv.) 6 B 14 (third century); 'Αγλωγένης Delos, 55 I 7 (282 B.C.); cf. also 'Αγλῶν Thasos (Louv.) 2₁₄. We find 'Αγλωφάνης Thera, C. I. G. 2460 (late).

φάος Archil. tetr. 743, Sim. Amorg. 119, Skythinos, 1, Theog. 569, 1143, Herakl. 77; on the oblique cases of names in -φῶν, e.g. 'Ηροφῶν Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 22, see Spitzer, Lautl. p. 41, Johansson, D. V. C. p. 16.

ăσο.

Archilochos 116 $\gamma\eta\rho aos$; also in Hdt. III 14, in the phrase $\ell\pi l$ $\gamma\eta\rho aos$ $oib\hat{\varphi}$, with the unusual form on account of the stereotyped nature of the expression. Hdt. generally has $-\epsilon os$ in -as nouns. $-a\sigma o$, or more strictly, $-a\sigma fo$, in the second pers. sing. of imperfect and aorist middle: Archil. epod. 94 $\ell\phi\rho d\sigma\omega$, 101 $\ell\delta\ell\xi\omega$, where Hdt. has $\ell\xi\epsilon\rho\gamma d\sigma ao$ I 45 and Xenoph. 5 $\eta\rho ao$. It is scarcely doubtful that ao had become ω in the dialect of people before the time of Hdt.

3. ă10.

On the relation of $-\tilde{\alpha}\omega$ to $-\tilde{a}\omega$ ($-\eta\omega$) verbs in $\tilde{\omega}\rho\epsilon\sigma\nu = \tilde{\omega}\rho\alpha\sigma\nu$, &c., see § 688. $\alpha\omega$ becomes ω in the Ionic verb ($\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$, $\hat{d}\rho\rho\iota\chi\hat{\omega}\mu\alpha\iota$), despite fluctuations in MSS. of Hdt. in the direction of $\epsilon\sigma$.

On ao, written for -av, see § 243.

4. Varia. 'Ωσπραόννωι Halik. 24043, is non-Hellenic; Máoψos Roberts, I 193 D, is of uncertain connections (MHóψos? cf. Mel£ios).

5. Crasis. κώμφαλός, Hippokr. VII 326=καl+δ+δμφ. καl +δ+α=κώ in κώπόλλων Hippon. tr. 31, according to Bergk's reading, which is doubted by Renner, p. 199; Hrd. 43 χώπόλλων. τώμματα VIII 84, Hrd. 668, κώμμασιν 332, χώστις Sol. 1331.

278.] $\tilde{A} + O$.

āo became η_0 and underwent all the changes incidental to the history of η_0 (§ 288). On the retention of āo in λ aós, see §§ 140, 4, 160, 170.

279.] $A + \Omega$.

I. āfw.

παρεστώς Tyrt. 1219 and Attic έστώς are probably not from

Hdt. ἐστεώς, but from -af ώς, as πυλωρός, Dorie πυλαρός, < πυλάωρός. Also in proper names in -φων, and in 'Αγλών Th. (L.) 2_{14} , § 277. Cf. 'Αγλάων Boiot., C. D. I. 418_3 , 534_8 . Συλοσών Hdt.

2. ăiw.

For the treatment of $-\tilde{\alpha}\omega$ verbs, see § 688. The contracted forms alone seem genuine Ionic. When verbs in $-\epsilon\omega$ exist side by side with those in $-\tilde{\alpha}\omega$, this $-\epsilon\omega$ is uncontracted.

3. a privative; ἄωρος Amorgos 35, ἀωρίη Hrd. 300.

 Crasis of aι + ω in χως Sim. Amorg. 24 (but καὶ ως Halik. 23844).

280.] $\hat{A} + \Omega$.

I. āFw.

Ποσειδάων Theog. 692; -άωνος in Arch. eleg. 10, by conjecture, the MSS. having ω. Is -ήωνος correct? See § 140. If Attic Ποσειδών is from -έων, this instance deserves note as being a rare case of contraction of vowels originally separated by F (ἔως, βασιλέως). Attic πρών, παιών (Παιῶνος Solon, 1357), Ἰωνες, arose directly from -āων-, -āον, not through -εων (Bechtel, B. B. X 283). See on πρών, Hom. πρώων, Hsd. πρηών, Chandler, Accent, § 569.

On the treatment of pre-Hellenic $\bar{a}_{\ell}o$, see under E+O and E+ Ω . On the relation of verbs in $-\epsilon \omega$ parallel to those in $-\tilde{a}\omega$,

see § 688.

281.] E+A.

e before a vowel does not become , in Ionic.

I. εFă.

Remains open in feminine of adj. in -vs (δασέαν Miletos, 100₂₁, &c.), in Κλεάριος Thasos (L.) 4 A 13; Κλέανδρος Styra, 19₂₂₀; Λεάνακτος Thasos (L.) 3 B 7; Λεάδης Styra, 19₂₄₂; Πρεάνθης Keos, 50, IV 65. Cf. πρηύς and the Thasiote Πρηύλος; ἐἄσεις Anakr. 56, ἔᾶσον 57 (§ 165).

ηνδανε, the legitimate form for the Ionic of the fifth century, is preserved in Hdt., though in IX 5 ἐάνδανε comes to light.

βασιλέᾶ=Attic βασιλέᾶ (βασιλῆ Teos, Ditt. Syll. 165₁₈, about 261 B.C.); νέᾶ=Attic ναῦν, βασιλέᾶς=Attic βασιλέᾶς (Curt. Stud. IX 213). After a vowel, ᾶ as in Ἐρετριᾶς, Ἱσστιαιᾶς Eretria, 15₁₇, 18, cf. Θεσπιᾶς, Ἑστιαιᾶς in Attic inscriptions of fifth century. Εὐρυμεδοντιάδεα Hipp. 85 (patronymic in -αδευς, as Μαιαδεῦ Hipp. 16₁), from εα (or εᾶ?). κενεά Dem. Mor. 18, Luk. vit. auct. 13.

2. €σă.

In the MSS. of Hdt. ἔαρος, ἔαρι, &c. (12 times), as in Homer, ηρος not appearing till Hymn Dem. 456. Hdt. I 77 has however ηρι in the MSS. except C (Stein ἔαρι). Hipp. ηρος II 44, 46, 54, 598, 616, 668, III 70, 76, 80, 94; ηρι II 24, 42, 44. In II 598 both Ermerins and Littré have ηρος, the former reading ἐαρ (bis) on the same page, the latter ηρ; Littré reads ηρ (v. l. ἔαρ) III 68 (ἔαρ Erm.) ηρ II 640 (v. l. ἔαρ). In III 98 Littré must adopt ἔαρ. ηρ II 42, 44, 616, VI 594 (θ, vulg. ἔαρ), 600. There can be no question but that Littré has gone too far in adopting the contracted form, which seldom occurs without a variant. Variations similar to that between ἔαρι and ηρι occur in MSS. of Attic authors, though contraction is properly in place in forms of three short syllables in that dialect. ἔαρ occurs upon an Old Attic vase (Klein, Vasen, 133). Ordinarily the fusion of εα was avoided in Ionic. For the κοινή form ηρος in Arrian, 14, we should expect ἔαρος, cf. Vita Homeri, 34. In the poets we find ἔαρι Anan. 51, ἔαρος Mimn. 22. Έαρίνης Styra, 1918 is doubtful. Cf. § 221. In the -εσ-declension, we find in Homer sporadic occurrences

In the $-\epsilon \sigma$ - declension, we find in Homer sporadic occurrences of ϵa ($\tau \epsilon \nu \chi \epsilon a$ H 207, $\delta \lambda \gamma \epsilon a$ Ω 7, in the sixth foot; $\tau \epsilon \mu \epsilon \nu \epsilon a$ λ 185, $\sigma \tau \eta \theta \epsilon a$ Λ 282, $\beta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon a$ O 444, $\sigma \delta \kappa \epsilon a$ Δ 113). See §§ 533, 536 for the occurrences of the open and the contracted forms. $-\epsilon a$ is not so frequent as $-\epsilon a$ in poetry. $-\epsilon a$ remains open in the heteroclite accus. of the \hat{A} declension (which is frequent in Hdt.). This is invariably the case in the $-\epsilon s$ declension in Ionic prosaists.

In large and in the pluperfect, which had the terminations of the sigmatic acrist, we find the open forms (266ea, §8ea).

3. ejä.

Abstract nouns in εα from εια do not contract: ἐξώλεα, πανώλεα, Bechtel, No. 263.

δστέα Arrian, 30 (δστά 29 in MSS. may be an error), Aret. 42, 88, Hippokr. often; ὅστρεα Arrian, 21, 29, 39; ἐπέατι Hdt. IV 70. In adjectives χρύσεα Anakr. 21, 2.

ήμέας Archil. eleg. 97, σφεας tr. 272, Hdt. ήμέας.

Blass (Kühner, I p. 210) refers to Hekataios Φαναγόρη < -ειᾶ, Hdn. I 2809, 3414, Θυρῆ, Hdn. I 28423, 34117, Ψυττάλη, Ζέλη, Έρύθη Hdn. I 275, 321, Οἰάνθη Hdn. I 2768, 31217, Αἰθάλη Hdn. I 27532, 32025; cf. ἰερῆ, § 177. Πανάκη Hrd. 46 < Πανάκια?

On πατέσται and δρμέστο< γα-, see § 611. είρηται Oropos 18₁₇, compared with ἐκκεκωφέσται Anakr. 81₂, κεκινέσται Hipponax 62₂, στελέσται Sim. Amorg. 31 A, seems to represent a difference in writing merely. Whether or not the passage from original γα to γ was made in Ionic through εξ or εξ in the verbal forms is not as yet clear. Analogy would seem to incline in favour of εξ, but there are many forms in the perfect where -γάται has become -εάται. Here no sound has been lost between ε and α from γ + α. See § 612.

ην, εάν, see Bredow, 38, Merzdorf, Curtius' Studien, VIII 143, § 75, 3, and § 716. In Theog. 682, Schneidewin rightly preferred ην. επην Homer, Mimn. 3, Keos, 43, Hrd. 52, ε6, 346 (επε6, 32); Hdt. επην, though επεε4ν is often met with in the

MSS, and is defended by many editors (Greg. Korinth. p. 465), and $\tilde{\eta}\nu$. Hippokr. has $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\acute{a}\nu$ according to Littré.

εa from dissimilation from aa in ἐπιστέαται and in -εατο.
 Elision is frequently avoided in the inscriptions: με ἀνέθηκε Naukr. 139 B, Naukr. I 5, 202, 186, 220, II 777, but with

elision I 137, 223, 259, II 778.

282.] E+Â.

I. eFū:

2. Eta.

In the inflection of nouns in $-\epsilon \eta$ the accus. plural remains open: $\kappa \nu \nu \dot{\epsilon} as$, $\mu \nu \dot{\epsilon} as$, $al \gamma \dot{\epsilon} as$, &c., § 453. $\epsilon_{\dot{\iota}} a$ from $\epsilon_{\dot{\iota}} a \nu s$, also in $\delta \omega \rho \epsilon \dot{a} s$ Ephesos, 147₁₅; $\delta \omega \rho \epsilon \dot{a}$ appears to be later than $\delta \omega \rho \epsilon \dot{a}$ in Attic. $\dot{a} \rho \gamma \nu \rho \dot{\epsilon} a$ Wood, Disc. at Ephesus, App. 6, No. 1, with Attic \ddot{a} , but with the absence of contraction in adjectives of material, which is the rule in Ionic even in the imperial period.

In proper names in -ās it has been commonly held that -ās is from -tās. Bechtel on No. 76 (Νοσσικᾶs) remarks with appropriateness that this is impossible, since Attic names in -tās could not be contracted to -ās. See § 165, note. tās occurs in two names, 'Ηγέᾶs Keos 44 B 4; 'Ελπέᾶs 44 B 16. Cf. Hdn. I 51,10, II 6577.

On πεπλέαται < πεπλήαται, see § 281, 3, note.

283.] H+A.

η before the ă of substantival and verbal inflections is regularly shortened to ε. It is a matter of indifference whether this $\eta = \text{I.E. } \bar{e}$ or I.E. $\bar{a}: \nu \epsilon \check{a}, \nu \epsilon \check{a}; \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \check{a}, \beta a \sigma \iota \lambda \epsilon \check{a}; \kappa a \tau \epsilon \check{a} \tau a \iota, \delta \rho \mu \epsilon \check{a} \tau o$. Traces of this shortening are sporadic in Homer: Tv\delta \(\tilde{e} \) Z 222, Ka\(\nu \epsilon \tilde{a} \) A 264, \(\epsilon \ta a \) a. In \(\pi \delta \eta \) \(\tilde{a} \) A 380 or of \(\tilde{a} \) in \(\eta \) \(\tilde{e} \) 303. In Homer, \(\pi \delta \eta \) \(\tilde{a} \) \(\tilde{e} \) \(\t

By crasis, $\tau \dot{\alpha}\phi\rho\rho\delta \delta \iota \tau \eta\iota$ inser. of a Teian (Naukratis, I, No. 700). On a Naukr. inser. $\tau \dot{\eta}\phi\rho\rho\delta \delta \iota \tau \eta\iota$ II 701 and very often $\tau \dot{\eta}$ 'Αφροδίτηι e.g. 707, 710, 794. In 729 $\tau \dot{\eta}$ 'Αφρ- (but the ι has probably been omitted by a slip). $\tau \dot{\eta}\iota$ 'φρ- also occurs. $\dot{\epsilon}\pi \epsilon\iota \delta \dot{\alpha}\nu$ Hdt. I 193, VIII 144, &c., Zeleia, 11324; Hippokr. V 622, Hrd.

421, 514 ηρα from η άρα, also Aiolic. Archil. 86, 95 has άρα. Cf. Apoll. de Conj. 22324, 22724 Schn. By synizesis, μη ἀποπέμψης Hippon. 43, η ἀνθρώπου Sim. 7104, ημίν η ἀλεωρή Hrd. 225.

284.] E+I.

1. €Fι.

ei in the dative-locative singular of -v- and -ev stems had probably been contracted by the fifth century.

2. εσι.

Becomes $\bar{\epsilon}i$ in the dat.-loc. sing. of -\(\epsilon s\)-\(\epsilon s\)-\(\epsilon s\) stems: except in Hipponax, II, where $d\gamma \ell i$ is necessary if the long a of $d\gamma \ell i$ is to be removed\(^1\): Sim. Amorg. I_{13} "Ap\(\epsilon i\) ("Ap\(\eta\)?"); \(\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon i\) Tyrt. II\(\eta_0\), \(\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon i\) Theognis $\gamma \ell \nu \epsilon i$ 928, \(\epsilon \epsilon \mu \nu \epsilon \epsilon \epsilon i\) 1219. -\(\epsilon i\) in Hdt. does not represent the stage to which Ionic had advanced in the fifth century. See \(\xi \) 416. In adj. from sigmatic stems \(\epsilon i\), as in 'Ap\(\epsilon \epsilon i\) Sim. Am. 27.

3. In suffixes -1775, -1105, &c. In Hdt. 'Arapvetrew, Bopvode-

νείτης (but cf. Hdn. II 86640), δστέϊνος, Ιτέϊνος, κρανέϊνος.

285.] E+1.

εῖ by metathesis quantitatis has been assumed by Fick, B. B. XI 267, Bechtel, Ion. Insch. p. 14, in Θρεϊκίων Hipponax, 42, εῖ standing midway between ηι (Θρῆιξ Archil. 32, Θρηικίης Anakr. 96, Θρηικίη Sim. Keos, 120), and εῖ. Fick suggests that Anakr. Θρηικίην 49, Θρηικίη 75 should be read Θρεῖι-. As held above, § 237, this assumption is based on slight foundations. On Θρεῖκίων, see Osthoff, M. U. IV 209. Meineke suggests κἀπὶ Θρηκίων in the passage in Hipponax. In Herodotos the iota was probably silent.

286.] H+I.

 η_i is very common in Ionic, both from $\eta_i = I.E. \ \hat{e}i$ and I.E. $\hat{a}i$, separated originally by some spirant.

ηFι.

(a) $\eta F \iota < evi$.

It should be noticed that of the forms which have preserved η before ι most had F between the η and ι . The exceptions are all either peculiar forms or are due to the influence of analogy, e.g. $\pi\delta\lambda\eta$; Tyrt. 12₁₅ is a double locative (* $\pi\delta\lambda\eta + \iota$) and not developed from $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon_{\xi}$ - ι . See § 481. - $\eta\iota$ os in $d\nu\delta\rho\dot{\eta}\iota$ os, &c. is from the analogy of $\delta\sigma\nu\lambda\dot{\eta}\iota$ os < $\delta\sigma\nu\lambda\dot{\eta}F$ - ι os.

On $-\eta \iota os$ from stems in $\eta \upsilon / \epsilon \upsilon$, and on the extension of the termination to stems to which it did not originally belong, see § 232. On $\eta \iota$ from $\eta \upsilon / \eta f$ in patronymics, in its relation to $\epsilon \iota$ in $-\epsilon \iota \delta \eta s$,

see §§ 233, 235.

¹ drayer should be read.

Either Κεΐος, or Κήιος, is Ionic from Κέος. Hdt. VIII 1, 46 Κεΐοι; IV 35, V 102 Κήιοι; Sim. Keos 129 Κει-; Bacchyl. 48 Κηι-; Timokreon 10 Κήια, and Κείων 'Ιουλιῆται C. I. A. II 17 B 22. See Wackernagel, Κ. Ζ. ΧΧΥΙΙ 265, who regards Κεΐος as certainly Ionic whatever may be said of Κήιος (*ΚηΓιος, cf. Ionic λεΐος, from *ληΓιος). βασιλεῖ is due to the influence of βασιλείος, &c. βασιλήιος, &c., amply prove that I.Ε. ἔνί is represented in Ionic by ηι. On

Πριηνήι, on a Samian inscription, No. 212, see § 510.

Whether Hom. χρῆος, χρεῖος, Hom., Hdt. χρέος is from *χρηΓος or *χρηιος (see Wackernagel, Κ. Ζ. ΧΧVII 264, Danielsson, Grammat. und etymol. Stud. 52 and Grammat. Anm. I 17, § 272, 3 above) is uncertain. χρηίζω Hom., Hsd., Greg. Kor. p. 442, Hdt. (MSS.), Phokyl. 7, Theog. 1333 but χρηίζων 958, as Hrd. 131, 240, ε5, χρεῖζεις 764. χρηίζω is doubtless the correct form in Hdt. χρηίσκομαι in Hdt. only. Does Hesychios' χρηια' πενία. η χρηματα contain χρηίη πενία (Ionic usually χρείη Theog. 62, Hrd. 7124) and Kretan χρηια (αὐτός τε και χρηια τὰμά Dreros, Cauer 121 B 41)?

κρήιου κρεοθήκη is not necessarily Ionic.

(β) ηFi < āvi.

This $\eta \mathcal{F}_{\iota}$ appears in Ionic as η_{ι} without exception. Attic differs from Ionic in its treatment of pre-Hellenic $\bar{e}v_{i}$ and $\bar{a}v_{i}$, in that the former is generally represented in Attic by ϵ_{ι} (except in patronymics as $Al\gamma\eta_{s}$, $N\eta\rho\eta_{s}$, which was probably also the Ionic form, § 233, 2), the latter by η ($\kappa\lambda\eta_{s}$, $\lambda\eta\zeta_{o\mu\alpha\iota}$, $\lambda\eta\tau_{o\nu\rho\gamma\delta s}$, $\eta\theta\epsilon_{os}$, $\pi\rho\sigma\eta_{o\nu}$) which in the fourth century has become ϵ_{ι} . Ionic represents both by η_{ι} , though $-\eta\iota\delta\eta_{s}$ from $-\eta\nu$ - stems has been generally supplanted by $-\epsilon\iota\delta\eta_{s}$.

γήινος Sim. Am. 721 is probably from *γηΓινος.

δηιόω in MSS. of Hdt., δήιος Sol. tetr. 34_2 , Tyrt. 11_{18} , $_{30}$, δηιοτήτα Kall. 1_{14} ; Theog. 552, Tyrt. 12_{12} (δήτων Bergk), Mimn. 14_9 (δήτων Bergk) Solon, 13_{21} , have δηόω. Homeric δήτοιο B 415 = δηιοίο οr δηοίο. Homer has δήιος and δήιος.

ήίθεος Hdt.

ηιών Hdt. (An. Par. III 1491).

Θρῆιξ Arch. 32, cf. Θρηίκιος, Anakr. 96, Hippon. 42, 120 Θρήκιος, Anakr. 49, 75 (§ 285). Hom. has Θρῆκες (Nauck Θρέικες Ω 234, cf. Steph. Byz. s. v. Θράκη), Θρηκῶν, Θρήκεσσι, Θρήκη; Pind. has Θρηικίων. In Hdt. we read Θρῆιξ, Θρηίκιος, Σαμοθρήικες, -θρηίκιος; η sometimes occurs in the MSS. Hekat. 116 (Θρακῶν), with Attic a in Steph. Byz.

κληίω Hom., Hdt. (Greg. Kor. § 3); κληίδες in Hdt. V 108 is accented κληίδες or κληίδες; κληΐδα Hippokr. II 272. κληίθρα hymn Merc. 146; κληθρα Hdn. II 5356, Et. M. 51811, An. Ox. II 23214 (Choir.). εὐκλείσας Τyrt. 1224, from κληίζω, is not

Ionic.

ληίη (Greg. Kor. 69), Hdt., Hrd. 245, ληιστής Hdt., Dem. 209, Teos, 156 B 21, ληιστύς Hdt., ληίζομαι Hdt., Sim. Am. 6, Teos 156 B 20. Arrian, 40 λησταί. ηξι becomes εῖ but once in Homer (λεϊστή I 408).

λήιον Hdn. I 3615, λήιτον, council-hall, Hdt.

Mηονιστί Hippon. 12 with η as in Hom. Μήων (cf. Hdt. I 7) and Μηονίς; Μήονες and Μηίονες Hdn. II 550, Μήονες Herakl. ap. Eust. 365. 8.

Herakl. ap. Eust. 365,5.

νηί. ἐπίνειον Hdt. VI 116 must be incorrect (cf. Προνηίη and Attic προνῆον). See Cauer in Curtius' Studien, VIII 248. νήιον

Hdn. I 3615.

Ποσιδηιών Anakr. 6.

ρηίδιος (Apoll. Adv. 567 = Schn. 1574), Theog. 239, 524, 592, 1027, 1034, but ρήδιος 574, 577 (cf. ράδιον 120, 1220, Solon, 98, where Diod. Sik. ράδιον; ράον Theog. 429), ρήτερον 1370 (Hom. ρηίτερος), cf. §§ 182, 555. Hdt. has ρηιδίως IX 2 in MSS., but ρηστώνη III 136.

Tήιος Bechtel, 155 an archaic inscription, Teos, Mitth. XVI 292, is probably from *ΤαΓιος, because of Τίως. On THIIO1 on an Attic inscr., to be read either Τήϊιοι or Τήϊοι, see § 231. See Hdn. II

88122.

2. $\eta \iota < a \sigma \iota$.

ηια Sim. Am. 32, see Baunack, K. Z. XXVII 561. With ηια, cf. είον, Hdn. I 3562, II 45711. εία has been read ε 266.

287.] E+O.

The earliest testimony to an Ionic contraction of εο is the existence in Homer of εο and of a few cases of ευ. In the older periods of the Greek dialects whenever the contraction of εο to ευ appears, it is to be regarded as Ionic. ευ is but sparingly attested in earlier Aiolic, but more frequently in later Doric sources (Ahrens, II 213 ff.). The grammarians frequently give the name Doric to forms in ευ found in Ionic authors, cf. Choir. 528₁₄. Kallimachos' hymn to Demeter has θεύς l. 58. τεύς is called Boiotian for τεός, Apoll. *Pron.* 135 B.

As regards the genesis of ϵo from ηo , it should be stated that Merzdorf's ¹ distinction between pre-Hellenic $\bar{a}o = \text{Ionic } \eta o = \text{Ionic } \epsilon o$, and pan-Hellenic $\bar{e}o = \text{Ionic } \eta o = \text{Ionic } \epsilon o$, a distinction accepted for many years, can no longer be upheld, at least in its entirety. Unaccented, pan-Hellenic ηo may become $\epsilon \omega$ in Ionic. In the gen. of the \hat{A} declension, we have $-\epsilon v < \eta o = \bar{a}o$. The occurrence of ϵo (ϵv) makes it appear that the combination ηo is treated in three different ways in Ionic. (1) ηo may be retained as an archaism, see below on H + O, (2) ηo becomes $\epsilon \omega$, and (3) becomes ϵo . In Ionic no difference can be detected in the treatment of

¹ Merzdorf in Curtius' Shid. VIII 163 ff., IX 226 ff.; Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII 262; Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII 297; Osthoff, Philol. Rundschau, I 933; Erman, Stud. V 294; Brugmann, Gramm. § 19; Bechtel, B. B. X 280, Ion. Insch. p. 69, 107, 109; Johansson, D. V. C. 153, B. B. XV 167; Fick, B. B. XI 259 ff.; Karsten, 19-22; Blass, Aussprache, 72.

long vowel + short vowel whether separated by F, yod, or sigma, though the dialect bears traces of the fact that the labial spirant disappeared later than either of the others. In Attic metathesis quantitatis seems to have occurred even when sigma or yod were

expelled, though the cases are rare.

To a large extent the question whether so or so should be written, is an orthographical question merely. At one and the same time the same word is written with so or sv in the same portion of Ionic territory. In general, however, the inscriptions preserve the form co. In early inscriptions of the same date co occurs both = ευ and = earlier ε + ο. The εο of φεόγεω makes it possible that the εο of γεγωνέοντες is not disyllabic, but a species of diphthong. Cf. to for original to and ao for av. tov is occasionally found (Εὐρυσθένεους Samos, 217, 'Αριστοκλέους Thasos, 721). See § 247. The writing εο shows that ευ was not pronounced eü. εο especially in the -ες stems becomes ευ from about 350 B.C. There can be no doubt that so was pronounced like sv more frequently than it was written. Whenever in Ionic lyric poetry so must be read oo, it is an archaism. In the earliest lyric poets it is better to write eo, in the later ev. The difference between ev and so is not greater than that between sa and n. How far the contraction prevailed in the ordinary language of the people is not easy to say. Perhaps one class of words was treated differently from another class. Thus in the case of -κλεος, where hyphaeresis had been at work, the open form would be more probable than in other names; and syllables following or preceding the accent would be more likely to be contracted than accented syllables. The variations of the MSS. of Hdt. and of the other prosaists reproduce the fluctuation in orthography between so and sv. I hold it likely that Hdt. himself may have been inconsistent in this and other cases, where the diphthongal pronunciation was not graphically expressed. Usually in the MSS, the so form prevails. In the literature 1 and inscriptions of the imperial

¹ In the pseudo-Ionists \$\epsilon\$ was carefully preserved. From Lindemann, \$ds\$ dial. Ionica recentiors, p. 53, I construct the following table:—

	€0	€υ		€0	eu
Dea Syria	112	0	Eusebios	4	0
Vit. auct.	6	0	Euseb. Mynd.	55	4
Astrol.	49	0	Ep. Thales	1	0
Arrian	118	2	Aretaios, I, II	39	13
Abydenos	4	0			

period there existed a preference for open forms, which is evidenced also in Attic ($\nu\epsilon o\mu\eta\nu ia$ and $\Theta\epsilon o$ - in proper names for the older $\nu o\nu$ -, $\Theta o\nu$ -). Most forms of this kind represent a fashion in writing, not genuine survivals of the older speech.

ϵFo.

Becomes in Ionic ϵ_0 or is contracted to ϵ_v . In the case of $-\tau \hat{\epsilon}_0$ s, contraction never occurs in Ionic or any other dialect.

Names with véos, khéos, as first parts of a compound name

show both forms.

νεο- in Νεοπολιτέων ¹ Neapolis, 4_2 , Νεοκλείδης Styra, 19_{268} , -κλίδης 19_{268} ; -μήνιος Olbia, Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl. vol. X, 26, No. 8, Maroneia, 196_{14} , Halik. 240 B 29, D 38; -μανδρος Thasos (L.) 17_2 . Cf. νέους Arch. 55; νέοι Kall. 1_2 ; νεοθηλέα Anakr. 51; Hdt. νέος, &c.; νεότητος Dem. 52; νέον Samos, 220_{25} ; νέωτα Sim. Amorg. $1_9 < ν$ εγογατα (see E + Ω).

Nev- in -πολίτης 43, Neapolis (350-300); -πολιτῶν 44, Neapolis (350-300); Νε]νμηνίου Olbia, 1319; Νευμην[ίου] Halik. 240 B 7. Cf. Νεοβούλης in Archil. 71, νεόπλυτου Anakr. 216 and νεομηνία Pind. Nem. 435 = ευ; also νευμηνία, later Kretan, and νευμεινίη Boiot. C. D. I. 951. Νουμήνιος Iasos 10422, 48 (about 350 B.C.), and upon coins of Maroneia and Olbia, is Attic. On the conclusions as to the (partly) exspiratory character of Greek accent to be drawn from the difference between Attic νέος and νουμηνία, see Wackernagel, Κ. Ζ. ΧΧΙΧ 138.

Κλεο- in -μαχος Styra, 19₁₁₉; -μβροτος Keos, 44 B 10, Thasos, 77 B 12; -δικος Styra, 19₂₂₂; -πάτρα Delos, 55, VII 27; -κρίτου Thasos, 75 B 4; -rίκου Smyrn. 153₁₉; -ρρος Styra, 19₂₃₆; -μήδεος Th. (L.) 1; -μέδων Th. (L.) 3 A 10, 6 C 6; -[λο]χος Th. (L.) 6 C 15: -φάτ[ης] Th. (L.) 11 C 5; -κύδευς Thasos, 77 A 10; -γένης Thasos, 77 B 5; -τίμου Chios, 177₁₀; -δημος Naukr. 775, Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 23.

Κλευ- in Κλεομάνδρου Arkesine, 34 (fourth century), epigram. Κλεύβουλος Anakr. 29, 31, 2, 3 (not ε0 by synizesis). Κλευ- in prose is written in -πάτρα Delos, 55, III 34; -νίκη Pharos, 87: -κρίτη Siphnos, 89: -δώρου Hyele, 1729. Cf. Κλεόδαμου Pind. Ol. 1422, the names in Κλευ- in later Kretan and Rhodian documents.

-eos in the genitive of -v'ev stems is closed in ἄστεος, Simonides of Amorgos 774, but ordinarily kept open, as is evident from the fact that these genitives are never written -ευς, as may be the case in the declension of stems in sigma. Open -εος from ην- stems in βασιλέος, &c. (on -ηος, see H+O), on νεός, see § 517, 2. -εος < ηΓοτς in τεθνεός Hdt. I 112 (Studien, IX 242); Γελεῦντες Perinthos, 234 B 13; Λεοντίσκος ibid. 234 A 4.

¹ Cf. Negrous 41 = Attic Nea-. In Attic inscriptions the forms in rea- outlive those in ree-, which obtain from 454 to 356 s.c.

αλέος, probably Herodoteian (cf. IV 94, VI 91), from αληΓος. Cf. Kretan ίλέος (accus. pl.). αλαος is also Ionic, Archil. 752. See § 139.

On πλεῦνες, see § 219, 3.

Adj. in $-a\lambda\epsilon$ os : $\mu\nu\delta\acute{a}\lambda\epsilon$ os Arch. 182 ; on $\grave{a}\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\epsilon\acute{o}s$ in Hom., Hdt., Lat. II 97, Pantikap. (fifth cent.), see under $\epsilon+\eta$.

εν from $\epsilon_0 = \epsilon_\omega$:
 θενροί Thas. 72_2 , = θεοροί; cf. ἐθεόρεον Thas. (L.) 7_2 , with θεορ- from θεωρ-. See B. B. X 282, K. Z. XXXI 289; cf. Λεντνχίδης Hdt.¹ and πυλευρός, in Hesychios, from πυλεωρός. Bechtel has proposed to account for this εν for εω as follows. Final -εω in the genitive of stems having become -εο (by a change unparalleled in the dialects), was written -εν (§§ 245, 427), and this εν forced its way into a medial syllable. Brugmann's (Gr. Gr. § 19) attempts to escape from the difficulties in the way of accepting such a change are artificial, and he cannot explain θενρός and πυλευρός. The correct explanation is still to be found.

Joh. Gr. 241, 241 B, Greg. Korinth. p. 447, Gramm. Meerm. 654, August. 669, Birnb. 678_{24} , Vat. 699, Eust. 1908_{29} , say that the Ionic form is $\delta\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$, which appears in Anakr. 54 and in Herodotos 2 , Herodas 5_{82} , 6_{17} ($\delta\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$ 4_{46} is a conjecture). That this statement is only partially true is evident from $\delta\rho\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$ Oropos 18_{34} . That a purely prosthetic vowel should have the asper is irregular (cf. 'E $\delta\rho\tau\iota\sigma$ s in Attic, Roberts I 52), hence Bury's attempt at etymologizing $\delta\rho\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$ has at least the vantage ground of suggesting an explanation for its presence by attributing to the longer form an initial $F: \delta\rho\rho\tau\dot{\eta} = F\epsilon F\rho\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$, $F\rho^{\nu}F\rho\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$, as $urc\dot{u}$ from $v_{F}\dot{u}$ on the other hand is $=vrat\dot{u}$. Cf. B. B. XI 333. $\delta\rho\sigma\tau v$ is doubtless to be kept apart from $\delta\rho\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$.

2. εσο.

Yields either ϵ_0 , ϵ_0 , or ϵ_v ; rarely $\epsilon_{\epsilon\sigma\sigma} = \epsilon_{ov}$ (?) as in δέονς Hippokr. VI 384, cf. Hom. δείονς, Hdt. ἐδέον VII 161. In the Ionic poets: Archil. ἀγάλλεο 66_4 , δδύρεο 66_5 , ἀπάγχεο 67, χαρίζεν 75, ἀλέξεν $(-\epsilon_0$?) 66_2 , γενεῦ 75_2 (MSS. $-o\hat{v}$) Anakr. 2_9 : εὖχεο (or $-\epsilon v$, MSS. -ov) Phok. 3_8 , $7\epsilon_0$, or $-\epsilon v$ Anan. 1_3 (MSS. -ov). ϵ_0 in Λυκάμβεος Archil. 28; θέρεος Sim. Amorg. 7_{39} , παλιντριβέος 7_{43} . Παιρισάδεος Pantikap. epigram, Kaibel, 773, which form occurs in prose, Bechtel, No. 119. Cf. the Attic Παιρισάδονς No. 120, Παιρισάδον No. 122. ϵv is written in Hipponax, 19_2 δίγενς, 49_2 τριήρενς, and may be regarded as the successor of ϵ_0 in Sim. Amorg. But tradition is worth little in such cases, as ϵv did not come into vogue at the stroke of twelve. The open forms

Anakr. 54 have copthy.

¹ Λευκ[d]ριος Styra 1912, regarded by Merzdorf and Wackernagel as containing Λευ-=Λεω-, is an hypocoristic name for "Λευκόκαρος (Bechtel).

2 ἐορταί Luk. Syr. 10, υ. l., with ὁρταί in the better MSS. The MSS. of

still hold their ground in the Ionic elegiac poets: $\pi o \lambda v a v \theta \ell o s$ Mimn. 2_1 ; $\delta v \theta \ell o s$ Xenoph. 1_6 , cf. § 532. In the language of the people ϵo , when contracted, was contracted long before the time of Hdt., who either preserves the open vowels in verbal forms or permits contraction, e.g. $\ell \pi \eta \gamma \gamma \ell \lambda \lambda \epsilon o$, $\ell \tau \rho \delta \pi \epsilon v$, $\pi \epsilon \ell \theta \epsilon o$ and $\tau \ell \rho \pi \epsilon v$, $\ell \pi \ell \kappa \epsilon o$ and $\delta \delta \lambda \epsilon v$. For a complete chronological list of $-\epsilon o s$, $-\epsilon v s$ in the genitive of $\kappa \lambda \epsilon \ell \epsilon \sigma$ stems in inscriptions, see § 527 ff. Herodas has $\epsilon \tilde{v} v \tau \omega v$ 2_{85} , $\epsilon \tilde{v} \sigma a v$ 1_{516} with an ϵv that occurs nowhere else in this participle.

In derivatives from θεός 1, Θεο-, in Θεοφῶν Thasos, 836; -[κλ]ίδης Keos, 44 B 6; -κνόης Keos, 46; -δωρος Thasos, 77 B 8, Olbia, 131, 3, Halik. 24031, Samoth. 236; -δοτίδης Miletos, Imh.-Bl. G. M. 328, -κρίνης 331; -δοτος Iasos, 1051, Klazom. Head, H. N. 491, Sam. 2214, Chios, Paspat. 13; -δοσίη Phanag. 164, 166, Theodosia, 127 (Stephani, Compte Rendu, 1866, p. 128), Lat. II 36; -γείτων Teos, 1591, Chios, Paspat. 3. Cf. Jahrb. für Philol., Suppl. V 487, No. 47, X 29, No. 21. -γένευς Thasos, 78 C 5, -τιμίδης 78 C 4, -τιμος Styra, 19316. -προπος Chios, 174 C 21, Iasos, J. H. S. IX 342; -φάνης Eryth. 206 B 63 (l. 21, 24 have Θεν-); -φρων Eryth. 206 C 11 (cf. Θε[ι]όφρων Eryth. 206 C 12); -πομπος Th. (L.) 6 C 10.

In Attic we often find Θεο- in proper names in sixth, fifth, and fourth century inscriptions parallel to the same names in Θου-. See K. Z. XXIX 138.

The ε of Θεο- is sometimes omitted (Θόκλος 1920, Θοδίων 1921). Cf. Κλόδεινος 1921, and Megarian names in Θο-, Mitth. VIII 189, 190. In reverse direction e is omitted in Θεκλίδης 1920. See Baunack's Studien, I 229, § 138, and Alolic, § 188, 16, 3.

Names in Oev-:

-μαρ[ης] Eretria, 16 B 25 (340-278); -βουλος Naxos, 28; -δωρος Delos, 55, 330, Keos, 1698, Eryth. 206 B 42, Eryth. 207, Olbia, 13117, 21, Teos, 161 (also Θευ- in Jakrb. für Phil., Suppl. IV 478, No. 16; IV 484, No. 45; X 31, No. 3); -προπο(ς) Miletos, 1023; Θευπροπίδου Smyrna, 15328; -δοσίη Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 165, 167, 168; -γυητος Smyrna, 15312; -τιμίδης Smyrna, 15313; -ξεινίδης Smyrna, 15329; -ξευος Eryth. 206 B 24; -δάμας Keos, 1692; -δοτος (Et. Gud. 13952) Eryth. 206 A 26, which is an almost Attic inscription; -κριτος Eryth. 206 A 29; -πομπος Eryth. 206 B 21; Θεύγνιδος Theog. 22. Cf. θεός Sim. Amorg. 71, θεοῦ 7104, and elsewhere θεός in poetry. On coins in Imh.-Bl. G. M.: Θεύπορπος (Chios, No. 390), Θεύπροπος (Miletos, p. 646, correcting Monn. gr. 97). In the

¹ Brugmann, Berichte d. königl. sächs. Gesell. d. Wissen. 1889, p. 41, compares Skt. shörds. In this paper Brugmann mentions all the etymologies that have been proposed of the much disputed word 6-65, except the one which I have here provisionally adopted (6-65 = *0f eres = Lith. dvisti).

fifth century we find the names of immigrant Ionians upon Attic inscriptions, e.g. $\Theta\epsilon\nu\gamma\delta\nu\eta s$ C. I. A. I 324, D 8. In genuine Attic names the contraction (ov) varies with the uncontracted form as early as the sixth century. After 200 B. c. we find $\epsilon + o = \epsilon v$ sporadically even in Attic words; $\Theta\epsilon\nu\delta\delta\sigma\iota s$ C. I. A. II 445 E 16 (160 B. c.). Eustath. 775₄₈ and 1387₂₃, Et. M. 448₃₁, An. Par. III 242₂₈, Choir. 421₂₈, make mention of a $\theta\epsilon\hat{v}v$ ("A $\rho\tau\epsilon\mu\nu$) without specifying the dialect. Cf. Kallim. frag. anon. 125, and $\theta\epsilon\hat{v}s$ VI 58. In Kretan we find T $\epsilon\nu\phi\iota\lambda\omega$ Mus. It. III 617, l. 10.

3. €40.

 $\epsilon_0 < \epsilon_{to}$ in verbal forms is generally contracted in old Ionic poetry, the contraction being written ϵ_0 . MSS, of the lyric poets vary between ϵ_0 and ϵ_v , the Attic ov sometimes having been brought in by the copyists in the case of the earlier poets. In Theognis' later parts the ov is original. See under Conjugation for the parallelism of ϵ_0 and ϵ_v forms. All instances of ov in pure Ionic documents must be regarded as foreign to the character of the dialect. In Ionic prose ϵ_0 varies constantly with ϵ_v , the former being perhaps the more common 1. ϵ_0 in verbs in $-\epsilon_0$ parallel to those in $-a\omega$ is scarcely ever contracted in the prose writers (ϵ_0 power ϵ_0 Hdt. III 140 δ_0 On the genesis of this ϵ_0 , see § 688.

On χρέομαι, see § 167. In adjectival forms:

In adj. of material the orthographically old form is preserved

till the latest times; cf. under $E + \Omega$, E + OI.

Hdt. χρύσεος; χρύσεον 114 E 8, Zeleia, Wood, Discov. at Ephesus, App. 6, No. 1, Aphrodisias, 254, of the imperial period, Olbia, 129, 12; Latyschev, Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Euxini, I, Nos. 50, 54, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 70 (after Christ), Samos 220, ε.

I, Nos. 50, 54, 57, 59, 61, 63, 64, 70 (after Christ), Samos 220₁₈. λίνεος Hdt. III 47; λινέω I 195, but Attic λινοῦς Samos, 220₁₅, λινοῦν 220₂₅ (despite χρύσεον l. 18). The same inscription dating from the middle of the fourth century, has ἀλοργοῦς l. 23, -οῦν l. 22, 30 (cf. Plato, *Timaios*, 68 C). χάλκεον appears in Pherekydes of Leros, 33 h, Hellan. 149, which fragment also contains χαλκοῦς and χαλκῆ. χάλκεον Samos, 224, an inscription otherwise Hellenistic. τώργυρεῦν Hrd. 462 is a unique form.

άφνεός Theog. 188, 559, πλέος in Hdt. with some of the oblique case forms in πλευ- (see § 219, 3, and Bredow, p. 154), ἐπιτήδεος, ἐπέτεος, βόεος, χήνεος, adj. in -λεος are uncontracted;

\$ 263, 3 6; 311.

Nouns: &εον Sim. Amorg. 11; δστέον Hdt. probably from *δστειον, cf. Skt. ásthi. πόλεος, by-form of πόλιος, with the same inner hiatus which has prevented φύσεος, &c. in Attic from

¹ Greg. Korinth. 14 quotes only forms in co.

being regarded as direct descendants of the gen. $-\epsilon_{k0}$ s (nom. $-\epsilon_{k0}$ s). $\chi \rho \epsilon_{k0}$ s, $\lambda \epsilon_{k0}$ s are not beyond peradventure for $\chi \rho \sigma \epsilon_{k0}$ s. If we assume $\chi \rho \sigma_{k0}$ - $\chi \rho \sigma_{k0}$ s, we have the ablaut $\chi \rho \sigma_{k0}$ - in $\chi \rho \sigma_{k0}$ s. Cf. § 286, 1.

Pronouns: ἐμεῦ Mimn. 142, Archil. 92; μευ Hippon. 62, Anakr. 76, 81; τευ Archil. 110. Herodoteian MSS. have both ἐμέο and ἐμεῦ. The forms in -ευ are to be adopted. See under Pronouns. On ἐμεῦ, &c. in Homer, see van Leeuwen, Mnem. XIII 188 ff., 400 ff. ὁτεύνεκευ occurs in Hrd. 7102.

σου, found Hippon. 76, μου 83, ϵ μοῦ Arch. 111, are Atticisms to be removed in favour of the forms in ϵ υ or ϵ 0. ϵ 0. ϵ 0 in Solon is correct. In Theognis both forms occur, and so in the later elegy and in the Anthology.

288.] H+O.

The Ionic dialect early developed an objection to η followed by ο. ηο is sometimes preserved when f originally separated the two vowels. It is indifferent whether η=I.Ε. ā or δ. Such forms as do not show metathesis quantitatis are to be regarded as archaisms: ληόν Hippon. 88; παιήονα Arch. 76¹; νηός Arch. 4; παρήορος Arch. 56₃ (Hdt. and Attic μετέωρος). Are παρηρία μωρία and πάρηρος (MSS. πάρερος) ὁ μωρός in Hesychios Ionic? "Αρηος Tyrt. 11γ ("Αρηο Arch. 48, according to Fick, for Bergk's "Αρεω)². On Fick's restoration 'Ιόληος, &c., see § 160. Elsewhere ηο, whether=I.Ε. δνο or ανο, suffers change to εω or εο (εν): Arch. 58₄, πλέως(?); Anakr. 94, πλέω; Hdt. πλέος (πλεο-); § 219, 3. It is not true that ηο < ᾱο became only εω in Ionic, and ηο = pan-Hellenic ηο, only εο. γηοχέοντι Hdt. VII 190 is unusual.

289.] E+Ω.

It is a noticeable feature in the history of $\epsilon \omega$ in Ionic, that in early lyric poetry it is not dissyllabic in a single instance, a fact that leads us to doubt whether the pronunciation in ordinary speech was invariably $\epsilon \tilde{\omega}$ and not diphthongal³. $\epsilon \omega$ in Ionic, when originating from η_0 , may at least in certain cases ($\epsilon \omega$) be regarded as a diphthong with three moras: though its ω probably did not contain two moras, as the ϵ on the other hand may have had greater weight than a simple vowel containing a single mora. That $\epsilon \omega$ is not a pure dissyllable is furthermore evidenced by the fact that it passes into a monophthong when actual contraction results after a vowel, as in the \hat{A} declension ($\hat{\xi}$ 429, 2). The prose monuments of the dialect, and to a large extent the

¹ Solon, Hausros 13st. Elsewhere waise, see § 280. Hrd. 411 has Haiser, cf. 4a; Hauser 416.

[&]quot; f is here in each case the intervening consonant. wéAmer alone lies outside of this category. On this form, see § 445. In ΔAHOν Naxos 23 H = open ε.

The view upheld by Bechtel, that ε in εω must have been pronounced because ε appears in -ευ which originated from -εω (§ 287, 1), cannot be accepted until it has been shown that final -εω actually did become -ευ.

inscriptions, often unite in preserving the writing $\epsilon \omega$ till a late period of the history of the dialect. The later writers in Ionic

retain with considerable consistency the writing $\epsilon \omega$.

 $\epsilon \omega$ in Ionic comes into existence from $\eta_0 = \text{pan-Hellenic } \eta_0$, and from ηο = Aiolic and Doric āo. As both ηο's become εο, so may both appear under the form of $\epsilon \omega$. Cf. the remarks on E+O. On the retention in Ionic poetry of no where the later dialect adopts $\epsilon \omega$ or ϵo , see under H+O.

1. εω after expulsion of F.

 $\epsilon \omega$ may originate from $\epsilon F \omega$, $\eta F \omega$, the ω of which is either original or due to contraction; or it may arise from ηFo or ηFω.

εω from εΓω appears in νέων Anakr. 1003, ἀνενεώσατο Ephesos 1477, ἡδέων and in all genitives from ευ/υ stems, and the corresponding adverbs (πρηέως Hippokr. II 676), Πανταλέων Iasos 10450, Κλυτιδέων Chios 183 A 7. Κλεώνυμος Smyrna 15319, Thasos 82 B 9 is from κλεγο + ωνυμος; on 'Ηρακλεώτης Eryth. 206 A 38, Halik. 241, see § 219. εω is from ε+ofa or ε+afo in νέωτα Sim. Amorg. 10 < νέΓοΓατα, not from νεΓοΓετα; θεωρός Theog. 805, Samoth. 236, from *θηωρός < θη ΓαΓορός. Λεώδευς Thas. 77 B $4 < \Lambda \eta_0 + a\delta - (\Lambda \epsilon \acute{a}\delta \eta_s \text{ Styra } 19_{242} \text{ is} = \Lambda \eta(F_0)F\acute{a}\delta \eta_s)$.

εω from ηFo < aFo generally remains open. εωθεν Arch. 83, while Mimn. 12, has the obsolescent 'Hώs; νεωποιέω Samos 222; μετέωρος Hdt., Hippokr., and Attic, μετήορος Hom. In connexion with this word we may mention ξωρτο in Hesychios=ήορτο, for which we find ἄωρτο Γ 272, T 253. Furthermore in λεωργά Arch. 88, with which cf. Hesychios' λαοργός ανόσιος. Σικελοί, and see below p. 265, note. λεώς Hdt., 'Αρκεσίλεως Styra 1915. Λεώβριμος 1938 show that ληόν was antiquated in the time of Hipponax (fr. 88). The change of ā to η precedes in time the metathesis quantitatis.

Diphthongal εω appears in Λεώφιλος Archil. 69. Cf. names in Λευ-, § 160. κυκεώνα Hippon. 434 < *κυκήου (cf. κυκειώ Λ 624), τεθνεώς Theog. 1192, Hom. τεθνηώς, Hdt. έστεώς, τεθνεώς.

εω is derived from pan-Hellenie η fo in πλέως Anakr. 94, and perhaps Arch. 584; and in ἱέρεω Olbia 12823, 33, 53, from the nominative ἰέρεως Miletos 1004, ἱερεωσύνη Attic and Hdt. III 141 (contracted in (Attic?) lερωσύνη Eryth. 206 A 40). It also appears in the genitive of ηv stems (with pan-Hellenic η), where Homer has -ηων. Later Ionic has -εων, Homer -ηων and a few cases of -εων.

 ω perhaps from $\epsilon \omega$ (original $\bar{a} F \omega$).

ξυνωνίη Arch. $86_2 = κοινωνία$ is from ξυνέων = ξυνήων, Hsd. Th. 595, 601 = ξυνάΓων, Doric ξυνάων and ξυνάν, Attic ξυνών. Ποσειδων is found Archil. 114, to which Ποσειδεών is to be preferred (Herod. π. μ. λ. 11, 6, Renner, p. 190). Ποσειδάωνος, by conj., Archil. 10; Hdt. has Ποσειδέων.

2. $\epsilon \omega$ after expulsion of σ .

The Ionic genitive in $-\epsilon \omega = \text{Homeric } -\bar{a}o$ is represented on the Naxian inscription, No. 23, by ηo ($\Delta \epsilon \iota \nu o \delta \ell \kappa HO$), where HO is a diphthong, whose η is not metrically equivalent to Homeric \bar{a} in $-\bar{a}o$.

-εω in the Ionic elegiac and iambic poets is a monosyllable: in Hdt. we have βορέω for βορέεω, on which see § 429, 2. Upon inscriptions in the fifth century we find only $-\epsilon \omega$ and $-\omega$; in the following century -ev comes to light as well as the forms from analogy to the - ϵ s declension. - ω from $\epsilon \omega < \eta(\sigma)$ to appears in the forms 'Αννικῶ Chios, 174 C 13 (fifth century), 'Aσίω ibid. C 27, Πυθω ibid. D 4, Λυσω D 17, which are the result of the contraction of $\epsilon + \omega$ reduced from $\epsilon \epsilon \omega$. With 'Asiw, cf. Havs aviw Abdera, 16316. These genitives, as Bechtel has shown (Ion. Insch. 109, B. B. X 280 ff.), do not represent a different period of the dialect from those in -εω. Those in -εεω are probably grammatical figments. Since upon the same inscription (e.g. 240) the forms in -εω and -ω occur, since -εω is a diphthong, and finally, since the ϵ of the genitive had not disappeared from the Ionic genitive in the third century B. C., -εω and -ω must be mere graphical variations of one and the same ending. Μυχιέων Naxos, 27, 'Ερμίεω Chios, 180, and 'Αγίεω Olbia, 131, 11, are thought by Bechtel to owe their existence to the workings of analogy. As in Attic 'Αλαιᾶς, Θεσπιᾶς are older than 'Αλαιέας, Θεσπιέας, 80 'Ασίω is older than 'Ερμίεω, ἀδικιῶν older than Μυχιέων. Cf. Dittenberger, Hermes, XVI 185.

In Παναμύω Halik. 238₁₂, 240 A 11; Πακτύω Myl. 248 C 3, 13; 'Αρχαγορώ Halik. 240 B 3; Μικιννώ 240 A 38; Βρώλω Ditt. Syll. 6 D 22, we have the contraction. After ι, εω is fused

in verbs, e.g. in the future. $\epsilon \omega$ from $\eta \sigma \omega$.

 $\epsilon\omega$ is diphthongal in the gen. pl. Å declension. $\Delta\lambda$ BON Naxos 23, I regard not as = $\eta\sigma\nu$, as Fick takes it, B. B. XI 268, but as = $\epsilon\omega\nu$, the H expressing the open quality of the e sound (cf. Dittenberger, Hermes, XV 229; Blass, Ausspracke, 24 ff.). There appears to be no warrant for deriving $-\epsilon\omega\nu$ from $-\eta\sigma\nu$, attested at best in this single instance.

Attic - w arises from - ew (either from pan-Hellenic no or Attic-Ionic no) when either e or w was tonic. Ionic resisted the operation of this law until a late period in its history. Whether accent position (\angle no-, or -no \angle) should have produced so is not clear. It is, however, certain that unaccented pan-Hellenic no became ew. Cf. Johansson, B. B. XV 169.

eω, εω, from εσω.

ἐών Amorg. 35, epigram, Mimn. 3; ἐών Xenoph. 211. Adverbs in -εως 1: ἀδηνέως Chios, 174 B 12; Theog. 406, εὐμαρέως (so

¹ Greg. Kor. 451, Vat. 697, Hdn. II 388₂₀ = schol. ξ 485.

Demokr. Mor. 22, Herodas V), σαφηνέως 963; νηλεῶς Anakr. 752 (<νηλεέως) as Hdt. ἀκλεῶς V 77, ἀδεῶς I 216 (-έως?); ἀσφαλέως Archil. 584, 664; ἐμμελέως Anakr. 40 $_{0}$ if glyconic (but see Rossbach, Metrik 563); Hdt. τελέως, ἀληθέως, σαφηνέως, &c. Hippokr. ξυνεχέως, ἀτρεμέως (-ῶς occasionally in MSS.), Protag. νηπενθέως, Diog. Apoll. 6 ἀτρεκέως (sic Simpl., who has however ἐμφανῶς in fr. 5), &c. Cf. -ῶ in the genitive from -εω.

εω, εω, from εσω in other forms.

In the future of liquid verbs we find εω, never ω, in Herodoteian MSS. Archil., Hipponax and Theognis have ἐρέω. In the participle Hdt. has ἀγγελέων, &c. εἰδέωσιν Halik. 238₂₁, Demokr.

87, Attic εἰδῶσιν Ephesos 14717 (300 B. C.).

 $\theta \in \hat{\omega} \nu$ Arch. tr. 25₃, Mimn. 2₄, 9₆, Xenoph. 1₂₄, Solon 4₂, 13₃, but $\theta \in \hat{\omega} \nu$ 13₃₀, and Archil. 84₂, Hipponax 30 A, Anakr. 65₄. The form with synizesis is found as early as Hesiod, Th. 44. In the genitive plural of nouns of the sigmatic declension both $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ and $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ occur in poetry, see § 537. The prose form is always open.

3. εω after expulsion of yod.

From -ημο- we have εω in διψέων (---) Archil. 68, διψέωντα Anakr. 57, according to Fick (B. B. XI 265), for διψώντα.

χρέωμαι, the genuine Ionic form (whatever be made of Hdt.'s χρέομαι in P from II 77 on) is=*χρημομαι. See §§ 167, 687. Hdt. has χρέωνται, ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενος. From χρῆν, pronounce, χρῆσθαι, interrogate an oracle, we have in Hdt. χρέωσα, χρεώμενος, ἐχρέωντο (P here too ἐχρέοντο V 82, VII 141). From σμῆν, διασμέωντες II 37 (Stein, Kallenberg, -σμῶντες); hence ἐξέσμεων III 148. If νῆν is the Herodoteian form, we would expect ἐπινέωσι IV 62; if νεῖν, then ἐπινέονσι.

 $\epsilon_{\mu}\omega$ from ϵ_{ω} in verbs remains uncontracted in the MSS. of the prosaists, though contraction may have ensued by the year 500 B.C. In the poets ϵ_{ω} is a monosyllable or is actually contracted. Under the head of Contract Verbs are given the forms in ϵ_{ω} , ϵ_{ω} , ω . A few verbs in $-\alpha_{\omega}$ become $-\epsilon_{\omega}$ (ϵ_{l} ρωτ ϵ_{ω} , δ_{ρ} ε ϵ_{ω} , ϕ_{l} τ ϵ_{ω}), § 688. Here too are to be classed participial nouns: $\pi_{\rho o \mu} \alpha_{\chi} \epsilon_{\omega} \nu$ Hdt. ($\pi_{\rho o \mu} \alpha_{\chi} \hat{\omega} \nu \epsilon_{\omega}$ Teos, 1599, Attic form); 'Αρκέων Styra, 1917; Φιλεωνίδ[ϵ]os Thasos, 73.

δστέων Archil. 84.

πόλεωs (occurrences under § 486), a genuine Ionic form, from πόλησε. Johansson, B. B. XV 169, proposes to explain the εω of πόλεωs on the theory that if the accent fell upon a syllable preceding or following ηο, εω and not ω, is the result. Cf. Attic $\gamma \epsilon \omega - \langle \gamma \eta(\iota) \rangle$ 0- in $\lambda \epsilon \pi \tau \acute{o} \gamma \epsilon \omega$ 5, $\gamma \epsilon \omega \mu \epsilon \tau \rho \acute{a}$ 6, Hdt. $\gamma \epsilon \omega \pi \epsilon \acute{\iota} \nu \eta$ 8 (Greg. Kor. II4), $\gamma \epsilon \iota \omega \pi \epsilon \acute{\iota} \nu \alpha s$ 7, $\gamma \epsilon \omega \mu \nu \chi \acute{\epsilon} \omega$ 7, $\gamma \epsilon \omega \pi \epsilon \acute{o} \nu \nu$ 8 (γησχέω VII 190). -εωs from -ησε in the ι decl. is not contracted in any dialect.

Adjectives denoting a material retain the uncontracted 1 form until far into the imperial period. ἀργυρέω Olbia, 129,3; χρυσέωι Ephes. 1479, Latyschev, Inscr. antiq. orae septentr. Ponti Eux. I, No. 67, Wood, Discov. at Ephesus, App. 6, No. 1. But χρυσέφ Mimn. 116, and one case of -ω, Latyschev, l. l. No. 57. Adjectives in - \(\alpha \) os with but a few exceptions fail to contract any form : ἀργαλέφ Tyrt. 12₂₈. See § 263, 1, b.

In superlatives from stems in -εο-, e.g. τελεωτάτη Demokr. 128.

On 'Ηρακλεώτης, &c., see § 219.

In the pronominal declension we find ἡμέων, ὑμέων: see Brug-

mann, *Gr. Gr.* § 96.

Suffix -εων in ανδρεών, ποδεών (Bekk. Anecel. I 8,6), φαρετρεών, &c. in Hdt., cf. πυλεών Demokr. 60.

4. εω where no consonant intervened:

ἀφέω Hipponax, 75, from *ἀφήω, cf. Hdt. ἀποστέωσι. In Hdt. the εω of the agrist passive is not contracted (ἀπαιρεθέω, ἐσσωθέωμεν, φανέωσι).

Hyper-Ionic -cor occurs in the gen. of consonantal stems, of obros, in тепен Aret. 290, &с. See § 480.

290.] $H + \Omega$.

ηω is preserved as an archaic form; e.g. in 'Hώς Mimn. 123, 102 and in Hdt. through the protection offered by f (nús from *avous, K. Z. XXX 422, note 2). On Archil. 83 εωθεν, see Bartholomae, K. Z. XXIX 522. Elsewhere $H + (F, t, \sigma) + \Omega$ becomes $\epsilon \omega$, whether $\eta = \bar{a}$ or pan-Hellenic η .

291.] $E + \Upsilon$.

The elegy still preserves &v-, if the possibility of this reading may be regarded as a criterion (ἐυπλοκάμου Arch. 11; ἐυφροσύνη Xenoph. 14; ἐυστεφάνου Theog. 1339; cf. 548, 574), while εν is permitted (Archil. 19, Theog. 639, 845, &c.). Iambic poetry records ευ in ευφρων Sim. Amorg. 799, εὐτυχεί 783, εὖ 117. In Anakr. εὐέθειρα 76.

292.] O + A.

I. oFă.

aὐτώδης according to Apoll. Dysk. Pron. 94 C, whereas we read αὐθαδέστεροι Hdt. VI 92 3. Compounds of άναξ: χειρωναξιέων Hdt.; Σιμώνακτος Hippon. 55 B; Ίππώνακτος Hippon. 13, cf. An. Ox. II 22534 (Choirob.); Αριστώνακτο Chios, 17715; Έρμωναξ Iasos, 10414, Eryth. 206 B 13; Δημώνακτος 206 B 21, Thas. (L.)

 ¹ χρυσίψ, ἀργυρίψ are quoted from Homer as Ionic by Joh. Gr.. 242.
 2 Cf. Et. M. 440₃₃.
 2 αἰθάδης is from αἰνα-αδής (άδος) or αἰνα + ηδής (ἢδος) not, as Aristotle and some moderns think (cf. Wilamowitz, Herakl. 1243) from αἰνταθόης. See K. Z. XXVIII 130.

4 B 10, 143, Thasos, 81 B 4; Τιμώναξ Thasos, 75 B 4, 'Ανδρώνα(ξ) Imh. Bl. G. M. 377 (Chios); Μανδρῶναξ Klazom. l. l. 257, Ποσι-δῶναξ Ephesos, l. l. 279 A, Head, H. N. 491. It seems not easily credible that in most of these compound proper names the termination -ωναξ should be due to the influence of such names as Πυθώναξ (which depends upon Πύθων); and that there should be merely an echo of the vocative wax in the names of the Ionian aristocrats. See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXIX 143, who would even set aside χειρωναξ as an example of the contraction of of a to ω.

πρώτος from *προΓατος (or perhaps from *πρωΓατος), Keos, 4316, Styra, 1947. Other examples of of a = ω are κυματώγη Hdt. IV 196, IX 100, ἀσί Anakr. 21, < *δατσι, Hom. οὐατ- < οὐσατ-. ούασι Sim. K (?) 854. See § 255 and Schmidt's Neutra, p. 407.

On Hippokr. ωτίς (ὀτίς) VI 356, see Littré.

ο(F)a uncontracted in ἀκήκοα. νεοάλωτοι Hdt. IX 120 is felt to be a compound.

2. ooa

= ω in κακίω Archil. 6, ; κρέσσω Anan. 3, ; ἀμείνω Theog. 409 [πλείω 907, not certain]. Hdt. has ἐλάσσω, καλλίω, ἀμείνω, πλέω, &c., as well as the ν forms. Hdt. alòω I 8 (Greg. Korinth. § 35,

says alδοῦν is Ionie); ἡῶ Hdt. II 8.

3. Crasis (cf. Greg. Korinth, § 29): ὑπόλλων Hippon, 45, τώντικνήμιον Hippon. 496, τώρχαῖον, ώνήρ, τὤγαλμα, τώληθές in Hdt., ἄνθρωπος often in Hippokr. render ἄμ, Thasos, 68 A, very noticeable, if Fick (G. G. A. 1883, 126) is correct in regarding it as=δ ăμ. o+a results in a in Eleian, Argolic, Korinthian, and in other dialects of the Doric class. In Attic we find a in 'Aθηναῖος, τἄγαλμα Mitth. III, p. 230, 5 (before 343 B. c.), and also ω in $\pi \rho \tilde{\omega} \tau \sigma s^1$, $\tau \tilde{\omega} \gamma \dot{\alpha} \lambda \mu \alpha \tau \sigma s$ C. I. A. I 322 A 75 (transcribed by Kirchhoff $\tau \sigma \hat{v}(\dot{\alpha})\gamma$ -). The parallelism of Attic and Ionic makes it probable that o + a may become ω and a. 'A $\mu o_i \beta i \chi o_i v =$ δ 'Aμ- Abu-Simbel (Roberts I 130) cannot be cited as evidence, since the name is not that of an Ionian. Absence of crasis is frequent upon the inscriptions; e.g. τὸ ἄδος Halik. 23819.

οι + α in ώλλοι: ώλλοι μέν ρα' αί τοιαύται συναλοιφαί της δευτέρας είσιν Ἰάδος, ή "Ομηρος ούκ εχρήσατο": Schol. Apoll. Rhod. A 998, 1081 refers the form to the νεωτέρα lás. Cf. Theokritos, XVIII 17. Ελλοι Hdt. I 48, ωνθρωποι VII 11, ωνδρες IV 134; ov + a in τωπόλλωνος Chalkis 1312, Halik. 23836, Naukratis, e.g. I 6,68-70, 72, 74, 76-79, 81-83, 139-141 (but τἀπόλλωνος 156-158, 250, 257-258, &c.); τώγωνος Teos 156 B 32; but τοῦ ᾿Απόλλωνος

Unless πρώτος is for *πρωγατος.
 Cf. Hdn. II 3444 = Et. Mag. 82129. The form δλλοι is found in MSS. of Homer, and was read by Zenod. B 1, K 1, but rejected by Aristarches in favour of δλλοι because of his belief as to the absence of the article from Homer; see § 258 on Aristarchos' Epistos.

Amphip. 10_{13} , Eretria 15_{15} , Milet. 98, $\tau o \hat{v}$ 'Apváous Halik. 238_{14} . With $\tau a \pi \delta \lambda \omega \nu [os]$ in the inscriptions of Naukratis, cf. $\delta \mu$ above. $\tau a \nu \theta \rho \omega \pi \sigma v$ in PRd Hdt. II 121 (3) and $\tau a \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon s$ in PR VII 139 are not easy to defend. In Hrd. 4_{12} $\tau o \hat{v}$ defends is scriptio plena.

293.] O + À.

In accus, pl. of \hat{A} stems $o + \hat{a} < a\nu$ s remains uncontracted.

294.] Ω+A.

Σῶνδρος Amorg. 32 is rather from < σων = σω before vowels (Spitzer, Lautl. des Arkad. 43, 44) than from σασο. See § 277. 'Ωρίων Miletos 93 (Pindar 'Ωαρίωνα) and in Homer, though Nauck proposes to substitute 'Ωαρίων- for 'Ωρῖων-. Cf. Menrad, p. 13. ζωάγρια Hdt. III 36 recalls Σ 407; elsewhere ζωγ- with accented ω.

The MSS. of Hdt. have both ήρωα, μήτρωα, and, by analogy to

the vowel declension, ήρων, πάτρων.

By crasis: ωνθρωπε Hdt. I 35, Theog. 453; ωναξ Anakr. 2, Hdt. IV 150, 155, VII 141, ωνδρες Hrd. 261; τωπόλλωνι Miletos 96, 97, Naukratis, Roberts I 132 ter, and very many times in the inscriptions discovered at Naukratis; τωκινάκη Anakreon 136 (Et. Mag. 5142). The article does not coalesce with the following word in τωι 'Απόλλωνι Naukr. I 2, 345-6, Milet. 93; τωι 'Απολλ[ωνί]ωι Halik. 23845, an inscription that refuses to adopt crasis.

Synizesis: eyà 'Auporaine Hrd. 54.

295.] O+E.

1. ο ε yields ο ε and ου in the poets. Arch. εμερόεντα 8, στονόεντα 91, αιματόεν 98, χρυσοέθειρ 121; Mimn. αλγινόεσσαν 112, αιματόεντος 147; Anakr. ερόεσσαν 172, δακρυόεσσαν 31, δακρυόεντα 942, κεροέσσης 512; Xenoph. αλγινόεσσαν 24; Phokylides εμερόεντος 38. ανθεμεθντας (ου?) Anakr. 622, χαριτεθν 44 (ου? οτ, preserving χαρίεν, read χ. γὸρ ήθος (εσχεις)), Βατουσιάδης Arch. 1042 < Βατοθς Βατόεις, are the only examples of contraction in forms of -οεις; see § 314. In Homer -οεις does not become -οθς, hence Aristarchos' λωτοθντα Μ 283 is suspicious. There is evidence making for the late date of the passage.

In the compound τε(σ)σερακαιεβδο[μη] ρουτούτης Paros 58, of ε is contracted; cf. Arrian's τεσσαρακούντεες 98, τριακουτούτεες 97. In the adjectival and participial formations: Τειχιού(σ)σης Miletos 28 (ΤειχιοΓετιης); Μαραθοῦντα Eryth. 20138; θανοῦσαν 264, Adesp., στέγουσαν Keos 4712; Φοινικοῦσσαι Hek. (Steph. Byz. ε. υ.), Έρμώνοσσα Chios 174 A 2, 4 has been read by Blass -νουσσα, but is properly an example of vowel assimilation; in Hdt. Οἰνοῦσσαι, Σελινούσιοι, Ὁπούντιοι, Συρακούσιοι (on Συρακόσιος see above, § 255). ος remains open in Μολόεντα Hdt.

ΙΧ 57, Μυρικόευτα Hek. 209, Σολόευτος Hdt. II 32, Αλγιόεσσα Ι 149, μελιτόεσσα VIII 41, Σκολοπόευτα ΙΧ 97, τριηκουτοέτιδας VII 149, but these are all forms out of date in Hdt.'s day. σε

also remains open in εὐνοέστερον Hdt. V 24, Hrd. 679.

The concurrence of a stem in ϵ/o and $-\epsilon\rho\gamma o$ - or $-\bar{\ell}\epsilon\nu\tau$ -, as the latter member of a compound, is dealt with in the dialects in different ways. The original ablaut form, $-Fo\rho\gamma \delta s$, gave way at an early period to $-F\epsilon\rho\gamma \delta s$, as is shown by Homeric δημιοεργόs ρ 383. See Curtius' Studien, VIII 213; §§ 149, 150 above; A. P. A. XVIII 95, 158; Meister, G. D. II 41, to whom I owe much of the material given below; Bennett 28 ff.; Johansson D. V. C. 19 ff.

I. The vowels are uncontracted.

δβριμοεργῶν Kallin. 3; ἀγαθοεργῶν Hdt. I 67, ἀγαθοεργίην III 160, ἀγαθοεργίαι III 154 in PR; δημιοεργοί VII 31, and so the editors in IV 194, despite all the MSS. It is not easily credible that the Ionic of the fifth century should have differentiated between ἀγαθοεργός and κακοῦργος. Either the forms were open or they were closed. But exceptions might be made in favour of ἀγαθοεργοί, δημιοεργοί if used as technical expressions. λυκιοεργέας Hdt. VII 76 (sic Athenaios; PR λυκοεργέας, reliqui λυκερ-; cf. below III B); <math>Σ[ελινόεντ[ι]] Selinus C. D. I. 3045 A 9; Ὁπόεντι Lokris, C. D. I. 1478 B 33; Μυρικόεντα Hekat. 209; παντοέρκτεω Herodas 542.

II. The vowels are contracted.

(A) $o + \epsilon$ becomes ov.

On forms in Hdt., see above.

παναλουργέα Xenoph. 33; Αυκούργος Styra 1915 and Chios (Paspat. p. 39); κακούργος, κρεουργηδόν, ὑπουργέω, ξυλουργέω Hdt. (Stein, Preface, liii); ἐπικαινουργείν Dem. Mor. 20,7; έριουργήσαι Vita Hom. 4; ξοανουργίης Luk. Syr. 34; μουσουργίη Astr. 10, Vit. auct. 3; λειτουργοί, δημιουργικόν Arrian 12; ύπουργήματα Euseb. Mynd. 10; κακούργων Hipp. III 238; ύπουργήσαι Hipp. ep. 141. Τηιουργός, Μιλησιουργής, Χιουργής, in the inventory of the temple of the Delian Apollo (B. C. H. VI 29 = Ditt. Syll. 367) are too late (185-180 B.C.) to be cited as evidence. So too in North-West Greek, δαμιουργός Phokis (Ditt. Syll. 29439), of the second century B.C., Argolic, l. l. 38926, δαμιουργήσας Kameiros in Rhodes, Revue Arch. XIV 336, No. 59; Lokris, 'Οπούντιοι C. D. I. 1503, 1504, A 2, B 2, 1505, 1509 B, 1510 (Hdt. VII 203), 'Οποῦντι 1502, (all late inscriptions); Σελινοῦντιος C. D. I. 3044, Megara (so Bechtel edits, but in his note suggests Σελινοντ-). The Megarian dialect contracted $o + \epsilon$ to ov even in an early period (the inscription is written βουστροφηδόν). The uncontracted form too held its ground in Selinus (above I).

Contraction to ev has been assumed on the strength of Kapikevpyles Anakr. 91, as written by Bergk for Strabo's Kapikeepy. This contraction belongs in the same class as dikalev with hyper-lonic ev, § 690. The form is handed down with -oepyles by Eust. 36723, 70731, Et. Gud. 29743, schol. Iliad @ 193 (where kapiepyles is also read, see III B below); cf. Et. Mag. 4892, where Flor. adds kapicepy.

λεουργός, Doric according to Photios for Attic and Ionic Λεωργός (Archil. 88, Prometh. 5, Xen. Mem. I 3, 9), is a mistaken form. With λεωργός compare the adv. λέως which the grammarians called Ionic. Archil. 112 has λείως — τελέως.

- (B) $o + \epsilon$ becomes ω according to some scholars (Roehl, G. Meyer, Blass) where syllabic hyphaeresis and lengthening of the first vowel are preferable. ω is however certain in : $\partial \mu \pi \epsilon \lambda \omega \rho \gamma \iota \kappa \delta$ Herakl. Tables II 43; $T \epsilon \lambda \phi \hat{\omega} \sigma \sigma a$, a spring in Boiotia (Ahrens I 173) and elsewhere (see Pape). But the usual form is $T \epsilon \lambda \phi o \hat{\omega} \sigma \eta$, and ou appears in $T \epsilon \lambda \phi o \hat{\omega} \sigma \iota \sigma v$ St. Byz., $T \epsilon \lambda \phi o \omega \sigma \iota \sigma v$ arkadia, $T \epsilon \lambda \phi o \omega \sigma \iota \sigma v$ &c.
- III. In the following forms it has been thought that either ϵ or o has been expelled. Some of the cases of the supposed loss of ϵ may be explained as arising from $-o + Fo\rho\gamma$, $\delta\rho\gamma$ being lightened to $o\rho\gamma$, as $\delta\nu\tau$ to $-o\nu\tau^{1}$.
- (A) ε is expelled in ἀλοργήν Samos 220₁₈, 16, 19, ἀλοργά 220₂₈, ἀλοργοῦς 220₂₁, ἀλοργοῦς 220₂₂, ἀλοργοῦς 220₂₂, ὁημιοργοῦ 220₂₂. ἱροργίαι is the reading of ABC in Hdt. V 83, where ἱρουργίαι is usually edited. δημιοργοῦν Samos, R. M. XXII, 313, l. 1. In the other dialects we find δαμιοργός Andania, Cauer 47₁₁₆, first century; Megara, Mitth. VIII 191, No. 5, Cauer 104₁₉ (Aigosthenai, third century); Knidos, Cauer 166₇ (first cent.); Kameiros, Cauer 187₁ (conj.)²; Astypalaia, B. C. II. VIII 26 B 7, 8 (in an inscription from Amorgos); Telos, Cauer 169₂; Argos, Cauer 48 (conj., fifth cent.); Arkadia, C. D. I. 1181₉ (third cent.), B. C. II. VII 489; Boiot., Mitth. VI 304₃, 9; Achaia (Ditt. Syll. 182₁₃ (second cent.), 242₂₁ (second cent.)), B. C. H. II 97, l. 16; Lokrian, C. D. I. 1476₂₋₃; Oianthea, C. D. I. 1479₁₈ (fifth cent.), 1480 (fifth cent.), Pamphylia, C. D. I. 1260 (late), 1261 (late). Cf. Dumont, Cér. 138 ff. Also in 'Ολόντιοι in Krete, C. I. G. 2554₃, 'Ο]ποντίων C. D. I. 1478₁₁, cf.₁₄ (fifth cent.), as we find ΟΠΟΝΤΙΟΝ on the older coins ('Οπόεντι₃₃); Σελινόντιος, as Bechtel proposes to read C. D. I. 3044, Selinus instead of -ουντιος.
 - (B) o is expelled.

daμιεργός Nisyros, Ditt. Syll. No. 195, (about 200 B.C.);

For SamOTThras.

¹ This lightening of long vowel before the two consonants is here not due to the operation of the old principle which effected this change. In the late dialectal period of the language the old principle was resuscitated after having fallen into abeyance.

λινεργής Lykophr. 716. Both are doubtless due to the influence

of έργου. Cf. § 149. On Καριεργέος, see II B, note.

1. In infinitives of $-o\omega$ verbs, $o + F \epsilon v$ (or $\sigma \epsilon v$) or $o + \text{spurious } \epsilon \iota$ has invariably yielded ου. ὀρκοῦν Halik. 23826; βεβαιοῦν 2404, 5; also o + F εν = ov as in δοῦ(ν)αι Priene 144s; διδοῦν Oropos 1821, 33, Thasos 7211. $\dot{\rho}_{ij}$ $\dot{\rho$ ριγούν occurs after Plato. We should expect ριγών in Hdt.

2. 00€.

Becomes ov regularly; e.g. μείους Xenoph. 34; αμείνους V 78, πλέους II 8 (πλείους R. A.) 120 (πλείους in all MSS.) are the only contracted forms in Hdt. of the nom. pl. of these comparatives. Compounds of $\xi \chi \omega$ (-o χo -) are always contracted, e.g. πατρούχος Hdt. VI 57.

3. $o_{\xi}\epsilon$. In verbs in $-o\omega$, $o_{\xi}\epsilon$ invariably becomes ov. See under Conjugation.

4. Κλεουμπόρου Lampsakos 171 is from κλεο + έμπορος.

5. Crasis: in lyric poetry: προύθηκε Arch. trim. 38; τουπίθημα Hippon. trim. 56; προύπιτεν Hippon. trim. 393; προύδωκα Theog. 529; προ- is not contracted in the Ionic of Hdt. Lukian, Syr. 24, Hippokr. ep. 1734, Herodas 312 have πρού-; but Arrian, Ind. 222, 344, Euseb. Mynd. 21, 41, Hippokr. ep. 2719, προε-. Crasis occurs also in οῦτερος Hdt. I 34, 134, III 78 (R ὁ ἐτ-); τούτερου Hdt. I 32, 186, τουτέρου Sim. Amorg. 7113, and also in Hippon. 183, where in Vit. 2 it is glossed by λωνικώς (a striking example of the crasis of έτερος in Attic is οὐτέρα in Aristotle's 'Αθην. πολιτ.); τούργον Herodas 432, 7121; τούναντίου Euseb. Mynd. 2; but τὸ ἐλάχιστον Hdt. II 13, τὸ ἔσχατον VII 229, τὸ ἔδαφος VIII 137, though crasis is probable. ου + ε in τούρμοκράτεος Prokon. 1032; οῦνεκ' Sol. trim. 375, Theog. 854, 1349, οῦνεκεν Herodas 184, 221, 615; τοῦνεκα Theog. 488, Luk. Syr. 33, 39, 54, τοῦνεκεν Xenoph. 219. This ov is not a diphthong.

6. Aphaeresis occurs in ποταμοῦ 'πανέρχομαι Anakr. 23, κοῦ

στιν Herodas 50. Synizesis in προεκπονή Sim. Amorg. 22.

296. O+H.

I. oFn.

 $oF\eta$ is always uncontracted in compounds the stem of whose first member ends in -o, e.g. κακοηθίη Demokr. Mor. 22, according to Stobaios, χειροήθης Hdt. II 69, νοηρες Hrd. 73.

of η also remains open in ἀθρόην Arch. 35, &c. ζόη Hdt., Hrd.

434, 68, Aiolic ζοία < ζω-.

of η = ω in δγδωκονταίτη Sol. 204. The vocalic sequence in δγδοήκοντα not lending itself to the verse, the poets use δγδώκοντα, e. g. B 568, Sim. Keos 1462, 1476; cf. δγδοήκοντα Kaibel Epigr.

120₃. Hdt. has δηδώκοντα and so Arrian 10₆ (-οηκοντα Dübner). On this form in Ionic, see Eust. on B 568. The contraction ensued through the influence of δκτώ: cf. τετρώκοντα, πριφ (πριόη)

in the Herakl. Tables. See § 207.

In the verbs βοάω, νοέω: Hippon. trim. 1, has έβωσε (cf. Hesych., Suid.) for ἐβόησε of the MSS.; Anakr. 60 ἐπίβωσον, Hdt. βῶσαι, ἐβώσθη, Hrd. βῶσαι for βώση 322, βῶσον 441, 48. In Homer we find ἐπιβώσομαι, βώσαντι: in Theokr. XII 35 ἐπιβῶται: Hesychios records βωθέοντες, βώσομαι. From νοέω (Greg. Kor. § 94, Eust. on B 568, Et. M. 60120): Hdt. ἐννώσας, -αντα, νωσάμενος Theog. 1298 [νώσωνται was a former conjecture in Sim. Am. 117], γενωμένος Anakr. 10. Demokr. νώσαιτο is attested by Philodemos De Ira. According to the monuments the contraction is sporadic, Anakr. 1002 (eleg.) having ἐβόησε, Hdt. βοητός, Teos βοηγιῶν, Mitth. XVI 292, Sol. 1347 προνοήσας, 161 νοῆσαι, as pseudo-Hippokr. περὶ τέχνης and often in Hdt., who has also νόημα, νοήμων: Lukian, Astr. 17 has ἐπενοήσαντο.

There is no ground for the contention that there are themes in $p\omega$ and $\beta\omega$ comparable to Homeric and Herodoteian (4- ω , and that these, not the contracted $po\eta$ and $\beta o\eta$, are the base of the forms adduced above. See Merzdorf in Curtius' Studien, VIII 221.

βοηθέω (or βοηθοίω) = Aiolic βαθέημε seems to be genuine Ionic despite the Hesychian βωθεῖν (βωθέοντες) which Kirchhoff holds to be the proper form. See Veitch a. c. Hdt. has βοηθέεις (-εῖς ?) βοήθεε (-εῖς ?) ἐβοήθησε: Erythrai 2041s (middle of fourth century a.c.) has βοηθήσω. βοηθεῖ occurs in pseudo-Hippokr. περὶ τέχνης.

Kratinos and Aristophanes have preserved instances of the contraction of seds in the common, every-day speech of Athens. Se[1]406ccures in C. I. A. II 12123 (338 s.c.) contains the glide 4 (§ 220). In later Greek (Ptochopro-

dromus II 104) Báta is read.

2. οξη.

Contracted in ἀλλογνώσας Hdt. I 85, perhaps through influence of ἀγνώμων, ἀγνωμοσύνη. μισθώτον is from μισθόητον: but μισθοῖς, μισθοῖ are indic. forms used as subj. Hdt. uses neither διπλόη nor διπλῆ, but Hippokrates has διπλόη as a substantive (cf. Bekk. Anecd. I 2512).

297.] $\Omega + E$ and $\Omega + H$.

I. ₩F€.

πρωες in Samos 225, and in prose literary monuments, represents a class of forms that is never contracted.

Seov Sim. Amorg. 11. Cf. Siov in Sappho 112; φόν in Hdt. II 68 (Stein, though many MSS. omit the iota); Hesychios quotes Sβεα as Argolic.

Aphaeresis occurs in & 'raipe Arch. tetr. 85, & 'parré Anakr.

93 (cf. Sappho 77, 88), τῷ 'τέρφ Hrd. 372.

2. ω+η in πρών Hrd. 562 as in Kallimachos. Homer has πρώην, Hdt. πρωίην.

298.] O+I.

I. of t.

Becomes of and of in Ionic poetry: difus Arch. 52, difupar Theog. 65; and so we generally read in Ionic prosaists. or in οίζυρου Sim. Amorg. 750, οίζου Hrd. 730; τρισοιζύρην in Archil. 129 shows that about 700 B. C. οι could become οι. κοιλώτερα Anakr. 92 (cf. M. Schmidt, Rh. Mus. XX 304).

οίωνός, not διωνός in Theog. 545, Solon 1356 and Hdt. όίω in Homer has no trace of any meaning but 'think' is an objection to Hinter's etymology (K. Z. XXVII 607), which refers δίω < δίω to δίες bird, a word that lies at the base of ολωνός.

ois: monosyllabic nouns that contain a diphthong, separated originally by F, are in Homer generally dissyllabic in the nominative and accusative cases, but refuse to admit the diaeresis in the oblique cases. This holds good in Ionic poetry as late as the sixth century, at least in the case of παις. δις διες, διν δις, are the rule in Homer; but in the other cases both or and or occur. For the later Ionic it is difficult to say which form should have the preference, on account of the paucity of poetical forms. oios is a conjecture of Schweighäuser adopted by Bergk in Anan. 56, where Casaubon read olós; otherwise we have no evidence. of is called by Aristoph., Peace 930, an Ίωνικον βήμα. Stein (Preface, liii) maintains that ois, oicos are the correct Herodoteian forms, and Bredow (p. 173) writes οι in all cases, even in δίσπη, διέησι. If $\pi a \hat{i} \hat{s}$ is the Ionic form of the fifth century, it is difficult to see why Bechtel's oir Thasos 68 A is not correct.

διστός is written in Hdt. by Bredow and Stein, but incorrectly as I think; Λητοίδης Theog. 1120, where -otôns is metrically

possible; ἀθροίζομαι Archil. 60, 104.

καταπροίξεσθαι Hdt. (cf. προίσσομαι Arch. 92, 130); προίκα Mykonos 9215, 21, 22, &c. (Makedonian period). Ionie is προϊκα, according to Et. Mag. 49523, An. Par. IV 5512; the form προίξ is read in the spurious Hipponaktian fragment 722. Cf. also Orion 8221 who accents the form προίκα.

alδοίην in an epigr. in Bechtel's collection, adesp. 264; alδοίος Archil. 631.

Except in suffix syllables (-ωισς), ω before ι is preserved as an

Tzetz. Ex. Π. 1013.
 On the relation of προέσσομαι to προέκτης, see Ascoli Krit. Stud. p. 33211 (Germ. ed.), Fick, B. B. VIII 330.

archaism in the earlier phases of Ionic poetry by the echo of the lost f, as in $\lambda\omega t\omega\nu$ Sim. Amorg. 7_{30} (the personal use, which is not epic); $\lambda\omega i\sigma\nu$ Theog. 424, 690, as in Homer; $\lambda\omega i\sigma$ 800, $\lambda\omega i\sigma$ 853, but $\lambda\omega a$ 96 (see Bergk on v. 800); $\theta\omega i\eta$ Arch. 109 = $\theta\omega \eta$, Attic $\theta\omega a$ (cf. Lokrian $\theta\omega i$ $\epsilon\sigma\tau\omega$, or $\theta\omega i\eta\sigma\tau\omega$, in Θ OIESTO, C. D. I. 14799; $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ Thasos $\delta i\sigma\nu$ Thasos $\delta i\sigma\nu$ Sim. Amorg. 132, the only instance of the open form (cf. $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ in Sim.), elsewhere $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$, as in Hdt. Some MSS. have $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ or $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ cf. Lukian, Astr. 6, 10, where $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ is read, and see M. U. I. 8. $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ is, according to Renner p. 186, to be read in Hipponax 59; Bergk's $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ is however the correct form. The fact that all Attic inscriptions before 100 B.C. have $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ renders more surprising the fact that in the MSS. of Hdt. the iota does not appear. In Homer we have $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ (ϵ 490). There can be no doubt that in Hdt. $\delta\omega i\sigma\nu$ is to be read.

Adjectives in -ωϊος: πατρώϊος (Greg. Korinth. p. 441, quoting Homer) Theog. 521, and in three epigrams on inscriptions (Delos 533, 264 unc. loc., Latyschev II 37); πατρώας Theog. 888, 1210, and so often in MSS. of Hdt. though ωτ is ordinarily held to be genuine Ionic of the fifth century. In Naukratis II 743 the open form Zwillos or Zwillos is certain. The absence of the additional iota in the case of Tpwilos 816 and Zwilos 825 does not show that the combination ωι of these forms was differently pronounced from that in 743. Thus we read πατρώϊος, μητρώϊος, ήρωϊος in Hdt. (Bred. 175); ήρωϊου Eryth. 2016 (cf. ήρωϊ): πρωίην Hdt. VIII 6 (Attic πρώην, but Herodas πρώυ 562), as πρωί Hdt. IX 101, Hipp. II 682. From the MSS. of Hdt. it is impossible to determine beyond doubt whether -ωΐος or -φος was the actual form. Most editors write the forms as given above, while for • a preference of the MSS. may be made out in the case of hoos Hdt. VII 157 (= $\eta \circ i \circ s$ IV 100, 160), a poetical word used by the historian, 'Αχελώος 1, Τρωάς, Κώος (on Kéos, see above, § 286), φόν. In Homer we find Τρώϊος (but Τρφή), Αχελώϊος (cf. C. D. 1. 1199). Is πρώϊρα Et. M. 69233 (Hdn. πρώειρα) Ionic?

300.] I+E.

ισε does not contract in leρ- in Hdt.'s ἀρχιερεύς, καλλιερέω, 'Ιερώνυμος. As regards leρός the MSS. of Hdt. have ιε in the majority of instances, but $\bar{\iota}$ in some cases without any variant. Hekataios 284 has lρή but immediately before lερόν (both in the MSS.), Herakl. ἀνιερωστί 125, Hellan. lερόν 150. The closed form derives a weak support from Greg. Korinth. (§ 66)2, who states that $ιε = \bar{\iota}$ in Ionic, but in § 67 quotes lερέαs from Hdt.

16234; fort Eust. 9204, 12484, 17341; Phavor. on ierla.

Perinthos 234 B 23 and a Samian coin in Brit. Mus. Num. Chron. 1882,
 255 (Head H. N. 517), have 'Αχελώισε.
 lpeés. Ipnξ; lpés Joh. Gr. 241 B, Gram. Moorm. 684; lpeés Eust. 515π, cf.

The text of Herodotos, in reproducing the occurrence of both Homeric forms, cannot per se be held to guide us to the genuine Ionic form in use in the fifth century. Arrian has ἱερήῖα 1812. Hippokratic MSS. generally prefer lερός, and Littré regards this as the correct form; ipós (eipós) however occurs (cf. R. M. XLII, 439, note 1) in περί φυσών 14 (VI 110) in A, and often in περί iερης νόσου in θ. The testimony of the poets is without great weight: Sim. Amorg. 756 ίρά with v. l. lερά, though v o for - is not here permitted according to Fick; 24, lρωστί is nothing but a conjecture; Anan. 13 ίερων (a very obstinate passage), ίερ-Archil. 18, Solon 412, Theog. 545. Apoll. Adv. p. 1629 (Schn.) says that iερωστί was the form used by Anakr. (149). Here A has lερωστί, b the form with ip-, cf. Trypho frag. 69. Immediately below in Apoll. ἱρωστί is to be read with Ab, not ἱερωστί with Uhlig. In 124 ίερόν occurs, but the frag. does not belong to the Teian poet; in 163 the MSS. have lερόν, for which lρόν is now read. Herodas has ip- 479, 83, 87, 94. In the inscriptions we find but few cases of iρ-, but these occur in the three geographical divisions of Ionic: Ἰρομνήμων Abdera 1637, before 400 B.C.1; Ίρή, or Ίρή 267 adesp., cf. Il. IX 150 and An. Ox. IV 41210; Amphip. 1013, hoov (367 B.C.), a sure proof that ipo is Ionic; IHPON, for HIPON = ἱρόν, Thasos 70, ἱρόν 710, (ἱ)ρεῖ 7111 (but lερέα l. 7). lερ- or lερ- is far more frequently attested :-

500-400 B.C.: Eretr. 1514, 19, Oropos 18 (18 times), Miletos

1004, 6,7, Amorgos 230, Halik. 2383, 36. 400-300 B.C.: Keos 48; Thasos 717 (also τρο-); Miletos 102, 2; Iasos 10414, 16; Zeleia 11337, 38; Pantik. 119, 122, 123; Theodosia 127; Ephesos 14714; Eryth. 2015, 24, 20423, 32, 33; Samos 22137; Mylasa 248 B 8, C 4, Chios, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1195, l. 20, and Paspates 9.

300-200 B.C.: Thasos 7210, 11, 14; Olbia 128; Eryth. 206 very many forms. In still later times: Teos 15815, 16, 22, Ephesos 150

(Hadrian), the form ἱερη̂.

From this evidence we cannot but conclude that both forms existed contemporaneously in Ionic, and that it is vain to attempt to draw a sharp line between them. As long as the only form that we have from Chalkidian has ī, and as long as the genuineness of the Thasian and the Abderite i is unassailed, it is beyond the lines of sound argument to hold with Fritsch that ipos in Herodotos is borrowed from the epic, and that ipos in Homer is Aiolic. If evidence of inscriptions and MSS. is to be taken for anything, Hdt. used both forms as he used keiros and EKELVOS.

The pseudo-Ionists fluctuate to such a degree that their testimony can scarcely be brought into court. There appears to

¹ This disproves Erman's statement, Stud. V p. 297.

be a slight predominance of the open form, which is the only form accepted by the *Vita Homeri*.

Whether $l \rho \eta \xi$ is contracted from $l \ell \rho a \xi$, or whether it is the older form, is still uncertain.

The explanation of lpés from *lopés is shattered by the Aiolic lpes: lopés would have become, and remained, in that dialect, lppes. The Homeric lopés appears to be due to the ictus. Of the tragedians Euripides is the first to permit himself perfect freedom in the choice between lopés and lpés. Dindorf's procedure in adopting lpés in the tragic poets cannot be defended. It is found in the MSS. of Soph. but once (O. K. 16). Hoffmann, D. M. G. p. 22, suggests that lpés is the descendant of *lolpés, whose medial ι is the school or minimum vowel = Skt. a in ishards. Prellwitz, Dest. Litt.-Zeit. 1890, p. 1538, proposes to account for lopés (parallel to *lolpés) by the assumption of an ablaut-form iséros. This would be the more probable if the word had dactylic measure (cf. ποικίλος for ποικιλός). But see Allinson, A. J. P. XII 49 ff.

801.] I+H.

πολίτης with primitive της is of course not contracted from πολιήτης, e.g. Anakr. I₈, Demokr. 215, as was formerly held; a view as incorrect as that of the pleonasm of the η (Bekker, Anecd. II 524₆). μυθίται, read by Bergk in Anakr. 16₁, is not from μυθιήται (Apoll. Lex. Hom. 114₃). The latter form is to be adopted, the metre being ionici a minore. On της see K. Z. XXXI 343. Γη in μελιήδης, &c.

802.] Y+I.

vi in the dative of v stems must have become w by the fifth century (lλυί Theog. 961, as Homeric διζυί), though written with the diaeresis by editors of Hdt. vi could not be fused in πολυϊδρείησιν Theog. 703, &c.

III. Combination of Vowele and Diphthonge, and Diphthonge and Diphthonge (crasis).

803.] The combinations of vowels and diphthongs will be treated in the following order:

$$a+ai$$
, $a+\epsilon i$, $a+oi$, $a+av$, $a+\epsilon v$, $a+ov$. $\epsilon+ai$, $\epsilon+\epsilon i$, &c. &c. &c. &c. ϵ . $a+ai$, $a+\epsilon i$, $a+ai$, $a+\epsilon i$, $a+ai$, $a+\epsilon i$, $a+ai$, $a+\epsilon i$,

Combinations of $a_1 + a_1$, $a_1 + a_2$, &c., are placed under the head of $a + a_1$, &c.

304.] A + AL

 $a\iota + a\iota = a\iota$ in kalerós Arch. ep. 86_2 (v. l. kal alerós).

305. A + EI.

1. afet. A. a + genuine et.

ἀεικής Hdt. III 33, VI 98, &c., Hippokr. II 316, Sol. trim. 36₁₁, eleg. 54, Theog. 811; ἀεικέλιος Sol. 425. ἀεικές in the epigram in honour of Kimon (Plutarch, Kim. 7) is Ionic, not Attic. Hence the epigram itself was composed by an Ionian (Kirchhoff, Hermes V 57). ἀϊκῶς XXII 336 does not show that ἄ+ει can become ἄ+ῖ; but that ἄ+ῖ (ἀρῖκής) may remain open or be contracted, as in αἰκιζοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 124, καταικίσασα Herodas 512 (cf. also 241 and 246). Neither ἀικῶς nor αἰκιζοίμεθα can be derived from ἀεικ-. Hence Fritsch's contention (V. H. D. 20) that the contraction of αει to αι had ensued in Herodotos' day is at least inexact. The existence of the shorter form and the character of the composition of the word may have prevented ἀεικ- from being contracted to ἀκ-. ἀείδω is not a parallel instance. αἰκέλιος Theog. 1344 may be a parallel form to ἀεικέλιος (cf. Smyth, A. J. P. VI 439). Lukian has both ἀεικής and ἀεικέλιος.

ἀείδω Hdt., Arch. tetr. 57, Anakr. 653, Sol. eleg. 203, Theog. 533, 939, a line that may belong to Mimnermos (Schneidewin ἀειδ-, MSS. ἄδ-), 1065, &c., Herodas I_{71} (?). α +genuine ει, when contracted, can yield only \bar{q} , never \bar{a} : Archil. 123 ἄδων (Schneid. ἀείδων, ef. Theog. 533), Anakr. 452 ἄδω (though here we might read μέν γ' ἀείδω: ἄδω is a conj. of Valckenaer). Theog. 243 has ἄσονται, as Hymn V 2; Herakl. 59 has συνᾶδον and διᾶδον. The contraction of α +genuine ει (\bar{q}) is as old in Ionic as that of α +spurious ει (\bar{a}). ἀείδω in Hdt. is perhaps due to the μετα-χαρακτηρισμός which affected archaic forms. In compounds the MSS. unite in having - ω δος, but as regards ἀείδω they disagree. ἀοιδός has a technical colouring and preserves the archaic form. Lukian has the open ἀείδω in every case, while Arrian has ἐπάδονται (101).

B. a+ spurious $\epsilon\iota$ either remains open or is contracted in Ionic to long a. Ignorance of this fact has led to great confusion in the minds of dialectologists and editors of Herodotos as to the propriety of admitting $a\tilde{\iota}\rho\omega$ into the text of the lyric poets and of Herodotos. Homer has both $a\epsilon\ell\rho\omega$ and $a\tilde{\iota}\rho\omega$, and both forms must be accepted as genuine Ionic. That the MSS. of Hdt. prefer $a\epsilon\ell\rho\omega$ to $a\ell\rho\omega$, and that $a\epsilon\ell\delta\omega$ and $a\epsilon\iota\kappa\eta$ s are always read in the text of the historian, have led Dindorf and Stein to adopt $a\epsilon\ell\rho\omega$, though its $\epsilon\iota$ has nothing in common with

¹ Cf. a in Attic from auf 1, 5 169.

that of $del\delta\omega$ or deikijs. Archil. 94_2 has $\pi a\rho\eta ei\rho e$; Luk. d. d. 8. § 36, 52, Astr. 11, Abydenos 5, Euseb. Mynd. 9, 33, have aei, and so Arctaios, 216, 224, 265 (elsewhere the other form). The contracted forms are $d\rho eie\nu$ Sim. Amorg. 7_{60} ; $d\pi d\rho ei$ Ephesos 145 A 2; $d\pi d\rho as$ 145 A 9 (fifth century)\frac{1}{2}. $d\rho \omega$ is found in Hippokrates, II 660, V 618; $d\pi d\rho as$ V 648, $d\pi d\rho ho$ II 688, 706, $d\pi d\rho ho$ II 628; in Polybos' $d\pi d\rho ho$ $d\pi d\rho ho$ (VI 48) $d\pi d\rho ho$ alperai, the other MSS. $dei\rho$. Arrian's Ind. has the contracted forms. See § 165.

 $d\epsilon\ell\rho\omega$ and $a\ell\rho\omega$ are to be separated, so far as their genesis is concerned, the former representing $d-\ell\epsilon\rho$, ω , the latter $\ell\gamma$ - $\ell\omega$ (Brugmann, K. Z. XXVII 197, Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 355). In Attic $a\ell\rho\omega$ got the upper hand. Though the desire to rescue open forms in the Ionic of Herodotos, and to exclude contracted forms from his text, has led to the exclusion of $a\ell\rho\omega$, the genuine interrelation of the forms offers no obstacle to its acceptation. Whether $d\epsilon\ell\rho\omega$ has been inserted by copyists on the strength of the chief Homeric form, is another question. It is, however, probable that both forms have a claim to existence in the Ionic dialect of the fifth century.

a+ει is uncontracted in δαείς Solon, 13,00, and Κάειρα Δ 142 and Hdt., the masculine form of which is derived from Καήρ Κάερός, &c. (Lugebil, B. B. X 303). a+spurious ει becomes ā in Hom. φαεινός, Attic φāνός (Lukian φαείνομαι δητ. 32), and perhaps in infinitives in -âν; see K. Z. XXVII 197.

2. αιει (ει genuine) becomes ā in δρậs, τιμậ (Doric τιμή) and in the 'Attic' futures διασκεδήs, ἀποδοκιμή. Herodoteian Ionic has no form in -εει < -αει in the verba contracta, these forms being reserved for pseudo-Ionism.

By crasis: Kel Hrd. 483.

806.] A + OI.

1. afor remains open in ἀοιδός Hdt., Xenoph. 54 (ἀοιδοπόλων), Solon 29; ἀοιδή Hdt., Theog. 251, 792, since these words are heirlooms; ἀοίκητος Hdt.

Contraction ensues in φδή Sol. eleg. 12, Hippokr. II 686, as Hymn IV 495; ραψφδός Bechtel 260, found at Dodona, but ultimate provenance unknown.

2. αιοι is contracted to φ in all optatives (νικφεν, νικφτο).

3. Crasis of a + οι is omitted, e.g. in τὰ οἰκ[ί]a Halik. 238₂₅=

τψκία Hippon. 202.

Al + Ol in $\kappa O[l] \nu \sigma \pi l \delta \eta s$ Chios, 174 C 21-22 according to Blass, where others read κ' $O[l] \nu \sigma \pi l \delta \eta s$; καὶ οἰκίων Halik, 2382.

¹ Hdt. MSS. have appels more frequently than depoils. The latter form occurs in Anakr. 19 and Luk. Astr. 15.

307. A + AY.

Crasis occurs in rabrá Eryth, 20413, Hdt. III 72, &c.; but there are many cases of ta avta in Hdt., e.g. IV 114. So

Miletos 100₄; Zeleia 113₂₇. AI + AY. αι αὐταί Hdt. V 69; καὐχένα Theog. 536; καὐτάγρετοι Sim. Amorg. 119; καὐτός Teos 15815, in the ancient papyrus Philol. XLI 748 l. 6, and Herodas 283; but there are several cases of καὶ αὐτός in Teos 156 A and B and Amphipolis 10.

308. A+OY.

τιμώσι Ionic-Attic (ov spurious). In some cases the MSS. of Hdt. show in the third plural traces of the appearance of the $-\epsilon \omega$

forms from the $-a\omega$ type of verb; § 688.

AI+OΥ: κού Anakr. 88, Herodas 6, κούκ Anakr. 89, Theog. 1342, Sol. 1360, Hippon. tetr. 83, papyrus Philol. XLI 948 l. 15, Herodas 239, 416, 540, 777, κούχί 249, κοὐδέ 124; on κούνομάκλυτον Sim. Amorg. 7₈₇, see § 252.

309. E+AI.

1. εFaι in Κλεαίνετος Naukratis 139 C; [συγ]χέαι Halik. 23833.

- 2. eat remains open in several instances in the poets (see §§ 606, 608). The closed forms are, however, so frequent as to convince us that an uncontracted $\epsilon(\sigma)a\iota$ in Hdt. in the present and future middle is probably an archaism, certainly after a vowel (χαριή). The only case where εαι may be defended as probable is when it is derived from -εεαι, e.g. in φοβέαι VII 52 (P φοβέεαι). -εεαι in Hdt. cannot be defended. δινέαι is found in Anakr. 12 B and derived from δινέεαι. I have not observed an instance of 2 pers. sing. pres. mid. (Attic βούλει after 378 B.C.). In the future the editors now read κομιεί, χαριεί. Dindorf's χαριέεαι displays the tendency of the scholar who has largely brought about the current conceptions of the nature of Ionic.
- 3. eyai in adj., even in those denoting a material, = ai in Airai Samos 220₂₁. In these adjectives -εωι remains open. In nouns Hdt. has μνέαι; γέαι Zeleia 11340, γαλαί Hrd. 700. See on Declension.

310. E + EI.

 ε Fει remains open in βέει Mimn. 51, πλέει, πλέειν, βέει Hdt.; is contracted in δεί Hdt., Hippon. 6, Anakr. 98, Teos, 1588. (See on the Verb.) Hdt. has είκοσι and not the epic εείκοσι, as Xenoph. 73. ε+spurious ει becomes ει in ΚλΕ-νοφάνης Keos, 44 A 11; ΚλΕν[ο]γένης Keos, 45; Κλείνανδρος Thas. (L.), 16 A 5; khewos in Solon, 19a.

2. εμει is found in the open forms in Herodotos and the other writers in Ionic prose, e.g. in εω verbs (Greg. Kor. § 14) and even in the pseudo-Ionic δρέει, φοιτέεις. In the MSS. of Hdt. -εει is generally contracted after a consonant, but after οι it usually is open. In direct opposition to this writing is the language of the inscriptions (see -εω verbs). The only examples in the poetry of native Ionians where the contraction is not graphically expressed are κερτομέειν Arch. 64, φιλέειν Arch. 80, δοκέει 1, Sim. Amorg., where the metre in each case calls for εῖ or ξει. In the future of liquid verbs Herodoteian MSS. have -έει, -έεις, though contraction is well established in pre-Herodoteian times. After ι, -εειν is always contracted in Hdt. in the future infinitive. Stein's adoption of R's θεσπιέειν VIII 135 is out of the question. An aorist -εειν (ἰδέειν, &c.) does not exist in Ionic prose (§ 604). αδείη Hdt. VIII 120, &c. < *άδεείη.

811.] E+OI.

- 1. εΓοι. Hdt. πλέοι, ξμπλεοι; Anakr. 84 ἐοικότες (Hdt. οίκα, &c., without reduplication).
- 2. εσοι in θεοί (§ 287, 2) Hipponax 93, Theog. 142, but elsewhere θεοί Archil. eleg. 95, Solon 139, 55; θεοῖς Archil. tetr. 561, θεοῖσι 55, Tyrt. 51, Solon 112, 35.
- 3. ϵ_{i0i} in $-\epsilon_{\omega}$ verbs is contracted in lyric poetry and in inscriptions, except in $a\nu\omega\theta\epsilon oi\eta$ Teos 156 A 11 (47% B.C.) with obsolete orthography. In the seventh century the form in $-\epsilon_{0i\eta}$ must have been usual. Hdt. has both forms ($\kappa a\lambda\epsilon oi$, $\phi\rho o\nu\epsilon oi\epsilon\nu$; $\pi oio\hat{i}$, $\epsilon\pi_i\chi\epsilon_i\rho o\hat{i}\epsilon\nu$, $\phi o\beta o\hat{i}\tau o$), the latter representing the ordinary Ionic of the fifth century. Other Ionic writers in prose usually have the open forms. See under § 651.

In adjectives of material εοι is thus written, even in the imperial period: ἀργύρεοι Wood, Discoveries at Ephesus, App. 6, No. 1; χρυσέοις Latyschev, I 22 (Olbia)=C. I. G. 2059. See § 287, 3. Adjectives in -αλεος rarely contract; αὐχαλέοι Xenoph. 35, but γηράλεοι Anakr. 432.

812.] $E + O\Upsilon$ (spurious).

I. eFov.

πλέους Hdt. I 194, κενεοῦ Melissos 14; πλέου, read by Mullach in Melissos 14, has no MS. support. (Κλεουμπόρου Lampsakos 171, has its first ou from $o + \epsilon$.)

2. εσου.

ἐούσης Mylasa 248 C 5, &c., μεδεούσηι Phanag. 164, Samos 216 (see § 74). Θεοῦ Sim. Amorg. 7104.

¹ Elegiac poetry, though under the influence of the epos, has in almost every case the contracted form. In Theog. 221 Sectes is certain.

3. ELOU.

 $\epsilon ov < \epsilon ov\tau$ - is generally contracted in verbs in $-\epsilon \omega$ in the poets. The MSS. of Hdt. vary: ϵov is often retained, but sometimes ϵv appears after a consonant. $-\epsilon ov$ in the other prosaists is more frequent than ϵv . The writing ϵv for ϵov shows that $\epsilon + ov$ was treated like $\epsilon v = \epsilon o$, and that no regard was paid to the difference in quantity.

313.] O+AI.

oFai in κροαίνω, Homeric and Archilocheian (fr. 176). Arch. uses the word in the sense of ἐπιθυμέω according to the scholiast on Z 507. Cf. An. Par. III 2847.

314.] O+EI.

1. ο ξει is uncontracted in μηνοειδής, ἀνθρωποειδής Hdt.; τροχοειδής Hdt., Theog. 7; lχθνοειδής Hdt. VII 61 is a different formation from lχθυώδης VII 109 (with -ώδης borrowed from εὐώδης?); ἀποειπών Theog. 89. ο + spurious ει in -οεις in Σολόεις, &c.; also in ἀλοργοῦς Samos 220₂₃, § 295. ζόειν, Porson's reading in Sim. Am. 117, is probably from ζώειν, the vulgate reading, found also in Herakleitos 86, 92. See §§ 200, 657, note 1.

ομει becomes οι in verbal forms: διδοῖ Sim. Amorg. 754,
 Mimn. 216; οπ μισθοῖς, μισθοῖ indicative and subjunctive, see § 296, 2. We have o + spurious ει perhaps in μισθοῦν; see § 295,

I at end.

315.] O+OI.

οιοι=οι in μ ισθοῦμεν. ο Γοι in ἀθρόοι Hdt. III 109, σόοι, &c. By crasis we have τ οἰκ[ό] π εδον Chios 174 D 18, which is the crasis to be expected in Attic. In τ φκίδιον, the usual reading in Clouds 92, the vowels would seem to be fused quite irregularly, and this has been regarded as a unique exception, where the form has called forth any comment at all. But here Rav. has τ ωκίδιον, while over the ω an σ is written; in V we have τ οκίδιον.

316.] O + AY

in ὡντός (or ωὐτός) 1, τώντό, when fused (Attic ταὐτόν Herakl. 57), ϵ μεωντοῦ< ϵ μείο αὐτοῦ, σεωντοῦ, ϵ ωντοῦ in Hdt., Hippokr., and their imitators.

In Hdt. VIII 43 we find τὸ αὐτό. οι + αυ in ὧυτοί II 168; but οἱ αὐτοί I 182, VII 168; sometimes even ἐωυτοί² appears.

¹ Cf. ωὐτός E 396, according to La Roche. Good MSS. have ἀντός; (cf. Joh. Gr. 242 ἀντός). Herodoteian MSS. generally place the coronis on the ω. Bywater writes ἀντός Herakl. 127 (whereas Clemens has ωὐτός), and ἄντή Herakl. 69 is thus read in Hippolytos. Greg. Korinth. p. 419 had the absurd notion that ωὐτός (sic) stood for αὐτός. Analogy went so far as to coin ἡ ἀντή (sic), ἡ ἀντή, τὰ ἀντά, τὰ ἐνντά, ἡ ἐνντή in the text of Aretaios.
² ἐμαντός in Pherekrates is a poor support for this form of the pronoun,

ου + αυ in τωντοῦ Hdt. (Greg. Korinth. § 46), upon a single occasion (III 72). Elsewhere τοῦ αὐτοῦ, e.g. V 52, IX 101. ου, it will be remembered, is not diphthongal here.

Similar forms occur in Pindar (τώντοῦ Ol. XIII 38, τώντο Ol. I 45) and in Theokritos (ὁντός XI 34, τώνλίον XI 12). Cf. also Acharn. 790 τώντῶ. In the above passages the coronis is placed upon the v.

817.] $O + O\Upsilon$ (spurious).

1. of ov. 'Ιπποθόου Chios 177₂; but Πολύθρου Teos 158_M (late); ζοοῦ Archil. 63 is due to Porson, who thus corrected the vulgate ζωοῦ; νόου Theog. 223, Arch. tetr. 56₅; περιρρόου Hdt. I 174, καλλιρόου Anakr. 28; ἀντιξόους Hdt. VII 150; but εύνου VI 105 in all MSS., as ἐσπλου VI 33.

2. of $ov < of ov = ov in \mu i \sigma \theta o \hat{v} \sigma i$, &c.

3. o + ov becomes ov by crasis in τούνομα Hdt., often written τὸ ούνομα. οι + ον in οὐροφύλακες Chios 174 A 14-15, 19.

318.] H + AI.

ησαι becomes η in βούληι Thasos 68 and so in τδη Hdt. IV 9. Synizesis occurs in μη al Hrd. 790.

319.] H + EI.

ηγει in ήειραν Hdt. IX 59, ἀπήειραν VI 99 (conj., MSS. -ῆραν); παρήειρε Arch. 942. See § 305. ὑλήειν Arch. 74, the conj. of Bergk, is hazardous, though the word is found Choirob. II 71728 (who quotes also ὀφρήειν) and though τιμήειν is attested by Hdn. II 2752, 632.6. The lengthened -οειν, by false analogy from -οεις, has no better support than Apoll. Rhod.

320.] Η + ΑΥ, ΟΥ.

821.] $\Omega(1) + A\Upsilon$, &c.

in τώντ $\hat{\varphi}$ Hdt. I 5, but τ $\hat{\varphi}$ αὐτ $\hat{\varphi}$ VI 58 (P τώντ $\hat{\omega}$ ι, R τωντ $\hat{\omega}$). No example as yet has been found upon inscriptions. In έγ $\hat{\omega}$ αἰτίη Hrd. 9₁₄, ἐγ $\hat{\omega}$ εἰμι Hrd. 5₁₅ (as *Philokt*. 585), we have examples of synizesis of $\hat{\omega}$ + α 1 and $\hat{\omega}$ + α 1.

Apocope.

322.] Apocope in Greek is found only in the case of prepositive prepositions which were originally adverbs of place. Only those Hellenic dialects that developed a literary prose are averse

The attitude of the language towards apocope is one of the most marked characteristics of the dialects. Doric, Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, &c., are here separated by a great gap from Ionic-Attic.

Sentence Phonetics2.

Elision.

323.] Ionic inscriptions are tenacious to a considerable degree of the scriptio plena in the matter of elision or non-elision. The following table, drawn up from the inscriptions in Bechtel's Inschriften des ionischen Dialekts, will give an approximate idea of the frequency with which elision occurs. The prepositions, conjunctions and particles, and also the pronouns, have been the guide posts which directed to the study of the frequency of the occurrence of this phenomenon. It may be noted that in but two cases, outside of poetry, is there any elision of the final vowel of a substantive [Amphip. 10, l. 11 and 22]. In the following list metrical occurrences are starred.

Euboian Ionic.

Island Ionic.

	ELISION	Non- Elision			Elision	Non- Elision
Olynthos	2	r	Naxos		4*	1*
Amphip	3	0	Arkesine		18	0
Other Chalkid	2	0	Keos	4	1	2
Eretria	2	1	Paros	16	3*	18
Oropos	2	4	Thasos, , .		5	8
Adespota		No. 22	Pharos		0	I

Most frequent in Aischylos. Kirchhoff believes that the instances of apocope in the Attic poets are survivals of a period when Attic had not yet developed an artificial objection to its presence.

² See also on Morable nu § 340, and on Assimilation, § 411.

Asiatic Ionic.

		ELISION	Non- Elision		ELISION	Non-
Miletos . Iasos Zeleia	:	1 0 1	-4 2 6	Abdera Chios Maroneia	3 71 0	0
Theodosia Olbia	•	0	1	Erythrai	171	17
Naukratis Ephesos Teos		0	1 4 9	Halikarn Mylasa	4 0 No. 261*	6 3

In the text of Herodotos elision is less frequent than in Attic. According to Bredow (p. 202 ff.), elision is more frequent than the retention of the final vowel in the case of $\partial_{\mu}\phi_{i}$, $\partial_{\nu}\phi_{i}$, ∂_{ν}

Elision is admitted into the text of Herakleitos, except in ind eros of.

Aphaeresis.

324.] See under $\eta + \epsilon$, $o + \epsilon$, $\omega + \epsilon$. In an oracle given by Hdt. VII 220, it is better to read $\hat{\eta}$ $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \gamma a$ have ' $\rho \iota \kappa \nu \delta \dot{\epsilon} s$ than to elide the ν .

THE CONSONANT SYSTEM OF IONIC.

325.] Ionic differs but slightly from Attic in the development of its consonantal system. The differences concern chiefly the guttural series. In the following sections, wherever the Ionic form is equivalent to the Attic, and adopted by literature, reference is made only rarely to its counterpart in the other dialects. Thus Ionic $\gamma\nu\nu\dot{\eta} = \text{Boiot.}$ β ará is noticed under Boiotian, β ápa θ po $\nu = \text{Arkad.}$ ζ épe θ po ν under Arkadian.

¹ One metrical.

¹ Two metrical.

326.] The ancients held that Ionic permitted the expulsion of an initial consonant or consonants, e. g. γ)αια Greg. K. 446, An. Bachm. II 3650, Gram. Paris. 676; ἀστράπτει, Ionic and Attic, Bachm. II 36511, Paris. 676; λοιψηρός, Ionic and Aiolic, Herakleides apud Eust. 84246; λ)είβειν Greg. Kor. 446, Gram. Aug. 669, Paris. 676, Vat. 699, Birnb. 67832, An. Bachm. II 36510. See Schmidt's Neutra, p. 199; πλ)ενράξ, Ionic and Aiolic, Eust. 84246; ἐ)κεῖνος, Ionic and Attic, An. Bachm. II 36511, Paris. 676 (§ 564); τ)ήγανον (§ 191) Eust. 186213, where it is called Doric though used by Anakreon 26 = Athen. VI 229 B, where the form is expressly stated to be Ionic, and as such used by the poet; cf. Eust. 24466, γοι181; φθ)έρρω Eust. 84232. Though none of the examples quoted can be explained upon the principles of sentence phonetics, or as analogues of such forms as στέγος, τέγος, so inveterate is the error concerning the possibility of this decapitation that some of these instances reappear in modern books, such as Blass' edition of Kühner's Grammar.

Liquids.

On aspirated medial ρ , see § 399 (Amorgos), § 400 (Naxos).

327.] Variation between A and P.

'Aλαλίη in Hdt. does not manifest the repugnance to the succession of λ's which gave rise to κεφαλαργία, &c. 'Αλερία was

the later name of the Corsican city.

κλίβανος in Hdt. II 92 (cf. Eust. 975₅₂) is the equivalent of the Attic κρίβανος (Athen. III 110 C), though κλίβανος may be defended in Aischylos, frag. 321 D. That the form with λ found admission to comedy is evident from κλιβανίτης ἄρτος 'Αμειψίας 'Αποκοτταβίζονσιν (quoted by Rutherford, Phrynichus, p. 268). The Et. Mag. 538₁₉ calls the form with λ Doric, and Athenaios l. l. cites κλιβανίτας from Sophron. But Sophron seems also to have used the ρ form, which is vouched for as having been used by Epicharmos.

'Οροφέρνης Priene, Anc. Gr. Inser. 3, no. 424, 64 represents the original better than 'Ολοφέρνευς C. D. I. 3549, 20, Knidos.

The island of Amorgos ('Αμοργός) was also called *Αμολγός according to Steph. Byz. s. v., Arkad. 47,17 = Hdn. II 47,55. The Et. Gud. 31119 endeavours unsuccessfully to support an Ionic change of ρ to λ in κέκραγα, κέκληγα. On Ionic κλῆρος and Arkadian Κραριῶται πολίται C. D. I. 1231, see under Arkadian, § 32.

328.] Variation between A and N.

Though the change from λ to ν may be supported by examples from Attic vase inscriptions (Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX 442) and from other sources, no case has as yet been made out for the

¹ In 84246 πήγανον is given as the undecapitated form.

The only two cases that are uncertain substitution of λ for ν . are λίτρον and Λαβύνητος. λίτρον Hdt. II 86, 87, recalls Hebrew neter, Lat. nitrum (cf. K. Z. XXI 104). νίτρον is Aiolic but also Ionic. Hippokrates apparently has both νίτρον and λίτρον, on which form in Attic see Phrynichos (Ruth. p. 361). Λαβύνητος Hdt. I 74 = Old Persian Nabunita, Assyr. Nabunahid.

In the case of these words, it is at least possible the n has been

exchanged with *l* upon Semitic soil.

There is no change of ν to λ in $\Pi \rho i \eta \lambda \hat{\eta} i$ Samos 212 = Roberts, I 153, in which inscription, though the engraver intended to cut a ν , the λ is certain. Hellanikos (cf. Hdn. I 338,) gave the

name $\Lambda d\pi \eta$ to the Aiolic city $N d\pi \eta$.

πλεύμων, Attic for πνεύμων, the Aiolic and Κοινή form, occurs in the oldest MS. of Hippokrates (θ), VI 374. πλεύμων was also Epidaurian. πλεύμων may be the original form, and that with ν , though Homeric, due to the influence of $\pi\nu\epsilon\omega$. With the confusion between the two forms of this word that had its rise in the dispute about the etymology, we may compare the v. l.πλέω for πνέω in Luke xii 55; cf. the gloss on Acts xxvii 151.

- 329.] ψ éλιον armlet (Aiolic σ πάλιον), not ψ éλλιον, appears to be the correct form in Hdt. στήλη is written with one λ upon Ionic inscriptions. In lasos 1043 we find Μαυσώλλωι, though Maυσωλός was deemed correct by Arkadios in Steph. Byz. See Pape-Benseler. -ωλλος is the regular emphatic form of the suffix in Karian names (Παραυσσ-, Πουυσσ-), though -ωλος (in 'Ακταύσσωλος) and -ωλδος are also Karian.
- 330. Consonant gemination appears in the Homeric reminiscence ξλλαχεν, Hermann's restoration for ξλαχεν, Mimn. 12,. For this Aiolic form, the genuine Ionic would have been είλαχεν, formed on the same principle as ελλήλουθα. Perhaps such forms as Eppee, Erveor, where sigma caused the gemination, facilitated the creation by analogy of such poetical forms as ξλλαχεν², which hold their ground till long after the birth of Christ. κάλλιπον Archil. 62 eleg. is due to epic influence. Apocope of prepositions is very rare in the Ionic poets; cf. Arch. 64, where κατθανοῦσι is read, though καταθ- is possible; cf. Tyrt. 11,0, Mimn. 12, 14, and see § 715.

331. Rhotacism between Vowels and before Consonants.

Rhotacism is attested in the western branch of Ionic alone³. In the dialect of Eretria we meet with the phenomenon, which is unknown in Eleian and Lakonian, of intervocalic σ becoming ρ. In the inscriptions of Eretria we find the following forms:

¹ I owe this reference to the kindness of Dr. J. Rendel Harris.

¹ Cf. Baunack's Studien I 222.

² despersar effectar in Hesychios is a gloss of uncertain provenance.

Eretria, Bechtel No. 15: δπόραι l. 5, ἄ[ρχ]ουριν 6, δμυνούρας 10, παραβαίνωριν 11. In No. 16, an inscription found in Chalkis and almost entirely Hellenistic, we read Mipyos (C 14). No. 15 dates from between 410-390 B.C., No. 16 from 340-279. The latter is placed by Bechtel under the head of Eretrian Ionic. Eretrian rhotacism is furthermore attested in the inscription 'E.p. 'A $\rho\chi$., 1887, pp. 82–110, where thirty names have ρ for σ , while in eighty-two instances σ is preserved. Examples of ρ are: Κτηρίας 73 B, Κτηρίων[os] 188 C, Κτηριβίου 31 C, 285, Κτηριβιάδης, Κτηρικλείδου 132 B; Κτήσωνος, and seven other examples of Kτησ- occur, and σ before consonants remains unchanged in this inscription. Two Eretrian decrees conferring the rights of proxeny published l. l. are free from all trace of rhotacism, which is a phonetic change varying with locality and date, as may be seen by the study of its life in Eleian. For other examples, see Baunack in his Studien I 299.

It might seem that rhotacism extended as far as Styra, since on the Styrian lead tablets are found: Κτηρίνος 1943 and Mίργων 1925, 71. Both these individuals must however be Eretrians, since there is no trace of rhotacism elsewhere in Styra: Κτησίνος is found in Styra 19231-233, Κτησίων 1958-60, 234-2361 $_{386}$, Κτήσις 19_{122} , Κτήσιμος 19_{57} , Χαρήσιος 19_{94} , &c. In Eretrian we have the form Φιλήσιος, in Bechtel No. 14 = Rob. I 170, an inscription older than No. 15, though the sigma has four strokes. Either the σ of Φιλήσιος is a conscious refusal to adopt the intervocalic rhotacism prevailing at the period of the writing of No. 14, or this inscription is older than the Styrian lead tablets containing Κτηρινος and Μίργων (which are older than all the other epigraphical documents found at Eretria) and hence dates from a period when the Eretrians had not transformed intervocalie σ to ρ. Assuming that No. 14 contains a conscious archaism, we may place the introduction of rhotacism in Euboia in the middle of the fifth century before Christ. That the Eretrians borrowed their fondness for rhotacism from the Eleians is undemonstrable, notwithstanding the statement of Strabo (X 686) to that effect: ἐποίκους δ' ἔσχου ἀπ' Ἡλιδος, ἀφ' οῦ καὶ τῷ γράμματι τῷ ῥῷ πολλῷ χρησάμενοι, οὐκ ἐπὶ τέλει μόνον τῶν ῥημάτων άλλα και έν μέσω, κεκωμώδηνται.

In addition to Μίργος and Μίργων above mentioned, there is no other case of rhotacism before consonants attested upon the inscriptions. That Πελαργός was an instance in point, was the view of Phrynichos: Πελαργός Έρετριακῶς Πελασγός and Πελαργός οὐδὲν ἀλλ' ἢ Ἐρετριακῶς Πελασγός. Beside Πελαργός, Μίργος and Μίργων we have no examples of anteconsonantal rhotacism, which is thus exceedingly rare. That Μίργος is only a survival of the ancient orthography, and that rhotacism did not

continue to the period of No. 16, is clear from the refusal of $\ell \rho \gamma a \sigma (\eta \nu$ (16, A 4) to adopt the liquid.

By a series of doubtful combinations Bechtel (Insch. des ionischen Dialeits, p. 13) derives the Eretrian rhotacism from Thessaly, where, as he claims, it affected the speech of the Phthiotic Achaians, the inhabitants of the Hestiaiotis and the 'Pelasgians.' We have, however, only one example of Thessalian rhotacism which is found twice: Θεορδότειος C. D. I. 3315, Θεορδότειος 326, II 42. It is hazardous to find in a solitary example of anteconsonantal rhotacism the sole survival of a phenomenon that must either have been wide-spread, or, if originally restricted to the anteconsonantal position, enlarged in a unique way to embrace intervocalic σ.

332.] Final Rhotacism.

This is attested, not by inscriptional evidence, but by literature alone: Plato, Kralylos 434 C, says: οἶσθ' οὖν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡμεῖς μέν φαμεν σκληρότης, Ἐρετριεῖς δὰ σκληρότης; The Eretrian inscription No. 15, which contains four cases of intervocalic rhotacism (all that were possible) refuses to change either anteconsonantal or final s. The language of the inscriptions may have differed from the popular speech, in that the latter adopted freely the form of rhotacism prevalent in Eleian and Lakonian. But, as the case stands, Plato's remark is not borne out by the stone-records.

- 1. In the MSS, Rd of Hdt, II 70 we find $\theta\eta\rho\rho\nu\nu\tau\eta\rho$ for $\theta\eta\rho\rho\nu\nu\tau\eta\rho$, which contains merely a different ending. There is no evidence of rhotacism in the Ionic of the Asiatic mainland. As Halikarnassian has been regarded a retrograde inscription in Head (Hist. Num., p. 526): $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\rho$ elul $\sigma\eta\mu\alpha$, as read by Sir Charles Newton, who took $\phi\alpha\rho\rho\rho$ for the genitive of $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\rho$ (i. e. $\phi\alpha\rho\rho\rho\rho$ $\theta\alpha\rho\rho\rho$). The reading with ρ is, however, indefensible on other grounds. See Roberts, I p. 177.
- 2. Other evidence of Eretrian rhotacism: Diogenianos paroem. cent. IV 57, cf. Apostol. parnem. cent. VII 89: 'Ερετριόων βῶ' ἐπὶ τῶν κατακόρως τισὶ χρωμένων. κατακόρως γὰρ οδτοι χρῶνται τῷ βῷ. Henychios: 'Ερετριόων βῶ' 'Ερετριόις τῷ ρ̄ κατακόρως χρῶνται. Suidas κ. τ. Χαλκιδίζειν: ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ βωτακίζειν, ἐπεὶ αὐτοί τε καὶ 'Ερετριεῖς δοκοῦσι τῷ ρ̄ κατακορεστόρως χρῆσθαι καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ σ̄ τιθέντες. Ευπτ. p. 2793; ἐκωμφδοῦντο δέ, φασιν, οἱ 'Ερετριεῖς ὡς πολλῷ τῷ ρ̄ ἐν ταῖς ὁμιλίαις χρώμενοι. διὸ καὶ αὐτοί, καθὰ καὶ 'Ηλεῖοι, βαρβαρόφωνοι ἐκαλοῦντο, ὡς ἐν ἡητορικῷ εδρηται λεξικῷ, διὰ τὸν πλεονασμὸν τοῦ ρ̄.

883.] Metathesis of liquids.

Greg. Kor. p. 434 brings forward κραδίη, ἀταρπιτός, τάρφος, and (p. 489) quotes Homeric τέτρατος, κρατερός. On Ionic ρα, αρ, see \S 128, on βότραχος, βρόταχος see \S 147. On τάρφος see Curtius, G. E. p. 224. In the dialect of Herakleia τράφος was used for τάρφος. With Θεύπορπος, which occurs on a Chian coin, Imh.-Bl. G. M. p. 656, cf. Θεύπροπος Miletos, ibid. p. 646, Iasos, J. H. S.

IX 342. The Et. M. 83_{42} reports from Simonides $\mathring{a}\mu\iota\theta\rho\acute{o}s$ for $\mathring{a}\rho\iota\theta\mu\acute{o}s$ (cf. Kallim. 339, $\mathring{a}\mu\iota\theta\rho\acute{e}\omega$). Though it is more probable that the great Simonides is meant, Ahrens proposed to read in Sim. Am. 3 $\mathring{a}\mu\iota\theta\rho\acute{\varphi}$. $\mathring{a}\mu\iota\theta\rho\acute{e}\omega$ is found Hrd. 6_6 , $_{98}$ and in Theokritos.

Hdn. II $220_{22} = \text{Et. Mag. } 188_9$ quotes from Hippon. (106) βάραγχος, the equivalent of the Attic and Hippokratic (V 676) βράγχος. βάραγχος contains an example of anaptyctic a. See § 127. On Αρταφρένης see § 134. Hrd. 6_{90} has πρόσω, the form used by Herodotos, &c. Homer has πρόσω and πρόσσω. πόρσω occurs in Pindar and tragedy.

334.] рр.

πυρρός Hdt. III 139, Hippokr. II 74, VI 74, VII 510, VIII 234, 248, 336, 338 did not originate from πυρσός. The form πυρσός is exceedingly rare in Attic. From the list of the passages quoted by L. & S. in defence of its Old-Attic character, Aisch. Pers. 316 should be removed, and the Euripideian passage (Phoin. 32) is cited by Photios with πυρραῖς, instead of the usual reading πυρσαῖς. πυρρός is from πῦρ-μό-ς, or from πῦρ-Γό-ς as in Korinthian, C. D. I. 3119 H 50. Proper names that are connected have $\rho\rho$. A suffix -σο- is certainly foreign to Ionic in this word. MSS. of Hdt. often have βορρέης. βορῆς is the correct form. The form with one ρ is also Attic (βορέου C. I. A. I 32129).

335.] Expulsion of ρ from the second syllable of a word in which it also occurred in the first, is attested in the case of $\tau\rho\dot{\nu}\phi a$ - $\kappa\tau\sigma$ § 357, 4. A less certain example of the same phenomenon occurs in $\beta\dot{\alpha}\theta\rho\alpha\kappa\sigma$ for $\beta\rho\dot{\alpha}\theta\rho\alpha\kappa\sigma$ according to Roscher in Curtius' Studien IV 193 (cf. § 147). Attic and Doric $\mu\dot{\alpha}\rho\alpha\theta\sigma$, which is said to have lost ρ (Hippokr. $\mu\dot{\alpha}\rho\alpha\theta\rho\sigma$ VI 562, VII 88, with $\mu\dot{\alpha}\rho\alpha\theta\sigma$ as $v.\ l.$ in HJ), is probably formed with the suffix $-\theta\sigma$, not with $-\theta\rho\sigma$. On the interrelation of $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\dot{\eta}$ and $\phi\rho\alpha\tau\rho\dot{\iota}\alpha$, see § 361.

Nasals.

336.] The nasal is not written, though probably pronounced after a weak fashion, in the following inscriptions of Styra: $\Pi\delta(\mu)\pi\iota s \ 19_{80}$, $\Pi\delta(\mu)\pi\delta\eta s \ 19_{408}$, $K\delta\sigma\nu(\mu)\beta\sigma s \ 19_{227}$, $O(\mu)\phi\delta\lambda\iota\sigma s \ 19_{196}$; in $\Pi\delta(\mu)\beta\iota s \ 152$, Abu-Simbel, name of a Kolophonian, which is hypocoristic for $\Pi\delta\mu\beta\iota\sigma s$, and in $\Pi\delta(\mu)\phi\delta\eta s \ Th.$ (L.) 19 A 6. With $N\nu(\mu)\phi\delta\omega\nu s \ Siphnos \ 88$, $N\nu(\mu)\phi\delta\delta\omega\rho\sigma s \ Smyrna$, C. I. G. 31558, and the vase inscriptions $N\nu(\mu)\phi\eta s \ C.$ I. G. 7760, $N\nu(\mu)\phi\alpha\iota \ C.$ I. G. 8185 F, we may compare the forms of

rύμφη which are measured - in Antig. 1115, Track. 857, Andr. 140. On the other hand we have Νύμφηισιν, Νυμφηγέτηι Thasos 68₁, Νυμφέων Naxos 27, Νύμφιος Th. (Ĺ.) 7 B 7. αστυνο-μου(ν)τος Thasos, Stephani in Mél. Gr. Rom. II 20, No. 26, is not another example of the weak nasal 1. adoidéas Greg. Kor. § 123 may perhaps be explained as having lost its nasal. 'Ολυμπο- is never written without the μ , as in the examples cited by Meyer § 294 from inscriptions found in Olympia. We even have μμ in 'Ολυμμπιάδα Eretria 158.

337.] σ regularly disappears before medial ν with compensatory lengthening, e.g. σελήνη, κρήνη. Whenever σν is assimilated to νν in Ionic, its σ is not original, but a σ which was reinstated through analogy. Thus ξυνυμι, instead of the older είνυμι (§ 224, 10, and cf. Brugmann, K. Z. XXVII 591), is due to the influence of ξσ-σαι, from which a new *ξσ-νυμι was constructed.

A notable difference between the older $\nu\nu < \sigma\nu$ and the younger vv, is that the latter does not suffer reduction of the geminated nasal. The new vv came into existence at the same period as the following proper names, whose $\nu\nu$ is from final s + initial ν : Πελοπόννησος, a form that is accepted by the other dialects, Εκατόννησοι, Μυόννησος in Hekataios, Προκόννησος, in which form the $r\nu$ is more common than the single ν , according to Strabo XIII p. 618. In No. 103 = Rob. I 42 (Prokonn.) we find vv in the Ionic copy, and only one v in the Attic reproduction of the document, in accordance with the usage of Attic inscriptions antedating 550 B. C. Χερσόιησος in Herodotos is a genuine compound, but Χερσόνιησος, which occurs conjointly with Χερσον in the oration περί 'Αλονήσου, is doubtless due to the analogy of Πελοπόννησος, 'Αλωπεκόνιησος, &c.2 See Kühner-Blass, Gr. p. 269, Riemann, B. C. H. I 192, Dial. Attique, p. 156 (Revue de Philol. 1881). On the form Διόινσος, see above § 138.

 $\sigma + \nu$ regularly becomes $\nu\nu$ in Aiolic. In Ionic documents the following forms are due to dialect mixture: χρυσοφαέννων Anakr. 252; Φαιέντου Thasos (L) 18 C 5, Φαννοθέμιδος Eryth. 206 A 28, Πελιυναΐου in Chios, Αργευνου in Erythraian territory. These are Aiolic formations due to the Aiolic element in Chios and surroundings. See under adulterine et, § 224, 10.

338.] A nasal $+\sigma$ + a consonant lost the nasal without com-

but Xepporpros.

¹ Cf. the variation in the MSS. of Hdt. V 102, where for deverelampearar, B C d omit the μ; in III 85, where for λγρίματων, R d have the form with no μ. Cf. also II 93 R d, no μ\ II 60 d, no μ\ IX 98 (C, no μ\. Greg. K. § 41 cites λγχρίματων from Hdt. In IV 172, for σκίτωνα, s s have σκίματων.

2 On Attic inscriptions we read Πελοπόννησος, 'Αλωπεκάννησος, Προκάννησος,

pensatory lengthening in primitive Greek. Wherever compensatory lengthening exists, as in $\pi\epsilon i\sigma\mu a$, it is due to the formation of a new form (* $\pi\epsilon\nu\sigma\mu a$ in place of the older * $\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\mu a$). Exempt from the operation of the above law is the combination n+1. E. $s+\iota$, which becomes $\nu\sigma\sigma$. This $\nu\sigma\sigma$ is treated like nasal + final s and nasal + σ in a medial syllable between vowels, when the sibilant has been developed on Greek soil, i.e. the nasal disappears with compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel. I. E. s + nasal in a medial syllable was assimilated to a double nasal in Ionic as in all other dialects. In Ionic compensatory lengthening ensued upon the reduction of the gemination. See Solmsen, K.Z.XXIX 60 $^1.$

ν followed by σ is retained in Ionic in Hom. κένσαι (Ψ 337), for *κεῖσαι with the ν restored from that of κεντέω, cf. κεστός < κενστός. The ν of ἔλμινς Hippokr. VII 596, 598 is due to that of the oblique cases. νσ is also preserved in $\pi a \nu \sigma \epsilon \lambda \dot{\eta} \nu \phi$ Hdt. II 47, &c., $\pi a \lambda \iota \nu \sigma \kappa \dot{\iota} \phi$ Archil. 34, where we find the ν. l. $\pi a \lambda \iota \sigma \kappa \dot{\iota} \phi$, and after $\dot{\epsilon} \nu$ - in composition, &c.

Whether ἔννεφ' Hipponax 853 (hexameter), προσεννέπη Solon

423 is from èν Feπ- or èνσεπ- is not certain.

ν + σ becomes σσ in συσσίτια Hdt., or σ as in συστρατεύεσθαι, συσπεύδων; cf. τῶσ συμπάντων Halik. 238_{41-42} . συν + ζ- becomes συζ- in συζευγνύναι Hdt. IV 189.

339.] Varia.

Melathesis of vowel and nasal in κάμπτω and κναφεύς;
 § 349.

 There is no interchange of labial and nasal in Μεταγειτνίων (Priene), and Πεδαγείτνιος (Rhodes, Kos). See under Prepositions in A10LIC.

Since $\mu\pi$ does not become $\pi\pi$ in Ionic, $\Pi \delta(\pi)\pi \sigma s$, for $\Pi \delta(\mu)\pi \iota s$ (Styra 1980), which Meister thinks to defend by citing Boiot. $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi\pi\pi \alpha \sigma \iota s$ as an analogous case, will not hold ground. Cf. § 336.

3. Gemination of Nasals.

Aiolic gemination of μ in ἄμμορος καύηξ Hipponax 21, defended by Renner (p. 161) as an Homeric reminiscence, is foreign to the genius of the iambic trimeter as employed by the early Ionic poets. The Hesychian glosses ἤμορος ἄμοιρος από ἤμορίς κενή, ἐστερημένη Αἰσχύλος Νιόβη (cf. B. B. XI 252) create a presupposition in favour of the view that Ionic-Attic once possessed an ἤμορος, which was adopted by tragedy. Φερεμμελίην

Wackernagel's hypothesis (K. Z. XXIX 136) that νσ did not become νν, when the accent preceded, has not been substantiated.

in Mimn. 144 (cf. Hom. ἐϋμμελίης) and ἔμμορεν in Theog. 234, are not to be adduced as supports of the traditional reading in Hipponax, because of the difference in tone between elegiac and iambic poetry.

The word καύηξ found in conjunction with ξιμισρος in the Hipponaktian passage, does not appear to be Ionic. See § 242. While it would facilitate our conception of the nature of the Ionic trimeter as the dialect of the people, were ξιμισρος to be regarded as an Ionism, neither Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 86 nor Brugmann, Gr. Gr. 45, who incline to this view in discussing ξιμισρος and forms of similar texture, has taken into consideration the glosses above mentioned which make for the Aiolic character of ξιμισρος.

 $\mu\mu$ is found in $\pi\lambda\eta\mu\mu\nu\rho$ is Hdt. VIII 129, and κρόμμυα IV 17, though Λ 630, τ 233 have the form with one μ .

Ionic όμμα is from όπμα, and is found e.g. in Anakr. 751.

όππα in Aiolic is not well attested.

Ionic varies, as do other dialects, between $\ell \nu \nu$ - and $\ell \nu$ - in the word for anise. Hdt. IX 71 has $\ell \nu \nu \rho \sigma \sigma \nu$, as Littré reads in Hippokr. II 274, and VIII 170. The dialects vary also between $-\sigma \rho$ - and $-\theta \rho$ - in the suffix. The latter form appears in Hippokr. VI 558.

The doubling of the nasal in 'Aννικώ Chios (174 C 13, cf. 'Aννικά on a tetradrachmon from Chalkidike in the Zeitschr. f. Numism. XI 43) is due to the fact that the noun is hypocoristic

for 'Avlkntos.

340.] N movable.

The inscriptions prove how devoid of authority is the current view in reference to the appearance of the nu ephelkustikon in Ionic. If we examine the usage of the inscriptions, it is evident that from the earliest period known to us this paragogic letter was in common use both in prose and poetry, before vowels and before consonants. The earlier documents use the -v with greater regularity than the later.

From the sixth century we have the following instances of -p preceding a consonant: Prokonnesos (stelè of Sigeion) 10310, Samos 211, Naukratis I 700, II 701. From the succeeding century there are at least nine cases: Thasos 68, Teos 156 B 33 (two examples), Abdera 162 (metr.), Chios 175 (metr.), Chios 174 C 20, Samos 215 (metr.), Halik. 23821, 241 (ποίησεν in a

¹ Gram. Aug. 669: dr τοῖς τρίτοις προσώποις ἡ νία τῶν Ἰάνων διάλειττες καὶ dr ταῖς δοτικαῖς πληθυστικαῖς τὸ ν ἐφελκ. οὐ . . . el μἡ χάριν μέτρου. Absence of the paragogic letter in Ionic is asserted by Aristarchus junior in Bekk. An, III 1400; cf. Bachm. An. (Max. Plan.) II 5717, 582. Much of the confusion as to this point may be due to the influence of the Kardrau θησαυρές of the above mentioned namesake of the great Alexandrian critic.

metrical artist's signature). Between 400–300 B.C., there are Olynth. 8 B 8, Eryth. 1996, Mykonos 248 C 10, Iasos 104, 1055, cf. J. H. S. IX 341, No. 3, l. 2, Zeleia 1131, 114 B, C, D, E, F, Samos 22139, Amphipolis 101, Ephesos 1471, 12, and Pantikapaion, Latyschev II 4. And even at a later period: Halikarn. B. C. H. XIV p. 91, l. 1, Eryth. 206 B 58 (after 278 B.C.), Teos 1586, 31 (first century) and in the late archaistic copy of the ancient document from Kyzikos 108 B 2. In the Lykian document No. 263, of uncertain date, there is another example. There are a few examples of the non-occurrence of nn movable before consonants, which do not deserve special mention.

Before vowels, and from the fifth century, we find - ν in Teos 156, B 34, B 36; Chios 173, 174 A 17, 20; Samos 212; Halikarn. 238_{10, 18}, 240_{39, 45}, 63. From the fourth century: Phanag. 164₉, Eryth. 200 (metr.), Samos 221₂₀, Mylasa 248 C 10. Eryth. No. 206 offers several instances of this use in the third century (B 47, 48, 58, C 45). All the instances of the omission of - ν before vowels date from a period when the monuments of the dialect are not free from the suspicion of contamination through Attic influence. Examples are: Phanag. 166₂₀,

1672, 1681, Samos 22117.

Movable nu is not uncommon at the end of an inscription. In early documents we find it (on ἐποίειν Miletos 95, see below): Chalkis 1, Keos 45, 48, 51, Paros 58, Prokon. 103, Samos 215. From a later period: Chios 192, Eryth. 207. Other inscriptions have no such termination, such as Sam. 213, 215 (which has ἀνέθηκε but also ἐποίησεν), Amorg. 228, No. 260 of uncertain provenance, and No. 21, Western Ionic. In the middle of a clause the same haphazard use prevails. Thus in Thasos 729:10? Samos 2213, Ephes. 1471, a vowel follows the forms provided with the -v. In Teos 1582 there is no -v. In Chios 174 B 6, 17, Zeleia 113 B 2, C 2, E 2, Theodosia 1273, the words end in -v and are followed by a consonant. Sometimes a clause is terminated by a verb with no -v, and the next sentence has in the same inscription, now a vowel, now a consonant to introduce the first word of the following clause (cf. Zeleia 1139, 13). The ordinary rule whereby to uncontracted - ee of the imperfect -v may be added, while the contracted -et may not take the final -v, is not without exceptions. The Homeric ήσκειν Γ 388 finds its analogue in the Milesian ἐποίειν Bechtel No. 95. Cf. -ειν in the pluperfect in Aristophanes, Plato, &c., and ἀπήεω Plato Tim. 76 B (before a comma and a word beginning with a consonant).

The supposed absence of the paragogic nasal from the text of Herodotos, and other Ionic writers of prose is generally explained by the assumption that Ionic evinced no repugnance to hiatus. Now it can readily be shown that the Ionic avoidance of contraction and fondness for hiatus are not so great as is commonly assumed; and Merzdorf has demonstrated that the evidence of the MSS. of Herodotos does not bear out the commonly received view1. What Herodoteian usage was, we cannot now discover. Doubtless the historian did not adopt any fixed procedure, and any attempt at uniformity in the manipulation of so delicate an instrument of stylistic perfection cannot be expected before Isokrates. But if contemporary evidence has any claims upon our consideration, the peccant letter must be held to have been used far more frequently than it appears in the MSS. The genuine and the spurious writings of Hippokrates, and the fragments of the philosophers, usually follow the rules which regulate the appearance of the nasal in Attic texts 2. Eberhard has expelled all cases of -v from Arrian, though there is no doubt that a closer adherence to the best MSS. would free Arrian from this and many other pseudo-Ionisms. Lukian's A, by its omission of -v, shows the influence of contemporary theory. In Eusebios, however, while we find the nasal sometimes omitted before a vowel, it is added even before a consonant.

- Herodotos never has -ν with πρόσθε, ξμπροσθε, δπερθε, κατόπερθε, δπισθε, ξνερθε. Herodas has πρόσθε 2₃₀, δπερθε 3₄₀, but also κάτωθεν and κάνωθεν 2₆₀, which Rutherford emends.
 - 2. Herodotos has τοῦτο, τοιοῦτο, τοσοῦτο; never the -r forms.
- 3. The only rule that may be formulated for the appearance of so evanescent a phonetic element is that it never appears before τ, except in the phrase δοξεν τῆι βουλῆι. All our modern rules are drawn from the artificial canons of the grammarians, not from the living language. The perversity of modern rule-making is not so marked in reference to οδτω, οδτως.
- 4. The nasal is not written in πάλι Hrd. 252, as frequently in late poets. Compare πέρνσιν and πέρνσι.

Gutturals.

341.] The Forms with Π and K.

The Ionic dialect possesses both π and κ as in $\pi\hat{\omega}s$, $\kappa\hat{\omega}s$, $\pi\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, $\kappa\acute{o}\tau\epsilon$, and in all connected forms³. In no other department of

¹ It is however correct that movable -ν occurs only rarely in all MSS., e.g. I 5 ξμαθεν ξγκυος, VII 161 ἀπέπεμψεν ἡμέας, VIII 118 οὐκ ἐστιν οἰδεμία.

2 Some of the excerptors of early Ionic who have preserved the original

Some of the excerptors of early Ionic who have preserved the original dialectal colouring with some consistency fail to follow any other rule than that in vogue in Attic. Cf. for example Demokr. 13, 20,, 20, 41.

that in vogue in Attic. Cf. for example Demokr. 13, 20, 20, 41.

Joh. Gr. 235, 240, 241 B, Greg. K. 412, Gram. Leid. 628, Aug. 668, Vat. 694, Birnb. 678, Et. M. 50, Hesych. s. c. &color, Orion 14234, Apoll. D. Synt. p. 55 (Bekk.), Adr. p. 1841e (Schn.), An. Ox. I 2471e. Some grammarians

Ionic does there exist a wider chasm between the language of the inscriptions and that of literature, the former having no case whatever of the κ forms, the latter having both π and κ . In the poets we find both π and κ , if we accept the somewhat dubious evidence of the MSS., and in Herodotos only the k forms. There is no evidence that Herodotos adopted the dialect of Miletos in his preference for κ over π , nor is there any actual testimony to a struggle between the two sets of pronominal forms in any portion of Ionic territory, though in the MSS. of poets from Amorgos, Thasos (or Paros if we refer Archilochos to the latter island), Ephesos, Kolophon, and Teos we discover now one, now the other form. The instances of the π forms in the lyric poets are not to be regarded as affording evidence of a period in the history of the dialect when π was in course of becoming k (a phonetic change unknown to Greek). Though it cannot be gainsaid that no poet of Ionic birth could use either k or π in the same word, we are unable to demonstrate in all cases which was the chosen form. In any event I regard it as problematic whether any of the instances of the π forms in the MSS, of the iambographs and Ionic elegists (though here the evidence is less certain) are retentions of the original. The geographical extension of the k forms, the history of their interrelation with those in π , and the possibility of Ionic inscriptions of the seventh century containing forms with k, are questions that do not at present admit of a solution. There is however no doubt that the older inscriptional forms with π are genuine Ionic, and free from all suspicion of being due to the levelling tendencies of Attic. Much of the apparent confusion in our texts may be due to sub-dialectal preferences as regards k and π . The existence of such preferences is clear from the Samian Kvavoψιών, mentioned in § 344.

342.] List of Ionic pronominal forms with K for Π.

An exhaustive presentation of all the testimony from the prose literature is not attempted. The poetical and inscriptional forms are given with tolerable completeness. The κ forms are given only when they are supported by MS. authority. Homer has everywhere the labial forms; so too the non-Ionian elegists.

thought the κ forms were Aiolic. $\kappa o \nu \epsilon \hat{\nu} \nu$ for $\pi o \nu \epsilon \hat{\nu}$ Schol. Ven. B on Ω 648 (cf. $\hat{\alpha} \kappa o \nu \eta \tau i = \hat{\alpha} \pi o \nu \eta \tau i$ Et. Mag. 50_{70}) has the appearance of a form made to order, though, if genuine, it would be an interesting illustration of the change which we observe in $\pi \delta \nu o s$, $\delta \iota d \kappa o \nu o s$. Demetrics Ixion apud Apollon. Sophist. Lex. 1319 merely says of $\pi \hat{\eta}$ that it is Ionic and Homeric.

ROV	Anakr. 1 ₄ Hdt. Hippokr. II 34 Hrd. 1 ₁₀₇ 3431 6 ₁₀₇ &c. (δήκου 3007 5341, δήκουθεν 2 ₂)	TOU	Amph. 10-7, Zeleia 113:00 Arch. 73, Anan. 1 Hdt. Hippokr. II 282, 362, 676, III 190 (bis)
Skov	Hipponax 51 ₂ Sim. Am. 7 ₅₁ , 104 Phoin. Kol. 2 ₁₂ (Schn.) Kallim. 85 Hdt. Hippokr. II 72, 90, 362 (Swov in 2253), III 56, 58 Hrd. 3 ₁₅ , 5 ₄₁	биои	Keos 43m, Thasos 714, Halik. 24044 Vit. Hom. 6
RW	Hippon.tr. 19, (conj. for xw) Anakr. 33 (MSS. zore) Hdt. Demokr.(Clem. Alex. 357 P)	TW	Archil. 259 Tyrt. 113 (05710) Theog. 1265 Hippokr. II 34 Hrd. 744
к ё з, к ы з	Kall. 1 ₁₂ Hdt. Luk. V. A. 14 (or 5κωs) Dea Syr. 29. Euseb. Mynd. 63 Hrd. 6 _{74*88}	TÜS, TUS	Archil. 122 Hippon. 87 Herakl. 27 Melissos 12 (Simpl., Mullach sŵs) Hippokr. II 282, III 210 Luk. V. A. 4. Vit. Hom. 14, 19 Hrd. 244
δαως	Sim. Am. 7ss Anakr. 63, Herakl. 2, 45, 100 Demokr. 20, 41, 208 Hdt. Hippokr. II 74, III 64, 242 Philip of Pergam. B. C. H. II 273 Arctaios Vit. Hom. 21 Hrd. (17 times)	δπως	Thasos 716 (fourth century) Samos 22110-15 (after 322 B.C.), cf. Ephesos 14717 [5\pi]es Sim. Am. 16 Hippon, 852 Vit. Hom. 18 Hrd. 722
Reies	Hdt. Aret. Luk. Arrian 354 Hrd. 640 75	Tolos	Arch. epod. 941 Hrd. 220
δκοῖοs	Archil. 70,, tetr. Herakl. 2, 23, 126 Demokr. 47 Hdt. Hippokr. III 42, 236 Arct. Luk. V. A. 4, Dea Syr. 29 Euseb. Mynd. 63. Hrd. 166 666 366	όποῖος	Anax. 6 (Simpl.)

κότε, κοτε	Sim. Am. 799 Kall, 11, 22 Mimn. 111 Anakr. 33 in MSS. (Bergk κω τότ') Kallim. 93 Hdt. Hrd. 273, 432, 634, 768, 81, &c.	πότε, ποτε	Amorg. Rob. I 160 A Xenoph. 1 ₅ , 6 ₅ Tyrt. 11 ₁₅ , 12 ₅₁ Mimn. 12 ₅₁ 14 ₅ Theog. 1245, 1256, 1287, 1307, 1331, 1345 Anakr. 85 Hrd. 6 ₁₆ , 27, of. 2 ₇₃ Herakl. 27 Hippokr. II 70, 360, 678, III 44, 90, V 606, 620, 634, 674 Luk. Dea Syr. 29 Arrian 42 ₃
δκότε	Herakl. 36, 73 Hdt. Hippokr. II 34, 70, 360, 362 (δπότε 2253) Demokr. 47 Vit. Hom. 5	δπότε	Kall. 1, (δππότε, cf. note 1) Vit. Hom. 26
κόσος	Hdt. Hrd. 1 ₂₁ , 2 ₉₅ , 3 ₇₉ , 7 ₆₄ , &c.	πόσος	Hippokr. II 678
όκόσος	Phoinix Kol. 2 _{181 19} Herakl. 2, 5, 18, 64, 91, 104 Demokr. 22, 47, 211 Hdt. Hippokr. II 34, 86, 90 Philip of Pergam. B. C. H. II 273 Aret., Hrd. 1 ₃₂ Arrian 404, Luk. Dea Syr. 29	δπόσος	δπόραι Eretr. 15 ₅ Xenoph. 1 ₁₇ Demokr. 13
ĸŷ	Hdt.	πĝ	Archil. 60
δκη	Herakl. 73 Melissos 14 Hdt.	8my	Sim. Am. 12

Hdt. has also κόθεν (Hrd. 6_{22}), ὁκόθεν, κότερος, ὀκότερος. In the case of other words the New Ionic of Hdt. presents no variations from Attic as regards the representation of I. E. q as κ before o, e. g. ὁποδαπή V 13, ὁποδαπός VII 218. Xenophanes has πηλίκος. In Arrian 42 $_8$ δκου is to be read. In Herodas the forms with κ are much more numerous than those with π (e. g. 2_{23} , 5_6 , 6_{27} , 7_{22} , 4_4).

^{1.} Forms with $\pi\pi$ are not to be called into question, since there is no such thing as an Ionic $\delta\kappa\kappa\delta\tau\epsilon$. Fick's attempts to expel $\delta\pi\pi\delta\tau\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\nu\delta\dot{\eta}$ from Kallinos 1., on the ground of the inadmissibility of an Aiolic form in that elegist, are wide of the mark. There is an irreducible minimum of Aiolisms in the Ionic elegy. Cf. also Theog. 531 $\delta\pi\pi\delta\tau'$ $\delta\kappa\sigma\dot{\sigma}\omega$.

- 2. Bechtel's statement, that $\delta\pi\sigma\nu$ in Keos 43m is a proof of Attic influence, is misleading. There is no inscriptional instance of $\delta\kappa\sigma\nu$ or of any such κ form. All we can say is that the Keian $\delta\pi\sigma\nu$ is the earliest inscriptional example of a π form. Cf. § 450, 2.
- 3. A difference between the three divisions of Ionic on the score of the κ forms cannot be established. Wilamowitz, Hom. Untersuch, p. 318, proposes to restore the π forms in Archilochos, as a representative of Island Ionic, and because of $\delta\pi\omega$ s upon a Thasiote inscription. In Archilochos the MSS, vary only more frequently in favour of the π form than they do in the case of poets of the Asiatic mainland. I see no reason to refer the κ forms to the influence of the μ -raypaddusero. Blass (Kühner's Gramm. p. 142) holds that Euboian Ionic also (cf. $\delta\pi\delta\tau$ -spos Eretria 1510) did not adopt the guttural. Our only evidence as to the nature of Euboian Ionic is that derived from inscriptions. If we argue that because no Western Ionic inscription has κ , therefore Western Ionic had π , a similar line of reasoning would hold good in the case of Island Ionic, and thus call in question the integrity of much of the MS. tradition.
- 4. The MSS, of Hippokrates varied greatly in regard to these forms according to the express testimony of Galen, who says that Artemidorus Capito edited δπόσησι, &c. Gomperz, Apologic der Heükunst, p. 86 ff., has illustrated the erratic conduct of the MSS, by reference to the pseudo-Hippokratic tracts περί τέχνης, περί φύσιος ἀνθρώπου, and περί φυσῶν. In the latter the later MSS, have the κ forms twelve times, A not once; from which Gomperz concludes that the κ forms are the result of meddling on the part of the scribes.
- 343.] By some imitators of Herodotos the κ forms are carefully reproduced. Lukian's only exception seems to be π oré Dea Syr. 29. Arrian has, on the other hand, 34 cases of π , but few of κ (ô κ ó τ ϵ in A § 42, κ oí ω 35 in some MSS., ô κ ó σ oi σ i ν 40). Eberhard adopts Hercher's expulsion of all the π forms in Arrian. In the other pseudo-Ionists we find scattered forms containing κ :—Abydenos 1 κ o $\hat{\epsilon}$, \tilde{o} κ η , in the epistles of Pherekydes o \tilde{v} κ ω , ô κ o \tilde{o} o ν , epist. of Herakl. ô κ ó σ ioi, epist. of Hippokr. 40 cases of κ to 22 of π .

The guttural forms have been given a place even in the Doric of the Pseudo-Timaios: δκόσος 93 B, 96 E, 99 C, 100 B, C, D, δκως 99 A, 101 C.

344.] Other cases of Ionic K= Π are: Kvavovićov in Kyzikos and Samos (Berlin. Monatsberichte, 1859, p. 739). π vavos and Hvavovićov have π where κ is strictly in place. See Reinach, Traité, p. 489, Brugmann, Gr. Gr. p. 32, note. On $\kappa\tau$ áoµaı or $\kappa\tau$ éoµaı = π áoµaı, see §§ 169, 246.

345.] K for T.

Only one case deserves notice. In Archil. 14, we read fore for fore, the only instance of this form. See § 716. fore was employed by Hdt. and the pseudo-Ionic writers, e.g. Arrian, Ind. 19.

346.] Transposition of Aspiration 1 (X=K).

The shifting of χ - κ , θ - τ , ϕ - π arises from so strong an aspirated pronunciation of κ , τ , π that the tenues and aspiratae represented nearly the same sound. This phenomenon, though not restricted to Ionic 2, nevertheless obtained in that dialect the dignity of admission into literature, from which it was usually debarred in other dialects. The Ionic forms are usually original, as in the case of ἐνθαῦτα, cf. ἔνθα. Ionic inscriptions of the best period do not offer instances of the intermediate form with double aspirate such as Χαλχηδών in Attic inscriptions.

κιθών 3=χιτών Hdt. II 81, Samos 22013, 16, 37, κιθωνίσκος 220₁₇, ef. κιθωνίσκον C. I. A. II 759, II 11. In Anakr. 59 the Attic form is read by Bergk, following the scholiast on Eurip. Hek. 934. The form κιτών occurs in Sikilian Doric (Sophron 62, Ahrens), and in Attic inscriptions (κιτώνα C. I. A. II 7644).

κύθρη, κύθρος, κυθρίδιον are often cited as Ionic by the grammarians 4. The MSS, of Hdt. however have χυτρίδων V 88, and in Hipponax 25 we find χυτροπόδιον. κυθρίδιον in Hippokr. VII 394 in θ (cf. 396) justifies our writing the Herodoteian and Hipponaktian words with κ. The pseudo-Ionists have κύθρη, which appears in Herodas, III I (found in Stobaios, Serm. 78, 6) though in the recently discovered papyrus χύτρη appears (7,76). Like forms are found in Clemens Alex. and Josephos. In a late inscription from Oropos (Έφ. άρχ. 1889, p. 3, ll. 12, 13) we find

Forms adduced by grammarians are: κείθιον = χείτιον Eust. 125926; κώρυκος (χωρείν) Eust. 14464, 153447; ἀκάντιον Greg. Kor. § 28 must be an error for ἀκάνθιον, with which he would

compare axavriov 5.

347. K for X by Dissimilation.

Φρυνικίδης Thasos (L.) 7 A 4=Φρυνιχίδης which is found in Hippokr. II 704. Cf. χείμετλον Hippon. $19_4 = χείμεθλον$, χύτλον = χύθλον and see B. B. I 65, Ascoli Kritische Studien, p. 404, note 2.

Greg. Kor. § 28, An. Ox. I 3973 π, Choir. 63526. Even ἔτυκον is derived from ἔτυχον in An. Par. III 18334; similar vagaries occur in An. Par. III

 23014.
 Cf. Attic φιδάκνη, πάθνη in the Common dialect (cf. Eust. 125916). The fact that the Common dialect adopted the shifting of aspiration renders doubtful the ascription to Ionic of certain glosses, e.g. θωτάζω, τριγχός in Hesychios.

1 Greg. Kor. p. 414 (cf. 341), Gram. Meerm. 649; Bekk. An. II 793ω (κιθώνιον), An. Par. III 571ω. Eust. 46832, 7461s; Hesych. κίθων (κιθών?) πῶμα πίθου and προκιθώνιον τὸ πρόρινον.

4 An. Par. III 5712, Et. M. 45442, Eust. 46832, 74616, Choir. 63523, Hesych. ἐπικύθριον τὸ πῶμα τῆς χύτρας. An. Ox. I 36614, Greg. Kor. 341 call κύθρα Doric, and Eust. regards the κ form as Sikilian as well as Ionic. Epicharmos has χύτρα according to our sources.

5 Cf. An. Par. III 5711, Meerm. 649, Eust. 46823, 74611.

Kaλχηδόνιοs Hdt. IV 85, 144, V 26 is an older orthography for Xaλκ-, which occurs frequently in the MSS. (Bredow, p. 92). In VI 33 all the MSS. except R have Xaλκ-. In Attic inscriptions of the fifth century both Kaλχ- and Xaλχ- occur.

With the above mentioned words we may compare 'Αγκιθείδης in Delos, Ditt. Syll. p. 513, note 26, which name is derived from 'Αγχίθεος as Έκέφυλος from 'Εχέφυλος.

348.] Other cases of Ionic K varying with X.

δέκομαι 1 with its compounds occurs in New Ionic literature, and is also Aiolic, Doric, and Arkadian for δέχομαι the Attic form which is due to analogy?. Attic has retained the original δέχομαι is however not unknown upon Ionic κ in δωροδόκος. soil. καταδέχηται in Amphipolis 10₁₉₋₂₀ may be regarded as offering inconclusive testimony because of its late date (358 B.C.); but Teos 156 B 21, one of the oldest stone records of the dialect, by its ὑποδέχοιτο shows that the aspirated form was not unknown to the Ionic of the fifth century. δέχομαι may have held its ground from the Homeric period (Homer has no case of δέκομαι) side by side with the morphologically older form which was generally adopted by literary prose. Instances of dexumas before Hippokrates are rare (Hipponax has προσδέχονται in frag. 8) and not certain. In Hippokrates δέχομαι is often attested, e.g. V 604 (102), 612 (139), 618 (156), II 76, 152, 246, 372, 610, III 50, 258. Lukian has δέκομαι except in Astr. 29, while in Arrian the two forms are about equally divided. δέκομαι is found in Abydenos 1, Vita Homeri 12; δέχομαι in Aretaios, epist. Hippokr., Euseb. Mynd. 1.

οὐκί Hom., Hdt., Attic οὐχί, which form is used by Herodas twelve times. Cf. Hdn. H 37928 (Choir. 6998), Et. Mag. 62416. Et. Gud. 4284, 4401, An. Ox. I 3013, 31120, 31833, Bekk. An. I 5720, H 71818, 281 and οὐκ ἔπεται Hesych. Homeric τετυκεῦν, τετυκεῦθαι from τεύχω may here be mentioned. Herodas has ἐπιβρύχουσα 6_{13} , where -βρύκουσα would be the Attic form. Zonaras 1512 says that the Attics, Dorians, and Ionians, except Anakreon (88), used μοχλός. Upon inscriptions κ is sometimes written for χ after σ and before ρ: Αἴσκραος Styra 19183; cf. Λίσχρίων 19184, Α]ἴσχρων Thasos 711. With this κ, cf. that in

the Eleian πάσκοι C. D. I. 1152,.

Brugmann Grundr. I § 486 note, Oathoff Perfect, 284, 299. G. Meyer Gram. § 207 sets up the proportion βρίξω: βρίχω:: δίξομα::δίχομα:. But βρίξω is quite late, and εβρεξα did not come into vogue before Hippokrates.

¹ Hdn. II 571₁₅. δέκω Eust. 746₂₀. 884₂₀. 1399₃₆ (cf. 1778₃), randoncés Eust. 1590₃₆, ξεινοδόκος An. Ox. I 200₃₀. Eust. does not shrink from assuming an fκω in Ionic, 1183₄₅. This form is found in Modern Greek dialects but is of course not a survival. A similar vagary as regards δέκα appears in Bekk. An. II 710₃.

349.] K for Γ.

κ is softened into y, as in Attic, in the following words.

κναφεύς cloth-corder Hdt. IV 14, κναφήιον IV 14 = Hippokratic (II 666) and = Attic γναφεύς, γναφε[ι]ον C. I. A. II 817 A 28 (358 B.C.). The older stage of Attic is here on a plane with Ionic, as is seen by κναφεύς C. I. A. IV A 373 F, a document of the sixth century. Herodas has γναφένε 478. Hdt. has also

κυάφος Ι 92.

With δv ακάμπτειν in Hdt. II 8, cf. δv αγνάμπτειν in Homer, κνάμπτειν, γνάπτειν, κνάπτειν in Attic. Hdt. has καμπή I 185, $\delta \tau$ πικαμπή I 180, Hippokr. $\delta \tau$ πικάμπειν. See Siegismund in Curtius' Studien V 192. These examples of the variation between an initial tenuis and media before vowels have analogues elsewhere, e. g. Phokian $\beta \rho v \tau \alpha v \epsilon \dot{v} \omega = \pi \rho v \tau \alpha v \epsilon \dot{v} \omega$, Kretan κλάγος = γλάγος, Attic Κνίφων = Γνίφων. In two other words of doubtful formation a like phonetic interchange after an initial vowel may be noted. 'Αγβάτανα is not better than 'Εκβάτανα (§ 129) because of the g of Haūgmatánaiy, loc. sing., Behistan II 76; 'Ωγῆνος, in a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros quoted by Clem. Alex. 741 P, recalls the Hesychian glosses 'Ωγήν, $\delta v \dot{\epsilon} v \iota \sigma$ which the ancients connected with 'Ωκεανός.

350.] X for Γ.

πρῆχμα Chios 174 B 18 stands for πρῆγμα. χμ is not from γμ (which is a favourite sound-combination, γ being the guttural nasal), but from analogy of -χμα, -χμος forms (βρεχμός, έχμα). The form πρῆχμα has been held by Roehl and Karsten to be a peculiarity of the sub-dialect of Chios-Erythrai. Bechtel however compares the v. l. of B in Archil. 30 μυριχμένας for the received ἐσμυρισμένας. Cf. also Hesychios' ἐσμυριγμένας μεμυρισμέναι. Other forms that may be noted in this connection are μεμορυχμένα v. l. v 435, διαπεπλεχμένα (quaedam ἀντίγραφα Galen. tempore) Hippokr. II 120. Cf. παράδειχμα in Epidaurian, C. D. I. 3325251, ε.

Hdn. II 252_{17} = Et. M. 151_{29} άρχμενος: — άφειλε δὲ άργμενος· φύλαξαν δὲ τὸ χ δοκεῖ Ἰωνικὸν εἶναι, καθὸ καὶ τὸ ἔργμα ἔρχμα φασίν. Cf. II 149_8 on ἔρχατο. In II 371_6 = Et. M. 371_{19} we should expect ἐρεχμός, διωχμός, ληχμός (Antimachos) to be called Ionic, not Aiolic.

351.] Varia.

ἐχ for ἐκ before an aspirate in ἐχφέρειν Keos 43e is not specifically Ionic. Cf. ἐχ φυλῆs C. I. A. I 31 A 7, ἐχφέρεσθαι in Kretan, Cauer 1179. Ionic has ἐκχεῖν in 4322.
 In δεδόκχθαι Samos 22126, we find κχ for χ, i.e. kh

In δεδόκχθαι Samos 221₂₆, we find κχ for χ, i.e. kh became κχ. Cf. ὅπφις=ὅφις, according to the probable conjecture of Bergk in Hipponax 49₆. In ἐλεγκθέντος Mylasa

248 C 11 we have $\kappa\theta$ written for $\chi\theta$. The pronunciation of h after both κ and τ was difficult, $\chi\theta$ and $\phi\theta$ having in reality but a single h. See § 362.

3. Upon a papyrus couched chiefly in the Ionic dialect and dating from the fourth century B. C. (Philol. XLI 748) we find τυχχάνοι in line 11, but τυχάνοι in line 8. In the latter case we have the expulsion, in the former the assimilation, of the

nasal, as in Νύφη and ξυββάλλεσθαι.

352.] μικκός < μικ-χός, a by-form of μικ-ρός, is called Ionic by Eust. 217₂₉ (cf. 610₂₅), but is also Aiolic and Doric. It occurs in Herodas 6₅₉ who has also μικρός 7₄₃. Boiot. Μίκκα has hypocoristic gemination. Cf. Lat. mɨca, mɨcidus, Μικίς Naukr. 745.

353.] Γ for B.

γλήχων (or γληχώ) is called Ionic for Attic βλήχων (Doric and Boiotian γλάχων) in Bekk. Anecd. I 3018 and in other grammatical treatises. γλήχων occurs in the Hymn to Demeter, Hippokrates, and Herodas, frag. (7). Such a variation between Attic and Ionic in the representation of an original q sound deserves note from its very isolation. On the accent, see Chandler, § 606.

354.] Koppa.

O appears in Ionic inscriptions chiefly before o and v, but also before λ , ρ , and ν . The velar pronunciation of the guttural sound is indicated by the retention of the character reproducing

qōph in the following instances:—

(1) Γλαῦρος, on an amphora from a Chalkidian colony, Roberts I 189 G, Volci I 188 G, Naukratis I 218 (= Rob. I 132 ter); Καῦρος Naukratis II 717, 795; καρῶι Arkesine 30=Rob. I 160 D; 'Ροῦρος Naukratis II 778; ἀ]ντιδίροις Chalkidian I313 (cf. ἀιτίδικος Orop. 1819); τεσ(σ)ερακαιεβδο[μη]ροντούτης Delos 58; Δημόδορος Volci, Rob. I 188 A; Λεώδορος, on a Chalkidian amphora, Rob. I 189 H; Οολοφώνιος Abu-Simbel 152; Οούρη Naxos 23; Διοσρουρ- Naukratis I 675-682, II 833-836, &c.; Oo - - - - Chalkidian, Bechtel 13.

(2) Qύρι[0]s, Chalkid. amphora, Rob. I 192 (a); λήρυθος Kyme, Rob. I 173; 'Αρρύλης Chalkidian, Rob. I 183 (b).

(3) ()λυτώ Volci, Rob. I 188 E; Ολύτιος Volci, Rob. I 193 (c). (4) Έπιορήθεος Styra 19107 is a doubtful form. φ seems, with

(4) $'E\pi\iota Q\rho\dot{\eta}\theta\epsilon os$ Styra 19₁₀₇ is a doubtful form. φ seems, with this possible exception, to have ceased to be used in the Styrian tablets of the fifth century.

(5) Qύρι[0]s Chalkid., Rob. I 192 (a).

Dentals.

On $\zeta = \delta$, see § 377. 355.] T for Θ .

aὖτις ¹ = aὖθις, epic, Herakleitos 16, Hdt. II 149, &c. Hdt. I
62 has μεταὖτις according to Stein, who reads αὐθιγενέες IV 49,
αὐθιγενέι IV 180, αὐθιγενές II 149, and in the same sentence
αὖτις. αὖτις occurs Hrd. 1₇₃, 5₂₇, 63, and by conjecture in Anakr.
29. This form is also Kretan. It is found in the pseudo-Ionists
Lukian, e.g. V. A. 5, Euseb. Mynd. 63, and Eusebios, § 2.
Hippokrates ² prefers αὖθις to αὖτις, as his supposititious letters,
Aretaios, Abydenos. In Arrian also the Attic form has found a
place, while Polybios adopts upon occasion the Ionic form.

Variation between τ and θ is strongly marked in Taργήλιοs, Θαργήλιοs. Both forms occur upon the same inscription, Iasos 10421, 28 (T), 10414 (Θ). Anakreon 40 has the τ form; in Hipponax 373 Ταργηλίοισιν is a conjecture, the MSS, having γαργ- and Θαργ-. Ταργηλιών is the name of the month in Delos (cf. B. C. H. V 26) and Tenos. Θαργήλια in Archil. ep. 113 is changed without warrant by Bergk to Ταργήλια. In Chios 174 C 18 we have the name Θαργελέο[s], and in Amorgos, Kyzikos, and Ephesos the name of the month was Θαργηλιών. We know also of Θαργήλια in Miletos.

τευθίς Sim. Amorg. 15 and θευτίς or θεῦτις Hipponax 115, would seem to be mutually exclusive in Ionic. θευτίς was doubtless adopted in Eastern Ionic, though which was the form among the Euboians, on whose coins the sepia appeared, is unknown. Hesychios has θωτάζει εμπαίζει, χλευάζει, i.e. τωθάζει, without attributing to an Ionic source this example of the movement of the dentals. Both Hdt. and Hippokr. have τωθάζω.

Certain words connected with, or forms of, θάπτω and τέθηπα are called Ionic by the ancients: τάφος burial and amazement, Ionic for θάπος, Hdn. II $382_{11} = \text{An. Ox. I } 397_7$, Apoll. Synt. 55_{21} Bekk., Orion 151_{32} Choir. 635_{23} (who calls θρέψω and θρέξω (!) Ionic), Et. M. 748_{33} . Cf. also An. Par. III 57_{33} Schol. Ven. A on IX 193, Et. M. 748_{33} , Et. Gud. 522_{32} , An. Par. III 57_{33} ; τεθηπότες Apoll. D. Synt. 55_{21} . Hdt. has τεθάφαται VI 103, where R has τετάφαται. ἐτάφη is found in Herodotos (III 10), ἐθάφθη in Sim. Keos 167_{22}

¹ Greg. Kor. p. 473, Eust. 1175₆; cf. 7⁸9₂₆, 1006₂₆, Aneed. Bachm. II 61₃₇ (Max. Plan.) "Ομηρος καὶ "Ιωνες; Tzetz. Ex. Π. 84₁₁, and on Hsd. W. D. 560 (cf. 156), where αδτις is also referred to the Kourh.

^{156),} where αδτις is also referred to the Kourh.

Littré adopts αδθις III 104 (no v. l.), 236 (Aldus alone αδτις), 242 (αδτις C),

II 82 (αδτις 2146), VI 92 (αδτις A M). Littré has certainly gone too far in rejecting the Ionic form.

356. Θ for T.

On θ in κιθών, κύθρη, see \S 346.
ενθεῦτεν 1, ενθαῦτα in Hdt. with retention of original aspiration 2. The form ενθαῦτα is also found in the very ancient papyrus (Philologue XLI 748 l. 6), epist. Hippokr. 1718, Vita Hom. 2. On ἐντοῦθα Oropos 1817, see § 256. The intermediate stage between ενθαυτ- and ενταυθ- appears in ενθαυθοί Attic (C. I. A. IV B 27 B 13; 439 B. C.), if the first θ is not due to the influence of the second. In the Kymaian θυφλός (Roberts I 173) and ἐθέθην (Rob. I 1743) the θ's seem to be due to etymological considerations. This phenomenon is not restricted to Ionic, but occurs in Lakonian, Argolic, &c.

M. Schmidt suggests that the Hesychian gloss Θελγίνες ol Teλχîνes is Ionic. This is doubtful on account of the rest of the

gloss: γόητες, πανοθργοι, φαρμακευταί.

βάθρακος is stated by ancient grammarians to be the Herodoteian form for $\beta \dot{a}\tau \rho a \chi o s$ (see §§ 147, 335)⁴. No editor, however, deserts the MS. tradition in Hdt. IV 131, 132; and Pigres, the author of the Batrachomyomachia, though an elder contemporary of the historian, does not recognize the form with θ .

357.] Varia.

τ for π.

Palatal τ is found in Τενθεύς (ὁ Πενθεύς παρά Έκαταίφ, Photios). Πενθεύς is a clipped-name of Μεγαπένθης. Τελέθριον in Euboia

is the equivalent of Πελεθρόνιον in Thessaly.

2. θ for δ in $\mu\eta\theta\ell\nu$ Hrd. 3_{91} , $\mu\eta\theta\ell\nu$ Teos 158_{21} , and $00\theta\ell\nu\alpha$, Olbia C. I. G. 2058 A 32, is not specifically Ionic. The aspiration of an original media is widely known in all the dialects as they approach the Kour´η stage. A noteworthy instance of $\theta = \delta$ is $\mathring{\eta}\mathring{\theta}$ ομόλευκτρος B. C. II. IV 287, l. 5 (Paros).

3. Beyond the pale of regular phonetic change lie Mitpodarns

and Μιτροβάτης.

4. τ for δ.

The schol, on Thuk. I 64 makes the curious statement in regard to 'Αφύτιος that it is Ionic for 'Αφύδιος. Because of the termination, we should rather say. For ατράφαξυς, Hippokr. VI 560 has ανδράφαξυς. For κρατευτής Il. IX 214, the Attic is κρατευτής and κραδευτής. For δρύφακτος, we find τρύφακτος in Delos, B. C. H. 1890, p. 397, and in Oropos, Έφημ. άρχ. 1889, p. 3, l. 4-5; cf. Hdn. II 5951, who says that some wrote the

See also Eust. 746₁₆, Meerm. 649.

¹ Greg. Kor. 465, Eust. 4682, 74611, An. Ox. I 397e An. Par. III 5710

Apoll. Syst. 55n.

² deraide, the Attic form, is very common in MSS. of Ionic writers, e.g.
Sim. Am. 231, Hrd. 323, epist. Hippokr. 27m, 45, 52; dereider Vita Hom. 13, 21.

³ Cf. Attic dereiden in the same inscription as defauded.

word with 8, and also § 335. The Delian inscription, l. l. p. 404,

has ἐνώτια, with which cf. ἐνώδιον.

τάπης occurs in Homer, Herodas 244, though Ail. Dionysios apud Eust. 136943 says that δάπης and δάπις are the older forms. δάπις occurs in Aristophanes, &c., but all MSS. have the τ form in Plut. 541.

5. $\tau\theta$ for θ , &c. In $\Pi\iota\tau\theta\epsilon\dot{\nu}s$ on a coin from Ephesos Num. Chron. 1881, 16 ($\Pi IT\Theta E \Upsilon O \Sigma$) and also Attie (C. I. A. III 908, 1962), the $\tau \theta$ is a development of θ (th becoming th). On $\tau\tau$ in another form of this name, see § 361, 2.

6. 8 and y.

δνόφος, δνοφερός in Hom., δνοφερός Hippokr. VI 384 = Aiolic γνόφος, where γ, softened from κ, becomes δ before ν. Cf. άδνόν for ayvov in Kretan, and dlory for glory, a pronunciation heard

in New England.

7. θ between σλ is expelled in ἐσλῆ[s] Chios 175, a metrical inscription. ἐσλός is thus shown to be not necessarily Aiolic, as Karsten held (p. 19). Cf. also ἐσλός in C. D. I. 1200, formerly referred to Arkadian, and in Doric (Greg. Korinth. p. 213, who quotes from Pindar). Elsewhere in Ionic the θ is preserved in this word, e.g. Sim. Am. 69.

358. A dental followed by μ .

- -δμ- does not become -σμ-: δδμή¹ Hdt. III 24 as in Homer, Hippokr., Aret. (but κάκοσμα 2856, εὐόσμου 3151), δδμασθαι Demokr. Phys. 1. On δδμή in Old Attic, see Rutherford's Phrynichus p. 160. Whenever δ + suffixal μ seems to become σμ, the σ is due to analogy. τομεν2 in Hdt. VII 111, Demokr. Phys. 1, 5, 9, Luk. Dea Syr. 2; ισμέν in Aretaios 68,11, 212,18 and Arrian 414 (where Hercher reads 18-) is from analogy to love. In μεσόδμη, which is found in Hom., Hippokr., and is the equivalent of Attic μεσόμνη (C. I. A. II 105448), δμ becomes μδ and this $\mu\delta$ passes into $\mu\nu$ according to Prellwitz, B. B. XVII 172. The name Κάδμος occurs in Thasos (L.) 55, 20 A 4; Μέδμα in Hekataios.
- 2. -θμ- remains unchanged in ἀναβαθμός Hdt. II 125, ἡθμόν Prokon. 103 (stelè of Sigeion). ρυθμός Hdt. V 58, Demokr. 205 (Stob., -σμ- according to Mullach) seems in accordance with Phrynichos' rule: βαθμὸς ἰακὸν διὰ τοῦ θ, διὰ τοῦ σ ἀττικόν, βασμός (CCXCVI, Rutherford). Either this rule must not be taken to hold good in the case of other words, or promos Archil. 667, Anakr. 742, is an Attic interloper. βασμόν Kyzik. 11110 and ἀνδροβασμός Erythrai 201, are inscriptional forms not free

² Eust. 1570, (Dorie).

Bekk. Aneed. I 5630, Phryn. 160 (R.) δδμή 'Ιώνων, cf. Eust. 15703.

from the suspicion of being Attic, since both documents are to be placed in the fourth century B.C. ρυσμός may contain the suffix -σμο- which is borrowed from δα-σμός, δε-σμός, &c. At least such an analogical formation came into existence several centuries before the period of Archilochos (Homeric θεσμός). See Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 119, Kretschmer, ibid. XXIX 429. Many of the occurrences of σμ in nouns have their parallel in σμ in verbal forms, e.g. εράσμιος in Anakreon, ισμα, κνήσμα, ξμεσμα, κρεμασμός, θλάσμα, σχάσμα in Hippokrates.

Labials.

359.] Ionic $B = \Delta$ of other dislects.

Before dark vowels I. E. g became β , before those of light colour δ .

βούλομαι Ionic-Attic = Aiolic βόλλομαι, Arkadian βόλομαι (also Kyprian and Homeric), Pamphylian βώλομαι, Herakleian δήλομαι, Lokrian and Delphian δείλομαι. In Thessalian βέλλομαι, Boiot. βείλομαι, β is due to the influence exerted by βολλά and βωλά respectively.

διβελός in Hom., Hdt., Boiot., Attic (διωβελία) = όδελός in Delphian, Megarian, Kretan, Tarentine. δβολός in τετρωβόλου IIrd. 6_μ has its penultimate o by assimilation to the initial o.

860.] Ionic $B = \Gamma$ of other dialects.

βλέφαρου = γλέφαρου in Pindar; cf. ποτιγλέποι in Alkman. πρέσβυς = πρισγείες, ΒΟΙΟΤΙΑΝ § 43.

361.] Relation of Π and Φ .

П for Ф.

'Αμπιθάλης Delos 55 II 8, is a form parallel to 'Αμφιθάλης 55 V 10, &c., and formed by dissimilation from it; cf. αμπέχω and αμφίσκοντες ενδυόμενοι.

1. Eust. 239₂₀₀₋₃₄ holds that πατριά (-ή) is the Ionic form of the Attic φρατρία. πατριή is found in Iasos J. H. S. IX 341, No. 3, l. 4; cf. πατριαί in Hdt. I 200 and Eleian C. D. I. 1152 (see Blass ad loc.) and the Arkadian πάτρα, ibid. 1194. That the spelling without the first ρ is Attic and Doric is apparent from C. I. A. II 599, fourth century), Chios, Ditt. Syll. 360₂₆ (where it is Attic), Delphte, ibid. 244 B 77), Andros, Mitth. I 237₂₉. Phokian, Cauer 223 B 14, Koan, ibid. 159. The difficulty of identifying the two forms is enhanced by the fact that the inscription from Iasos has πατριήν, not πητριήν. Though in Hdt. I 125 only d and the Aldine edition have the suspicious φήτρη for φρήτρη, yet we should expect πη- if the word is connected with φράτρία (Homeric φρήτρη. While the expulsion of one ρ is a well-known phenomenon, dissimilation at the

same time of ϕ to π is out of the question. The word has no connection with $\phi p d\tau \eta p$, $\phi p d\tau \omega p$.

The Et. Gud. 440, maintains that the Ionians used ἀπείληπα for ἀπείληφα.

2. Ἐπιάλτης in Hdt., and on a vase in Overbeck's Atlas zur Kunstmyth., pl. IV,
No. 6, is the original form of the name. Ἐφιάλτης has an inorganic φ. Cf.
the Alkaian Ἐπιάλτης and ἐπίαλος.

2. P for II.

Φίττων in Keos 44 A 7 is the equivalent of Attic Πίθων (C. I. A. I 433, II 22, 43416), the Boiotian Φίθων C. D. I. 850 (Φίττων perhaps occurs also in Mitth. IX 319, D 71, in an inscription from Keos), and is a shortened form of Πιτθεύς (Πιθείδης Keos 44 A 10, § 357, 5). Cf. Φετταλός in Boiotian = Thess. Πετθαλός.

 $K\rho l\sigma \phi \sigma \nu$ in a late Parian inscription B. C. H. I 135, No. 48, is an example of the wide-spread inability of the later imperial period to distinguish between tenuis and aspirata. The φ of the aspirated perfect $\tau \epsilon \tau \rho d\phi \sigma \tau \omega$ is claimed as Ionic by Et. M. 366_τ.

362.] Πφ for Φ.

In M 208 for ὄφιν at the end of the verse we find ὅπφιν in S,

and ὅφιν in H. This spelling is furthermore attested by Eust. 900₁₂ (cf. 1577₅₃, 1755₃₅). In Hipponax 49₆ (ἡν αὐτὸν ὅφις τὧντικνήμιον δήκη) we may either follow the procedure of Herodian (Villoison, Anecd. II 86), who adopted this spelling in Homer, or we may accept that with πφ¹, which is defended by σκύπφος Anakr. 82, Hesiod frag. 174 (cf. Athenaios XI 498 A), Delos (B. C. H. VII 109, l. 24, 26, &c., a prose inscription), σκύπφειον Stesich. 7 (Casaubon), and reinforced by the analogy of Πιτθεύς (§ 357, 5), ὅκχον Pind. Ol. VI 24, ὀκχέοντι II 67. Antimachos (78 K) also made use of the form ὅφις, the length of whose initial syllable is due to affrication. Cf. Ζεφυρίη η 119, βρόχος Theog. 1099 &c.; § 351, 357, 5. In Hipponax 49₂ ὄφις may be either ὄφις or ὄφις.

καταπθιμέ[νη]s Chios 1752 is an attempt at a more exact phonetic orthography than καταφθιμ[έ]νων Keos 431, in both cases there being but one h after the double labial. Cf. ελεγκ-

θέντος under § 351 and K. Z. XXVIII 179.

363.] Π for B, and Φ for B.

'Αμπρακιῆται Hdt. IX 28, 31 ('Αμπρακιῶται VIII 45, 47) and so in Thukydides and I. G. A. 70, was later on spelled 'Αμβ-, mp becoming mb as in Modern Greek. Coins of Ambrakia generally have β (C. D. I. 3185), while Attic inscriptions have β or π . Λεπαδεύς Keos (Mitth. IX 27425), a form that is also

¹ Fick conjectured ουφις = δ δφις (Odyssee 24).

Delphic. On ημβλακον Archil. 73, see A. J. P. VI 46. Anakr. (141) perhaps used the form ἀστραφή for ἀστράβη.

364.] Varia.

αρτοπόπος is called Ionic for αρτοκόπος in Bekk. Anecd. I 44725 = Bachm. Anecd. I 1472; Hdt. has however (I 51) the κ form. όππότε Kallin. 18, Theog. 531 is not Ionic (§ 342, note 1).

σάμβαλα, for σάνδαλα, and related forms are used by Hipponax 182, Anakr. 143, Herodas 760, 7126, cf. Sappho 982, Eumelos apud

Paus. IV 33, 3, and under AIOLIC.

There is no variation in Ionic between ϕ and θ not known in other dialects. Έργόφεμις Styra 19100 is a mere slip for -θεμις. Δωροφέα, Rob. I 29, is not an Ionic name for Δωροθέη. Φλάν occurs in Hippokrates, and is found in Pindar, Aristophanes, Theokritos, while $\theta\lambda$ âν is also employed by Hippokrates and is known to Homer, Hesiod, Theokritos, Herodas 2_{83} ($\theta\lambda$ $\hat{\eta}$ contains a Doric contraction). $\phi\lambda$ (β ειν which appears in Theokritos XV 76 and as a v. ℓ . in Odyss. 1721 is used by Hippokr. VI 292, 300, in both of which passages ℓ has the form with θ . The ancient grammarians thought that the ϕ forms were the property of the Aiolic dialect. θ η ρ is the Ionic form (cf. Θ η ρ (ω ρ) Styra 19116.

The Spirants.

365.] Yod.

The influence of Homeric $\zeta a < \delta_{i}a$ has given life to $\zeta a\pi \lambda o v r o s$ even in prose (Hdt. I 32, in the speech of Solon). $\zeta a\pi \epsilon \delta o s$ occurs in Xenophanes 1 and in an epigram from Paros, No. 59 (fifth century). See Hinrichs, H. E. V. A. p. 43. 4 seems to have become ι in $\mu d\lambda \iota o v$ Tyrt. 126; see § 163. On combinations of yod, see §§ 224, 367, 370.

Sigma.

366.] Adverbs which permit an option of final s refuse the adoption of the sibilant in the following cases in Hdt.: $\mu\dot{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota$, $\delta\chi\rho\iota$, and $l\theta\dot{\iota}$, $l\theta\dot{\iota}$ s, which are differentiated in meaning. $o\bar{\nu}\tau\omega$ occurs before both vowels and consonants, and $o\bar{\nu}\tau\omega$ s before vowels is rarely attested by all MSS. On the other hand -s occurs in $\pi o\lambda\lambda\dot{\alpha}\kappa\iota$ s (followed by a consonant) and $\dot{\alpha}\tau\rho\dot{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$ s (followed by a vowel). $\chi\omega\rho\dot{\epsilon}$ s has a rare by-form in Doric without s (Thera, Cauer 148 E 8, $\chi\tilde{\omega}\rho\iota$ Hdn. I 506, who quotes from

Kallimachos χῶρι διατμήγουσι, cf. Apoll. Adv. 138₁₅, 162₂₅ Schneider). The inscription from Oropos (No. 18) that has μέχρι even before a vowel (l. 3) has χωρίς (l. 44). Archil. 37 used ἐγκυτί and so did Kallimachos according to the testimony of Joh. Alex. 38₂₀ (Hdn. I 506₁₄, 511₂₃).

367.] Ionic $\sigma^1 = \text{Attie } \sigma < \tau \iota$

in nouns with the suffix ti, in ι stems with τ preceding the stem suffix (κάσις, κασίγνητος, cf. έγκατα), in adjectives in which the ending io follows upon a r contained in the stem, and in the 3rd sing. of -ut verbs, and 3rd plur. present and perfect. The influence of other forms has frequently caused the retention of τι, e.g. παντί, δνόματι, cf. Attic ναντία (= Ionic νανσίη) because of ναύτης 2. Elsewhere τ before accented ι does not become σ, as it does not in oxytones and paroxytones; while final Ti in proparoxytones is usually assibilated, according to Kretschmer in K. Z. XXX 565 ff.; whose discussion of the question does not yield wholly satisfactory results. The force of analogy has retained τ frequently in forms where σ is properly in place, e.g. νότιος (Hdt., Hippokr.) with the τ of νότος. φάτις (Herakl. 3) retains its τ either from the influence of φατίζω or from the influence of the form *φατει-; the tendency to dissimilation from φάσις being an auxiliary factor in the preservation of the form 3. πλουσίη has the σ of πλούσιος. The Ionic character of ἄμπωτις in Hdt. has been impeached by Kretschmer, not only because of the retention of the dental contrary to the rule formulated by him, but also on the score of the unusual apocope, on which see § 715. Less valid is the objection of G. Meyer (that the radical πω is found in the present in Aiolic alone), since the parent pāi is proethnic, and substantival forms with ω (which need not be derived from the perfect) are the property of other dialects than Ionic. That Herodotos should have adopted a Doric word relating to the sea, as Kretschmer contends l. l. 572, passes belief. Ionic-Attic πλησίος is an obstinate form, but due, according to the scholar just mentioned, to the influence of παραπλήσιος.

368.]

Homeric $\pi \sigma \tau l$, Sim. Keos (?) 85_{13} =Avest. paili is not Doric, notwithstanding that it is the usual form in the dialects of Dorian sympathies. Ionic inherited together with other members of the Hellenic race the proethnically distinct forms $\pi \sigma \tau l$ and $\pi \rho \sigma \tau l$. In Doric $\pi \sigma \tau l$ may lose its iota before a vowel, in Homer an elided $\pi \sigma \tau l$ and $\pi \rho \sigma \tau l$ are unknown.

P. 505.
S Cf. υπτιος because of υψιος.

¹ An. Ox. II 361 $_{22}$ quotes as Ionic the change of τ to σ in εὐεργεσία (εὐεργέτης).

² ἀλουσίη Hdt., Hippokr., -σία Eurip., but -τία Eupolis (cf. Lobeck's Phrymichus,

369.] Ionic σ for Attic τ^1 is found in the following words. σήμερον in Homer, Hrd. 257 and in the suspected verse of the Rhesos (683), from the pronominal stem tia, which is also the source of Attic τητες, of which σητες is the Ionic form (Et. M. 71143). The dialects exclusive of Attic had σ in these words. Cf. Hesychios τήμερου 'Αττικοί [τήμερος] και τήμερα λέγουσιν. It may be noted that the existence of an adjective τήμερος is evident from the scholiast on Clouds 699 (see Jackson in Class. Rev. VI 4).

The σ of $\sigma\eta\lambda(a)$, attested in Bekk. Anecd. I 382₂₅, may be Ionic.

σεῦτλον is the equivalent of Attic τεῦτλον, which appears in Hippokr. VI 248, 252, though in II 482 A has the σ - form, which is also found in θ in VI 560. Littré reads $\tau \epsilon \hat{v} \tau \lambda o \nu$ in the pseudo-Hippokratic tracts. In later Attic the ridiculed σεῦτλον found a place, and σήμερον was occasionally adopted.

Hesychios reports as dialect by-forms of Attic τύρβη and τύρβα (Aischylos), $\sigma \dot{\nu} \rho \beta \eta$ and $\sigma \dot{\nu} \rho \beta a$. The former at least can belong to no other dialect than Ionic. Kratinos made use of συρβηνεύς.

The relation between σαργάνη Aischylos, Suppl. 788 (dordrais Dindorf with Lascaris) and rapydry in Hesychios is obscure, though Koegel in Paul and Braune's Beitrage VII 191 has compared them with Lith. tveriù 'enclose.' Neither σίλφη nor τίλφη occur in Ionic sources. τεύμησατο in Antimachos' Thebais, frag. 3 Kinkel, is not Ionic but Boiotian, at least as regards the dental, because of Τευμησσός. The Doric form would be σευμάσατο, the Ionic σευμήσατο. Cf. Fick in B. B. VI 236 and Wackernagel in K. Z. XXVIII 121. The last named scholar has shown that Ionic ode for older *oode is represented in Attic by *\tauta in \delta iatta, which was regarded as a compound of διά + ἀττάω. This ἀττάω was in fact turned into Ionic ἀσσάω by Archestratos in Athenaios III 111 F (ἡσσημένα). ἐττημένα σεσημένα, so far from being Ionic as M. Schmidt thought, is good Attic and used by Pherekrates.

370. Relation of Ionic $\sigma\sigma$ to Attic $\tau\tau$.

Ionic $\sigma \sigma$ is = Boiotian, Attic $\tau \tau$ when it arises from τ_{ℓ} , θ_{ℓ} , κ_{ℓ} ³, $\chi \iota$, τF , i. e. Ionic $\sigma \sigma$ is a secondary sound in these cases.

The position assumed by the Attic inscriptions 4 (and by those monuments of literary Attic which voice the speech of the people) in favour of 77 makes for the view that whenever we meet with

¹ Cf. Wharton, Class. Rev. VI 259.

Henychios has ἐττησμένα: σεσεισμένα, Photios ἐττημένα: σεσησμένα.
 With ἐπισσαι Hekat. 367 (al ἐπιγεγνόμεναι τοῦς προγόνοις), we may compare Vedic apicya, according to Wackernagel in K. Z. XXVIII 122. It is botter to explain utracoas as also containing a a suffix than to suppose with Giles Class. Rev. III p. 4) that -acca is a feminine participial termination.

^{&#}x27; No inscription in pure Attic, other than a vase inscription, has before 400 B. C. the σσ form in cases where there was a possibility of the adoption of TT.

 $\sigma\sigma$ in early Athenian literature we have to deal with a direct or indirect influence exerted by Ionic upon nascent Athenian art. Once installed in the poetry of the sixth century, $\sigma\sigma$ descended as an heirloom to tragedy, which felt the influence, not only of Solon, but also of the earlier Ionic poetry and of the beginnings of Ionic prose. Thukydides ¹ and the older Attic prose writers who adopted $\sigma\sigma$, though contemporary with Aristophanes and his predecessors (whose $\tau\tau$ bespeaks the language of the marketplace), adopted it through the influence of tragedy and of the rhetorical canons of the day.

The only means of avoiding the conclusion that there is an artistic reason for the difference between the unvarying $\tau\tau$ of the inscriptional monuments and the $\sigma\sigma$ of early literature is, with Kirchhoff, to maintain that all the cases of $\sigma\sigma$ in early Attic literature are due to textual corruption. This view shuts its eyes to the true conception of the language of tragedy and of early prose in Attika as standing in sympathy, not only with Doric (in the choral part of tragedy), but also with Ionic. Cf. §§ 22, 61, 375.

371.] Extension of $\sigma\sigma$ in the Ionic dialects.

Asiatic Ionic and Island Ionic have $\sigma\sigma$ for Attic $\tau\tau$ invariably. Whether Western Ionic stood on the side of Attic is not yet clear because of lack of evidence. Thus far 77 has been discovered in Κιττίης Styra 1952, έλαττον Oropos 186, 22 (cf. έλασσον in Hdt., Hipp. II 36, Keos 434), ἐκπρηττόντων Adesp. 226 (an inscription found several miles south of Eretria). The question at issue is whether these inscriptions are not composed under Attic influence. Thuk. VII 57 shows that in the middle of the fifth century there existed some political connection between Athens and Styra, and there are other proofs of the influence of the rising democratic state over the language and alphabet of Euboia. As regards the leaden tablets of Styra, we find in 19263 Μοφσίδης, a spelling that bears an Attic aspect. The names Kίσ(σ)vs 19383 and Kίσ(σ)a[μος] 19382 are either those of men not Western Ionians or they prove that the above mentioned Kerring has an Attic 772. The Eretrian dialect of Oropos may, by the end of the fifth century, have adopted some Attic spellings. The inscription containing ἔλαττον dates either between 411-402 B.C. or between 387-377. The Chalkidians certainly did not affect the Attic ττ. In Olynthos 8 B we read πίσσης. Ηόσσα in Rhegion 5 is not necessarily Ionic.

In Thukydides there are very few cases of ττ in all MSS.; e. g. ταράττεσθαι
 VIII 71, while as a v. l. it is not infrequent: γλάττης I 138, γλῶτταν II 68.
 Fick, G. G. A. 1883, p. 125 referred Κιττίης to Boiotian influence, comparing Κιτ[τ]-λος. Meister writes Κιτύλος C. D. I. 875 (epigr.).

δττι¹ in Theognis 17, 818, 1200, as in Homer, is from ðτ + τι.

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372. $\sigma \sigma$ in the Aorist.

In Ionic poetry we have the following instances of $\sigma\sigma$ in the aorist, the origin of which, when not derived from σ - or δ stems, is still involved in obscurity:—Theognis has ἐγέλασσε 9, είκάσσαις 127, οπάσση 321, απόλεσσαι 323, ανύσσας 511, δικάσσαι 543, ἀρεσσάμενοι 762, ὅλεσσα 831. Sigmatic stems are contained in τρεσσάντων Tyrt. 1114, ετέλεσσα Theog. 953, θεσσάμενοι Arch. 112, eleg., ηράσσατο Arch. 30 is not a remarkable form in trimeter. Homer, Hesiod, and Pindar have -σσ- in this verb; and Lukian's ηρήσατο dea Syria 17 cannot be an old form. δικάσσασθαι in Hipponax 79 and ὑποργάσσαι in 84 (both tetrameters) are mere conjectures of Schneidewin and Meineke respectively.

373. Reduction of $\sigma\sigma$ to σ .

When to $\sigma\sigma$ there is a parallel form in σ , $\sigma\sigma$ belongs in general to poetry. Thus the epic μέσσος is preserved in Anakr. 80, Theog. 331, 994, 1164, μέσσατος 998. Hippon. 127 μεσσηγυδορποχέστης should probably be written with one σ; cf. μεσέων Anan. tetr. 59. Sim. Keos 84 has a certain case of μέσσοι. τόσσος Archil. hex. 14 (163 τόση?), Theog. 83, δσσος Tyrt. 1116, Solon 5_1 , Xenoph. 2_{18} , Theog. 93, 996, Hrd. 1_{27} , 2_{62} , 3_{64} ; $\delta\pi i\sigma\sigma\omega$ Tyrt. 11_{13} , Theog. 735, $\delta\rho\rho\nu\sigma\sigma\delta$ os Theog. 987. $\pi\sigma\sigma i$ is the prose form (Hdt., Hippokr.), and found in Archil. 58_4 tetr., for which Bergk reads ποσσί. The forms with single σ are employed in prose and in such poetry as reproduces the diction of the epic or of Aiolic. ooos, róoos Hdt., Hippokr. who uses ès τόσον VIII 284, őσος Chios 174 A 8, Anakr. 742; τόσος Theog. 93. Πόσσα Rhegion 5 cannot be Ionic. Hrd. has οσος 1₁₅, 3₁, 3₈₀, 4₁₀, 5₈, 6₂₅, τόσος 3₄₃, μέσος 6₈₁. δσσα in Demokr. 184 is a figment of Mullach. δπίσω Hdt., Demokr., rare in Homer.

In many proper names the MSS, of Hdt. vary between $\sigma\sigma$ and σ after a long vowel; in fact all dialects show fluctuating orthography under these circumstances. In an inscription from Smyrna, C. I. G. 33116, in one from Syros, 'Αθήν. III 530, l. 18, and in Latyschev II 36, we find rhoos, with which compare 'Αλικαριησσός ', -εύς, Ionic forms of the Karian name. In Attic we find -radioi, -radevs and -raddevs, but upon the stones -ddregularly (i.e. with only one exception). Bredow contended

¹ Incorrectly called Ionic, Greg. Kor. p. 463, who quotes \$771 KEP effect. The form is of Aiolic texture. At least no other dialect save Aiolic made use of the form in post-Homeric times.

² See Hdn. I 102₁₁, 121₁₂, 209₂₆, II 80₁₂, 878₁₈, 879₂₆, 891₆.

374.] $\sigma\sigma$ is written for σ

in Ίσστιαιᾶς Eretria 15₁₈, Αἰσσχύλου 266 (probably Ionic), ἀντίσστασι Pantikapaion, Latyschev II 9, in order to display the division of the syllables in pronunciation; σσ is written with one σ in τὰστήλας Teos 156 B 35, ἐστήλην Erythr. 202₁₈.

375.] Whether T for $\sigma\sigma$ is a mere orthographical variation, or whether it represents a local pronunciation, is not yet clear. See Roberts I § 75, Riemann B. C. H. III 494 ff., Bechtel Ion. Inschr. p. 141, Ramsay Class. Rev. I 10 and references in G. Meyer Gramm. p. 273. Halik. 238_2 'AlkaqvaT[$\epsilon\omega$]v, but 238_4 'Alka[$\rho\nu\eta$] $\sigma\sigma\epsilon\omega$ v, 238_6 'OaTáTios, 238_{16} H[a] $\nu\nu$ áTios with the forms $\Pi a\nu \nu a\sigma\sigma s$ and $\Pi a\nu a s$ on later documents. This T occurs also in Mesembria and perhaps in Teos ($\theta a\lambda a T\eta s$ I. G. A. 497 B 23 = Bechtel 156 B 23). The existence of sampi may show how easy was the transition from Ionic $\sigma\sigma$ to Attic $\tau\tau$. See § 22. No doubt the pronunciation of $\sigma\sigma$ was much nearer akin to that of $\tau\tau$ than the spelling indicates and the difference was to a large extent purely orthographical. The ordinary modern pronunciation of $\sigma\sigma$ as pure sibilants and of $\tau\tau$ as pure dentals cannot have been the ancient pronunciation, nor did the Aischyleian actor who had $\sigma\sigma$ before him in his score pronounce very differently from his hearer who wrote $\tau\tau$.

¹ This is to be distinguished from the Ionic form of the Karian -ασσος, ε.g. in 'Αλικαργασσός, which is still preserved in coins of the second contury B.C., cf. Head, H. N. 526. In the ancient inscription No. 238 it is noteworthy that, though the dialect is Ionic throughout, at the outset the name of the inhabitants of Halikarnassos should be given with the form in δ, notwithstanding that the ending of the genitive is -εων (a certain reading).

376.] εσσι in non-sigmatic stems is foreign to the genius of the Ionic dialect. The transference of -εσσι from its legitimate sphere occurs in only two cases in the poets of Ionic birth:—Anakr. 24, πτερύγεσσι, Ananias 5, λχθύεσσιν (troch. tetram.). In Xenoph. 3, εὐπρεπέεσσιν is a conjecture of Bergk, to which Schneidewin's ἀγαλλόμενοι ταναῆσιν is distinctly preferable (cf. Aristeas in Kinkel Frag. poet. epic. p. 245). In Solon's ἡγεμόνεσσι (61) we have further evidence of the influence of epic diction; cf. § 61. Anakreon may borrow from his Aiolic exemplars, and indeed stands closer to Homer than some of his predecessors. That the trochaic tetrameter is less rigid in excluding the Aiolisms of Homer than the iambic trimeter, may explain the presence of the -εσσι form in Ananios. Theognis with his ἄνδρεσσι 306, πάντεσσιν 373, κοράκεσσι 833 is in still closer

Z,

377.] Zeta.

touch with Homer than is Anakreon.

1 Decisive orthographical criteria for the pronunciation of ζ upon Ionic soil are wanting, but indications point to its having been sounded like zd. Blass Aussprache³, p. 116 ff. brings forward as evidence of this pronunciation rather than that as ds, interalia the Homeric $Z\ell\lambda\epsilon\iota a$, $Zd\kappa\nu\nu\theta os$, in which ζ fails to make position because of the dropping of the initial σ ((Σ)d $\kappa\nu\nu\theta os$, not $\Delta\sigma d\kappa\nu\nu\theta os$); $\delta a\phi o\iota\nu \delta s$, $\delta d\sigma \kappa\iota os$, where Aiolic would have ζa - (above, $\zeta 365$); $\mu a \zeta \delta s^1 = \mu a \sigma \tau \delta s$, or $\mu a \sigma \theta \delta s$; and Herodoteian $\Delta s \delta \omega \tau os$, not $\Delta s \delta \omega \tau os$.

οσδόμενος Xenoph. 16, the only example of the so-called Aiolic σδ in Ionic, was rightly changed by Hermann to δζόμενος. Whatever the sound of ζ in Ionic, words ordinarily spelled with

 ζ were not represented by $\sigma\delta$.

- 2. Variation between ζ and δ. μέζεα occurs in Hsd. W. D. 512, and was regarded as an Ionic word for μέδεα, μήδεα by Greg. Kor. p. 535, Hdn. II 37216. The form μέζεα is from μεδξ-, √mad; cf. Slav. mado. Cf. § 139. For ζορκάs Hdt. IV 192 we have the form δορκάs in VII 69; cf. ζόρξ in Kallimachos, Nikander, and see Curtius, Et. p. 663. In Zankle we find δ for ζ, I. G. A. 518, where Δά]υκλην is a probable conjecture. The alphabet is however pre-Samian.
- 3. ζα-=δια- in ζάπεδον Xenoph. 1, Paros 39 (epigram of the fifth century), ζάπλουτος Hdt. I 32. Cf. ζαπληθής, ζάπυρος in

¹ Hom. and in tragedy: Hdt. and Hippokr. have both μαζάε and μαστός <μαδ-τος. Hippokr. generally has μαζάς (variations in the MSS. IV 544, 550). V 118 μαστοί, 318 μαζώς (μασθώς Galen).

Aischylos. Ça- for ô4a-, while chiefly Aiolic, cannot be held to be the property of that dialect alone.

4. In a Chian document, Paspates 30, we find Zuápayoos and

the form with σ-.

Supposed change of I and y.

The ancients assumed that of νεώτεροι "Ιωνες ' changed γ to ζ in δλίζον (sic) and πεφυζώς (Herakleides in Eust. 16431, An. Ox. I 36621). Both words occur in Homer and in Nikander, δλίζον also in Lykophron. πεφυζότες seems to be formed from φύζω< φυγιω, which the ancients confused with φεύγω. δλίζων was also called Thessalian (Hdn. II 3722, Steph. Byz. 48917) and Aiolic (Et. M. 27026). δλείζων is Attic, δλιον (sic) for δλίγον in the Lexicon of Ailios Dionysios (Eust. 116016) was called either barbarous or Ionic. The form δλίον, which has lost its γ, has thus far turned up in the plebeian Attic dialect (C. I. A. II 5942, and in a fragment of the comic poet Plato, Kock fr. I 644, No. 1683, and on Egyptian papyri. It is also referred to the dialect of Tarentum by Hdn. II 2957 (Et. M. 62151).

Ξ.

378.] E.

That ξ was pronounced more like χs than κs appears from the forms NaBσίου, ξΒσοχος for Naξίου, ξόχος upon the archaic

Naxian inscription Rob. I 25.

A pleonastic σ appears in Θώρηξε Styra 19₂₀₅, έξε Chios 174 A 5, cf. εξστῶσι Zeleia 113₂₃ and κόραξε upon a Korinthian vase inscription, K. Z. XXIX 168. Similar usage is attested upon an inscription in J. H. S. VI 372 (κύλιξε).

ξ before κ occurs in Hippokratic έξκαίδεκα, -δέκατος, and also

in Attic έξκλινος.

379.] Bρύασσις Iasos 10412, 17, 20 has been corrected upon the stone to Βρύαξις in order to restore the archaic Karian orthography. In the Halikarnassian inscriptions, Nos. 238, 240, ξ has given way to $\sigma\sigma$ in every instance. Georg Meyer, B. B. X 177, rightly admits the possibility that the fluctuation between ξ and $\sigma\sigma$ was purely orthographical and that the sign for ξ had in the older period, as in Kyprian and Lykian, the phonetic value of $\sigma\sigma$.

With κιξάλλας Teos B 19, cf. κιττάλης = κλέπτης according to Joh. Gram. 242 B. On the introductory ε of εξαιθραπεύοντος Mylasa 248 A B C 2, see §§ 143, 211 and σαδράπαν in Aiolic, C. D. I. 304 A 18.

¹ It is quite unusual for Hdn. to regard as late Ionic a form that is found in Homer. Yet this is what he does in the case of $\pi\epsilon\phi\nu\xi\delta\tau\epsilon s$, if we are to accept Lentz' ascription of the passage II 265₈ to him. In II 798₁₈ Hdn. brings forward another, and as he himself states (II 265₈), less commendable view.

The sound ξ is expressed in the Ionic alphabet by:—(1) \square ξ As, e. g. Roberts I 25, Naxos; (2) ξ Roberts I 28, Naxos, Rob. I 17. Paros; (3) ξ (?) Roberts I 158 B, Amorgos. Cf. the representations of ψ , below ξ 381. $\sigma \kappa$ as a means of expressing ξ is claimed for Ionic by Gomperz (Archaeol. Mitth. aus Costerreich, VI 93) and $\Omega \Sigma \kappa \nu \nu \theta \iota s$ Bechtel 61 = Rob. I 18 B has been put forward in support of the claim. But an 'Ofwrols is as difficult to explain as 'Orwerls.

380.] Ionic $\xi = Attic \kappa$; relation of $\sigma \dot{\nu} \nu$ to $\xi \dot{\nu} \nu$, &c.

There is no immediate connection between ξυνός and κοινός. The former occurs in epic poetry (and in Attic tragedy), Teos 156 A 3, Herakleitos 62, 70, 91, 92 (this author not adopting κοινός in a single instance), Demokritos Mor. 43, Herodotos IV 12, VII 53 (κοινός is more frequently used by Hdt.), Arrian § 204 ξυνοῦσθαι, but § 1.522 ἀνεκοινοῦντο. ξυνός has appeared upon inscriptions from Arkadia and Argolis. Doubtless the similarity in sound between κοινός and ξυνός led to their being confused, though they are in reality different words. ξῦνός is from *ξυνίος or *ξυνδος. In his Studien I 44, Baunack ventures to connect κοινός with κείμαι and compares κοινωνείν τινι in the sense of μιγῆναι. Certainly there are great difficulties in the way of connecting κοινός with Lat. con-.

Relation of $\sigma \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu}$ to $\xi \dot{\nu} \dot{\nu}$. The preferences of Ionic are in the direction of the former form, which is the only one that appears upon inscriptions (§ 715). ξύν is not infrequently handed down in the MSS. of the lyric poets: Archil. Evulere 50 (but our 41). The Et. M. 3859, after alluding to ἐσυνῆκε in Alkaios, quotes έξυνηκεν from Anakreon (146). The MSS. of the fragments of the Ionic philosophers have our far more frequently than appears from Mullach's edition; cf. Demokr. 69, 119, 135, 147, 213. In Demokr. we have however ξυνέσιος 58, ξυγχωρέειν 44 (but συγχωρέτται in Melissos 1). In Sextus Empiricus' citation of the Physika of Demokritos we find such variations as ξύμπας and σύνιδμεν. In the lyric poets and early Ionic prose it is better to write $\sigma \dot{v} v$. In Hippokrates and Aretaios the uniformity with which $\xi \dot{\nu} \nu$ appears is indication enough that the dialect of the Koan physician agreed with the usage of fifth-century Attic inscriptions which have ξύν much more frequently (31: 1) than σύν. After 410 B.C. ξύν was felt to be antiquated. At that date all the other dialects had σύν. Though the Homeric 1 text has both, ξύν is found in no place where the metre requires the The same is true in the case of the Aiolic poets. heavier form. To the MSS. of Hdt. ξύν is foreign, but ξυνεχέος appears in Philip of Pergamum B. C. H. II 273. The pseudo-lonists generally prefer σύν. In Lukian the proportion is 17:5, in Arrian 47: 10, in Euseb. 4: 1. The supposititious letters of Hippokrates have Eur. Eur and our are hereditary forms of the

¹ ξυνδήσαι Ionic, An. Par. III 1382 3532 schol. on A 399.

language from the earliest times. The former does not become the latter in any historical period of Greek. A theory as to the ultimate interrelation of ξ and σ is put forward by Kretschmer

K. Z. XXXI 415 ff.

διξός ¹ Anakr. 88, Hdt. IX 74, and τριξός Hdt. IX 85 are not of like origin with Attic διττός (C. I. A. II 593₂₃) and τριττός, the endings being unconnected. The Ionic forms in -ξός are from -κτιος (*δΓικτιος, *τρικτιος).

381.] Y.

 ψ is represented by $\pi\sigma$ in the alphabet of Amorgos, Rob. I 158 D, by $\pi\psi$ in that of Priene, Bechtel 144, and by $\psi\sigma$ in

Styra 19263.

The interrelation of words with initial ψ to those of similar texture but beginning with σ or the breathing, is still obscure. Thus $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\sigma\omega\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$ is New Ionic for $\psi\omega\chi\epsilon\iota\nu$. Whether $\eta\mu\iota\theta\iota\sigma\nu$ in Hippokr. VII 344, the reading of θ for $\psi\iota\mu\iota\theta\iota\sigma\nu$ white lead, belongs to this category is difficult to say. Kretschmer K. Z. XXXI 420 ff. has proposed to refer to the parent Aryan the variation between ps and s, and between ks and s.

382.] The Combinations $\rho\sigma$, $\lambda\sigma$.

ρσ remains undisturbed in Ionic, as generally in Older Attic:— χέρσον, θαρσύνω Hdt., θάρσυνε Arch. 55, as Elmsley reads for the vulgate θαρρῦναι, μυρσίνης Arch. 29, ταρσιά Sim. Amorg. 39 (cf. § 128), Τυρσηνός Hdt., ἄρσην Thasos 68, ἄρσιχος C. I. G. 2374₅₅ Paros (cf. Bekk. An. I 446₃₀ = Bachm. An. I 146₅), Κορσεαί, the name of an island opposite Samos (from κερσ-), ὀρσοπύγια Samos 220₃₅, in the dative plural of ρ stems, e.g. φθειρσί Archil. 137₁, by analogy to the case-forms showing -ρ. On πυρρός, see § 334. κόρση occurs in Herodas 7₇₁.

ρσ, λσ in the post-Homeric verb are rarely retained. A few instances recall the Homeric retention of the liquid. ἠλσάμην Sim. Amorg. 17, κύρση Herodas 245, 775 (cf. 357), κύρσαις 357-This poetic and Ionic verb either retains the sigma or appears under the form κυρέω. ἔκυρσα is used by Homer, Hesiod, Hdt., and in tragedy. Herodotos has also ἐκύρησα, κυρήσω; Hippokr. ξυνεκύρησα. Hippokrates has διέρσαι and διέρσης IV 108, διέρσας

IV 296, whereas in VII 52 διείραι is the correct form, which is also a v. l. in IV 108.

Wackernagel (K. Z. XXIX 127) has suggested that in primitive Greek $\rho\sigma$ and $\lambda\sigma$ remained $\rho\sigma$ and $\lambda\sigma$ when the accent preceded, but in case the accent followed they were treated as $-v\sigma$ -, except when a consonant originally followed the σ -, i.e. the liquid disappeared with compensatory lengthening. Cf. Solmsen K. Z.

¹ Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. 434, Gram. Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 677;6.

XXIX 352 who shows that all the verbs with stems in ρ or λ , which assimilate ρ or λ with σ , are formed by the suffix - $i\epsilon$ -, -ιο- (with the exception of δέρω and φιλέω) and that the assimilation in the agrist is due to the influence of the verbs in -νω and -μω, which regularly suffer assimilation and compensatory lengthening. On σ in combination with ν , see §§ 161, 337.

383.] The Combinations $\sigma \rho$, $\sigma \lambda$.

Initial $\sigma \rho$ or $\sigma \lambda$ became in Ionic as in other dialects $\rho \rho$, $\lambda \lambda$, which were reduced to ρ , λ . Medial $\sigma \rho$ or $\sigma \lambda$ became ρ or λ with compensatory lengthening. Forms with medial ρρ or λλ are due to analogy.

384.] σ in conjunction with μ .

σμικρός, μικρός 1. The former form occurs P 757, Hymn Aphrod. 115 (elsewhere μικρός), Theognis 14, 323, Anax. 1, 15, Demokr. 24, 184, Hippokr. II 646 (Galen μικρός), 652 and often. In Herodotos Stein edits σμικρός even when the MSS. agree in

presenting the other form.

μικρός is found in the epic (four times), Anakr. 171, Theog. 607, Herodas 743, and in Iasos 1056, an inscription of too late a date to afford proof of the existence of this form in official Ionic . The pseudo-Ionists are very inconsistent. σμικρός is found in Lnik. Dea Syr. § 16 (which section also has μικρός, a form found five times), in Arrian five times (μικρός three times), Eusebios and Eusebios Myndios once each. The variation between σμικρός and μικρός, as that between σκορδίνημα and κορδίνημα 3, στέγος and τέγος, σκεδάννυμι and κεδάννυμι, is due to the operation of the laws of sentence-phonetics, the final sound of the word preceding the word in question deciding the appearance or non-appearance of the σ . In other cases $\sigma\mu$ was either retained without variation or the μ forms were adopted to the exclusion of those with $\sigma\mu$. On Homeric φιλομμειδής see under A10LIC. Whenever medial $-\sigma\mu$ - appears in Ionic or other dialects, it is either due to the workings of analogy or is from -τσμ-.

385. $\sigma\mu$ in non-Hellenic words.

In the Hellenization of words of foreign stamp a σ has been

Σμέρδις Hdt. IH 61, &c. Cf. Mapoos, Mapois Persai 774, Assyr. Bardis.

σμάραγδος Hdt. II 44; μάραγδος late. Cf. Skt. marakata, borrowed from a Semitic source.

³ Greg. Kor. p. 553: nopširaja (ypdostai 8è nai snopširaja).

¹ See note on Greg. Kor. p. 500. On munds see § 353.

² All Attic inscriptions of the fifth and fourth centuries have munds, except C. I. G. 2139 (from Aigina and dating about 403 B.C.). sumple is frequent in the tragic poets and in Plato.

σμύρνη Hdt. VII 181, Aiolie μύρρα. Archil. 30 has ἐσμυρισμένας. Cf. μύρον Archil. 31, Hdt. III 22.

Digamma.

386. Like all other dialects in some period of their history, Ionic possessed F1. It is the only dialect that generally permits compensatory lengthening to attend the disappearance of the spirant after λ , ρ , ν . The dialects of Doric texture, contrary to the generally received view, when they retained the sound long into the historical period of the language, often suffer the loss of F without compensation. Cf. the relation of Kretan and Argive τός to τόνς. In Aiolic, assimilation of F to the preceding liquid was followed by a reduction in poetry of the geminated sound. In Attic, $\delta\epsilon\rho\eta$ and $\kappa\delta\rho\eta$, $\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma$, $\kappa\epsilon\nu\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma$, $\mu\tilde{a}\nu\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma$ surely indicate the quondam presence of F^2 . But the activity of F in the earliest period of the history of Ionic is indicated in other ways than by compensatory lengthening in δειρή and κούρη, στεινότερος and κεινότερος. In πελλίς Hipponax 38 B, Phoinix of Kolophon in Athen. XI 495 C, D, we find that AF could be assimilated to $\lambda\lambda$ when the accent followed λf ; and that, as in $\pi \ell \lambda \iota \xi$, the liquid alone remained when the accent preceded λF . See Schmidt's Neutra, p. 47. Furthermore, af became av before a consonant, e.g. έκαυσα (-άμην) Hdt., κέκαυμαι, έκκαυσόμενος Hippokr. According to the schol. Victor. on Il. XV 421 δαυλός was a form used by the νεώτεροι Ίωνες. Of this form there is no trace in literature, though we have δεδαυμένων in Simonides of Amorgos, fr. 30, from the base δαf-. καύης or καύηξ in Hipponax 2, may be passed by, not so much because of its conjunction with the Aiolic aumopos (Ionic huopos?), but because the form itself has not yet been explained; cf. § 242.

387.] Digamma in literature.

Traces of initial F in the Ionic lyric poets (elegists and iambists)

are extremely rare:

Archilochos 1: 'Ενυαλίοιο ἄνακτος bears the stamp of an epic formula, though not occurring in Homer (cf. Il. II 651, XVII 211). Plutarch read Ένυαλίοιο θεοΐο, but this is not preferable to the other reading merely because of the quondam existence of

The ancient grammarians, as far as they recognize the existence of f at all, testify to its presence in Ionic. Trypho (παθ. λεξ. 11, Μως. Crit. Cantab. I 34) says: προστίθεται δὲ καὶ τὸ δίγαμμα παρά τε Ἰωσι καὶ Δωριεῦσι καὶ Λάκωσιν, οἶον ἄναξ Γάναξ, Ἑλένα Γελένα. Cf. Bekk, An. III 1168, Priscian I 13. As the sign for six, F must have been used by the Ionians. The name Στῖ is a bit of Byzantine imbecility.
² On Attic κούρη and Μουνιχία, see § 75.

F in δναξ. I regard the coinage of such phrases as Ένναλίωο δνακτος by the Ionic elegists as on a plane with the imitation by the Ionic Homeridai of old-time epic formulae. Thus, in the later additions to the Iliad and the Odyssey and in the Hymns, we find instances of the apparent observance of digamma, though at the period of these poems the labial spirant was an obsolescent, if not an obsolete, sound. In $\dot{\eta}$ δέ οἱ κόμη Archil. 29, and σὐδέ οἱ γέλως Sim. Amorg. γ_{70} , the case is different, since the metre is iambic, which is the organ of the popular dialect. $\dot{\eta}$ δέ οἱ σάθη Archil. 97, is from an epode, but the metre is also iambic. In Sim. Amorg. γ_{80} we find

οὐδ' ἄν τιν' εὖ ἔρξειεν, ἀλλὰ τοῦθ' ὁρᾶ

but immediately below, v. 82

δκως τιν' ώς μέγιστον ξρξειεν κακόν.

In Mimnermos 12, we find in VL [va ol θοδν άρμα καὶ [πποι, but in BP [v' ἀλήθοον, a reading which justifies Bergk's [va δή. γλῶσσα δέ ol διχόμυθος occurs in a fragment (424) of one of the μέλη of Solon.

In Theognis many instances of the observance of f occur in words such as ίδιος 440, and loστεφάνων 250, which do not have f in Homer. The digammated word occurs also in combinations with other words, which cannot be called Homeric formulae. In Theognis, Hartel and others have even found traces of a written f as in κίδιον 440, μετ', οτ μεγ' οἶνος 413, εὖγεργεσίης 548, 574. Sitzler¹, who holds the opinion that f was not entirely extinct in the older elegists, suggests with much probability that its retention in άδοι 52, ἄνακτα 987, ἔργα 1167 is due to the pressure exercised by the local dialect of the poet. There can be no question that Megarian speech retained the spirant longer than Asiatic Ionic.

In Herodas 4_{18} we read $\ell\pi$ $\dot{\eta}\pi las$ $\sigma \dot{\nu}$ $\chi \epsilon \hat{\nu} \rho as$, $\ddot{\omega}$ $\dot{a}\nu a\xi$, $\tau (\nu as$; in $6_b \ell\nu \tau \hat{\eta}$ $o i \kappa (\eta \epsilon) s$ at the beginning of a verse which has probably

suffered some loss.

388.] Elsewhere in the lyric poets of Ionic birth the evidence against the presence of f is very strong.

1. Iambic writers, including the elegiacs and trochaics of Archilochos.

Archilochos: δ' οἶνος 2_1 (el.), δ' οἶνον 4_3 (el.), διθύραμβον οἵνφ 77_2 ; έσσεται ἔργον 3_3 (el.), κορωνὸς ἔργων 39_2 , ἐγκυρέωσιν ἔργμασιν 70_3 , σὰ δ' ἔργ' 88_2 ; τις ἀστῶν 9_1 (el.), μετ' ἀστῶν 63_1 ; Ποσειδάωνος ἄνακτος 10_1 (el. Bergk's conj.), κλῦθ' ἄναξ 75_1 , Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος 77_1 , χαῖρ' ἄναξ 119_2 ; ἐν εἵμασιν 12_2 (el.); κατ' οἶκον 33,

ἐν οἰκίη 39_1 , ἐν οἴκ ω 66_5 , κακὸν οἴκαδ' 98; ἥδ' ἄτη 73; ἔωθεν ἕκαστος 83; δδύνησιν ἕκητι 84_2 ; πόλλ' οἶδ' ἀλώπηξ 118; καἰδλαος

(καὶ (F)ιόλαος) 1194.

Simonides Amorg.: οὐδὲν εἰδότες 1_4 , πάντα δ' εἰδέναι 7_{13} , οὐδὲν οἶδε 7_{23} (ἐν δόμοισ' ἰδών 7_{20}), ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖσ' ἰδεῖν 7_{32} ; οἱ δ' ἐτέων 1_8 ; ἀν οἶκον 7_3 , ἐξ οἴκον 7_{60} , λιμὸν οἰκίης 7_{101} , συνοικητῆρα 7_{102} , κατ' οἴκον 7_{104} , οὐδ' ἐς οἰκίην 7_{106} ; ἐν εἵμασιν 7_5 , ἐκπεσόντες εἵμασιν 21; ἐχθροῖσιν Ἱσα 7_{36} ; πρὸς ἔργον 7_{48} , δούλι' ἔργα 7_{58} , δ' ἔρδει 7_{55} , μέγιστον ἔρξειεν 7_{82} ; δι' ἄστεος 7_{74} . πάσιν ἀστοῖσιν 7_{74} (ἀνθρώποις Β); ἐν γυναιξὶν ἥδεται 7_{90} , θυμηδεῖν 7_{103} ; δ' ἔκαστος 7_{112} .

Β); ἐν γυναιξὶν ἥδεται 790, θυμηδεῖν 7103; δ' ἔκαστος 7112. Ηipponax; συνώκησας 12, ἐς τῷκι ἐλθών 202, ῷκει 47 (first foot); οὐδάμ' εἶπεν 202, ἀνεῖπεν 45; εἰσιν ἥδισται 291, ῥόδινον ἡδύ 58; μοιχὸς ἁλῶναι 74; θαἰμάτια 83; Σιμώνακτος 55 Β.

Ananias: καθείρξαι 31, κήχέται 56.

Herodas: δ' οἰκέω 2_{22} , δ' οἰκίης 4_{92} , ὅντιν' οἰκίης 4_{12} , δὲ τὰ οἰκί 2_{52} (scriptio plena); ἀλλ' ἔργ' ὁκοΐ ἔστ' ἔργα 6_{65} , κάκ' ἔργα 3_{82} , τοὕργον 4_{32} , οἶ ἔργα 4_{57} , 7_{18} , ἐκεῖνον ἢ ἔργα 4_{76} with synizesis, χρήσιμ' ἔργα 7_{16} . There is no F in ἕκητι 2_{77} , ἐκάστον 3_{15} , 4_{6} ; σάφ' οἶδ' 3_{13} , τ' οἶδε 3_{58} , αὐτίκ' εἰδήσει 5_{78} .

2. Elegists.

Kallinos: ἐν δ' οἴκφ 115.

Mimnermos: τοις ἴκελοι 2_3 proves nothing unless we read, as is probable, τοις ἴκελοι; φέρετ εἴκελος 14_{11} ; ἄλλοτε οἴκος 2_{11} ; δ' ἔργ' 2_{12} ; δηλεύμενος ἔργμασι 7_1 ; ἄσπετος ἰδρώς 5_1 ; Νηλήιον ἄστυ 9_1 ; ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων 12_8 ; μιν ἴδον 14_2 ; βάξιος ἱέμενοι 16. The following passages prove nothing: ἔαρος 2_1 , ηριγένεια 12_{10} , εἰδότες 2_4 , ροδοδάκτυλος 12_3 , ἔργον 14_{11} .

Xenophanes: δ' οἶνος 1_5 , τις οἶνον 4_1 ; ἀλλ' ϵἰκῆ 2_{13} ; φάσθαι

έπος 63; τωνδ' οίδα 74. ως οί 120 proves nothing.

Phokylides: περίδρομος είδος 34; ἐπίσταται ἐργάζεσθαι 37, διδασκέμεν έργα 13, καθήμενον οἰνοποτάζειν 122.

3. Melic poets.

From his sympathy with the Aiolic poets we might expect in Anakreon a more persistent survival of digamma than in other Ionic poets. But the following instances occur of forms that once possessed but have lost $F: \tilde{\omega}va\xi \ 2_1; \ où \kappa \ \epsilon \wr \delta \dot{\omega} s \ 4_3, \ \Sigma \iota \mu a \lambda ov \epsilon \wr \delta ov \ 22, \ \mu' \ \epsilon \wr \delta \dot{\omega} \dot{\omega} v \ 25_1, \ \delta' \ o \wr \delta a \ 45_2, \ où \delta \dot{\omega} v \ \epsilon \wr \delta \dot{\omega} v \ a \ 75_2; \ où \delta' \ \dot{\alpha} \sigma \tau o \iota \sigma 15_2; \ \psi \dot{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omega \ \delta' \ \epsilon \iota \kappa \sigma \sigma \iota \ 18; \ \dot{\omega} vo\chi \dot{\omega} \epsilon \iota \ 32, \ \dot{\phi} \dot{\epsilon} \dot{\rho}' \ o \iota vov \ 62_1, \ \delta' \ o \iota vov \ 63_4, \ \pi \alpha \rho' \ o \iota v \omega \ 63_9, \ \pi \lambda \dot{\epsilon} \omega \ o \iota vo\pi \sigma \tau \dot{\alpha} \dot{\zeta} \omega v \ 94_1 \ (el.); \ \mu \epsilon \theta \dot{\omega} v v \tau' \ o \iota \kappa \dot{\alpha} \dot{\sigma}' \ 56; \ \sigma \kappa \dot{\omega} \tau \dot{\phi} o v' \ E \rho \xi (\omega v \ 82_1; \ \dot{\epsilon} \pi \iota \sigma \tau \iota ov \ 90_4. \ \epsilon \iota \lambda v \mu a \ 21_6 \ may \ stand \ for \ \dot{\epsilon} F - \lambda v - \mu a.$

Solon may be adduced as evidence not merely for the absence of F from the Attic of his day and generation, but also for the

attitude of the early elegy towards its Ionic models.

έπ' έργμασιν 1365, ὑπερήφανά τ' έργα 437, παύει δ' έργα 438,

ῦβριος ἔργα 13_{16} , κάλ' 1 ἔργα 13_{21} , ἀναίτιοι ἔργα 13_{31} , μιν ἔργα 13_{41} , πολυφαρμάκου ἔργον 13_{57} , οὐδ' ἔρδειν 27_{12} , ἔτερος ἔρδε 40; σύνοιδε 4_{16} , οὐδέ τις οἶδεν 13_{65} , δεινὰν Ιδεῖν 13_{6} , ἔθηκεν Ιδεῖν 13_{22} , ἐστὶν Ιδεῖν 13_{24} ; πολυήρατον ἄστυ 4_{21} , χρόνος ἀστοῖς 10_1 ; ἔρχεται οἴκαδ' ἔκάστ 4_{27} , εἶς μὲν ἔκαστος 11_5 , ἐφ' ἔκάστ 13_{25} , δόξαν ἔκαστος 13_{34} ; ἔθηκεν ἄναξ 13_{53} , ἐνθάδ' ἀνάσσων 10_1 ; Κύπρις Ιοστέφανος 10_4 ; ἐν ἔπτ' ἔτεσιν 27_2 , δέκ' ἔτη 27_{14} ; τῆ δ' ἔκτη 27_{11} ; ἔχοντας ήθη 36_{12} .

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In 411, 1312 αδίκοις έργμασι, in 1336 κούφαις ελπίσι the short

form of the dative is correct.

For ovit or ovite of the MSS. Hermann, read ov ϵ in 13_{27} aled δ ' ov ϵ $\lambda \epsilon \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon$ $\delta \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \mu \epsilon \rho \epsilon \delta$, $\delta \sigma \tau \epsilon \delta \lambda \epsilon \lambda \tau \rho \delta \nu$. In 13_{67} $\delta \lambda \lambda$ ' $\delta \lambda \nu \epsilon \nu$ $\epsilon \rho \delta \epsilon \epsilon \nu$ occurs. Both cases fail to prove the existence of F.

Cases of internal hiatus resulting from the disappearance of F and preserved in poetry for all time will be found enumerated in

the sections upon Vowel Contact.

Heimer, Studia Pindarica, p. 47 ff.

389.] The disproportion between the cases of the retention of F and those of its neglect is proof enough that the sound was practically dead in Asia Minor at least by the year 700 B. C. and in Attika by the commencement of the sixth century. The evidence presented by one species of lyric reacting upon that presented by another, enforces this conclusion. The cases of retention in the elegy are no matter for wonderment. It is surprising that, with all the dependence upon the largo fiume of epic language, there were not more cases of the apparent survival of the sound. It is in iambic poetry, whose affiliations are so different from those of the elegy, that we are surprised to discover traces of the appearance of f. As regards the Foi's, Fick's suggestion that be of were practically pronounced under one accent (δέοι) would play havoc with the digammated pronoun in Homer and Pindar. μηδε εls in Hipponax 28 is a fixed combination,' it is true, but that is just what de of is not. Nor is the parallelism of ἄλλοτε ἄλλος Phokyl. 15, Solon 1376, 154 in place. Such an hiatus in the elegy needs no special defence. The history of of and kindred forms in Pindar shows pretty clearly that in Doric poetry this pronoun was a stronghold of the f. In the choral parts of tragedy (Trach. 649, Elektra 196) we still find an echo of the epic and Pindaric use. Perhaps the constant

Bergk καλά Ιργα. As the elegiac poets regard the penult of καλός as anceps καλόν Solon 1314), and as a substitute is necessary for the κακά of the MSS., κάλ is here preferable to καλά. But see Sitzler, Studies z.d., Elegikern, p. 7.

Elegikern, p. 7.

Excluding Theognis and Herodas, f is retained in the elegy 2, in iambic poems 4, in the melic of Solon 1: it is violated in the elegy 24, in iambic poems 53, in the melic of Anakreon 17, in the melic of Solon 1.

apparent hiatus before the word in the epos influenced the construction of nascent iambic verse, or the hiatus is a survival of the period antecedent to that of the 'founder' of iambic verse'. The Simonideian oùo' ǎv $\tau \iota v$ ' $\epsilon \tilde{v}$ $\epsilon \rho \xi \epsilon \iota \epsilon v$ recalls E 650 õs þá $\mu \iota v$ $\epsilon \tilde{v}$ $\epsilon \rho \xi \alpha \nu \tau a$, where the ictus alone would account for the retention of the length. The older poetry held fast to the prose quantity of the ϵv - in $\epsilon v \epsilon \rho \gamma \dot{v} s$, $-\epsilon \rho \gamma \dot{v} s$, $-\epsilon \rho \gamma \epsilon \sigma \dot{v} \eta$.

390.] Digamma upon Inscriptions.

1. Asiatic Ionic.

There are no examples. It is useless to cite all the words from the older inscriptions where initial F might have been placed. A few noteworthy instances are 'Avaξίλεωs' in Miletos, Bechtel 93 (not much later than 600 B.C.), 'Avaξιμάνδρου 94 (of the same date), 'Ιστια[τος] 97 (between 520 and 504 B.C.); Erythrai 'Εκαταίης 198 (fifth century); Chios 174 A_5 έξς, C_{22} κο[l]νοπίδης, D_5 οἰκίην, D_{17-18} τοἰκ[δ]πεδον (fifth century); Teos 156 A_3 ἰδιώτηι, B_{21+25} εἰδώς (fifth century).

2. Island Ionic (Kyklades).

A. Naxos. Upon a dedicatory inscription from Naxos, B. C. H. XII (1888) p. 464, written βουστροφηδόν, we read, according to Homolle:

 $F_{\nu}[\phi]$ ικαρτίδης \vdots μ' \mathring{a} \vdots $\nu \acute{e}\theta εκε$ \vdots ho \vdots Náhσιος \vdots ποιέσας.

The inscription dates, according to Homolle, from the second half of the seventh century before our era; a conclusion adopted by Schoeffer in his *De Deli insulae rebus*, p. 20 (Berlin, 1889).

B. Naxos. On the base of the Apollo colossus dedicated by the Naxians at Delos, dated by Kirchhoff at the end of the sixth or at the beginning of the fifth century (see Roberts, I § 35) we read (Bechtel 25=Rob. I 27=I. G. A. 409):

τ]οῦ ΑΓΥΤΟ λίθου εἴμ' ἀνδριὰς καὶ τὸ σφέλας

i.e. af i το v, as was read by Bentley, and is read by almost all scholars, with the exception of Roehl ($\theta \dot{a} \epsilon v$), and of Bergk and Wilamowitz, who equates $\theta a f v το v$ with $\theta a \eta το v$, i.e. $\theta a v \mu a \sigma το v$, and compares $\theta \omega v \tau a \dot{\epsilon} \rho \gamma a$ Hsd. A s p. 165.

C. Amorgos. An early abecedarium I. G. A. Add. 390=Rob.

I 159 B contains C.

3. Western Ionic (Euboia).

A. Chalkidian vase inscriptions of the fifth century (from Magna Graecia):

Fιώ Roberts, I 190 C.
'ΟΓατίης Roberts, I 190 L.
ΓαρνΓόνης Roberts, I 191 C.

Arist. Poet. 4

Digamma has in each case the form Γ , except Rob. I 190, 2 c $EIO = F\iota\omega$ (?).

B. From Rhegion, a colony of Chalkis:

Fοικέων and ὅσσα, Fοι (for ώς σαFοῖ), cf. Bechtel 5, Rob. I 180, I. G. A. 532. The F has the same form as in the abecedarium of Amorgos.

Fοικέων Rob. I 181, I. G. A. 533.

These forms occur upon a marble block found at Olympia, dedicated by Mikythos of Rhegion after 467 B.C., when he migrated from Rhegion to Tegea. The second Fοικέων is, according to Roberts, not by the same hand as the first, and is dated by Furtwängler after 4.50 B.C.

- 1. f]ahci[o]p, conjectured by Blass in Bechtel, No. 6 A, occurs in an inscription written in the Eleian dialect by the artist. The donor of the gift to Apollo wrote in Ionic Bechtel, 6 B); cf. No. 215.
- 2. In Hyele (Velia), a colony of Phokaia, we find Tehntéwe 172 I (450-400) and Tehntéwe 172 II (350). This orthography proves merely that the Phokaian ν was ν 60), not \bar{u} . The name of the city is Oskan and not connected with $f \ell hos$, whose f is not above question. Antevocalic f does not become ν in Ionic.
- 391.] Upon the examples of Chalkidian F Tudeer bases his contention that F was still alive in Euboian Ionic when Chalkis sent its colonies to the West, and that in Euboia itself it was lost between the eighth and the sixth centuries. But it can readily be shown that none of the inscriptions cited under Western Ionic are free from the suspicion of containing a non-Ionic element. Γαρυδόνης contains a Doric a 2; cf. Nats Rob. I 190, 2, and Χώρα or Χόρα ibid. 1 K. And if we read 'Ω Farins, as seems probable, the initial part of the name is Doric for Ouarins, as Fick has shown (Odyssee, p. 10). An Ouarlas is known as the name of the brother of Mennes, tyrant of Kyme. Fick explained the ingression of the Doric forms on the supposition that the vases containing these non-Ionic forms were manufactured in Himera, and that the speech of Himera was a mixture of Chalkidian Ionic and of Doric 3. But whether the vases in question were made in a Chalkidian colony or in Chalkis itself is a most point that cannot be decided until ampler excavations in Euboia place us in possession of richer material. Meanwhile it should not be overlooked that from other cities of the West we possess vase inscriptions in mixed dialect, and that in Attika itself, as Kretschmer has shown, K. Z. XXIX 391 ff., there was a part of the population engaged in various handicrafts which

¹ De Digammo, p. 5 ff.

Not as Kirchhoff, Alphabet, p. 126, thinks, a poculiarity of Chalkidian Ionic.

³ Thuk. VI 5: owrh ner nerate ris to Xahnideur nal Aupides enpeloy.

did not speak pure Attic. Kretschmer has collected a considerable number of inscriptions upon Attic vases which are in the Doric dialect, and concludes that the Chalkidian vases mentioned above came from Attika. At all events, whether the explanation of Fick or that of Kretschmer is correct, the infusion of Doric phonetics into the Chalkidian vase inscriptions is sufficient to undermine our belief in the presence of f in Chalkidian Ionic, be it the dialect of a colony or of the metropolis. A similar line of argument militates against the Ionic character of Forkew and For in the inscriptions from Rhegion. Rhegion was settled by Chalkidians and Messenians (Herakl. Pont. fr. 25). In I. G. A. 388 the name of the Samian Pythagores appears in the Doric form of Πυθαγόρας under the influence of the Rhegine dialect 1.

392. Finally, the cases of F upon the inscriptions from Naxos. Fi | φ | ικαρτίδης is by no means a certain transcription.

On the sign supposed to be f, Homolle says: 'Semble en affet porter à sa partie inférieure un troisième trait qui en ferait un E; 2 mais on se persuadera aisément que c'est là un simple accident de la pierre; car la ligne n'a ni la même longueur, ni la même direction que les deux traits supérieurs [this is not clear from the facsimile]; elle n'a plus non plus la même netteté." The third character may be either ⊕ or ①. The fourth would seem to be Y2, but of the shaft to the left the editor says again that it seems an error: 'non seulement parce qu'il manque de netteté, mais parce qu'il viendrait butter beaucoup trop haut sur la haste verticale."

Fιφιάδας is attested in Boiotian inscriptions (C. D. I. 488, six times), but Γιφικρατίδαs, cited by Homolle from C. D. I. 713 A1, is not above suspicion. The inscription begins OIK-, which Keil read '1 |φι-, a name known to us from Nikander and Suidas. The ductus literarum at least permits in the present case the reading Είθυκαρτίδης. Εὐθυκράτης is no uncommon name. Upon one of the Styrian lead tablets, I. G. A. 372113, the first v of E(\vartheta)θύμαχος has the form of ι, where Elθν- should doubtless be read. Cf. Boiot. Εlθυκράτους C. D. I. 81411 (with non-Boiot. -ovs). The ει of the Styrian name is perhaps due to dissimilation from ev because of the v of the following syllable. § 225 may be so explained.

Above all suspicion, however, is the Naxian F in aForos, though none of the other letters upon the inscription are characteristic

either in form or in use (Kirchhoff, Alphabet 4, p. 86).

393. The peculiar position occupied by the F in aFvrov, singular

who has added figuraptions to the note of the German edition.

¹ The chief ancient authority on the existence of the f was Trypho, who wrote a treatise on the dialect of Himera, Rhegion, &c. If Trypho's ascription of f to the Ionians $(\pi\alpha\theta.\ \lambda\epsilon\xi.\ \S 11)$ is based upon its presence in the above cited inscription or in the fragments of Stesichoros of Himera or of Ibykos of Rhegion, it builds upon an insecure foundation.

This is not indicated in the translation of Blass' Aussprache by Mr. Purton,

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enough in a word that did not have the spirant 1 originally, is rendered the more unique from the fact that all other Naxian inscriptions, except that referred to above, have lost the letter 2. The Attic ναΓυ[πηγός] C. I. A. IV C 373²³⁴ and αΓὐτάρ ibid. IV C 477 P, the exact parallel to αΓὐτοῦ, show beyond all doubt (1) that af vrov is not a slip of a stonecutter who intended to engrave AFT but could not forbear inserting the Y; (2) that the spelling a v was an attempt to represent the sound au (i. e. a + u) more suitably than by av, i.e. $a + \ddot{u}^3$; (3) that the sound of the diphthong au could not, in the opinion of the stonecutter or of those who entrusted him with the work, be adequately reproduced by af 4, and finally (4) that the Ionic of Naxos and the Attic of the sixth century B.C. possessed the character F. But from the F of af vrov and af vrap it by no means follows that the sound f was still alive among Naxians and Attics. The disappearance of F in Attic, though occurring in the period subsequent to the Ionic migration eastward, is yet early enough to permit us to assume that its use in the sixth century was an archaism. The letter was held fast by its use as a numeral. But its ordinary, its natural phonetic use was gone. A $\delta \epsilon \rho F \eta$ in the sixth century was an impossibility, an αθυτάρ a possibility. Upon the αθυτάρ inscription f is absent from $l\delta\epsilon\hat{i}\nu$ and $\eta\rho\gamma d\sigma a\tau o$.

394.] How soon after their settlement in Asia Minor the Ionians lost f is not certain. But by the sixth century in Naxos at least the sign was old-fashioned. One portion of Ionic territory abandoned its possession sooner than another. The speech of the Kyklades, which still shows traces of its preservation, may be demonstrated on other grounds to have been conservative. Hence, even if fighthapridgs should be correct, it does not follow that contemporary Eastern Ionic possessed the sound. There can be no doubt that by the close of the eighth century f must have disappeared from the ordinary speech of the Ionic Dodekapolis.

The connection between this conclusion and the attitude of the Homeric poems towards F cannot be dealt with here. There seems no reason for the belief of some scholars that wherever we

¹ αὐτός from à-ὐ-το; cf. Skt. u. The au is pan-Hellenic; cf. Doric aðs.

² Δεινομένεος Bechtel 23, Δειναγόρης 24, κΟρη 23, and ἐκηβόλωι 23, 24.
² Blass, Aussprache² 74. Actual diaeresis of ω is not to be assumed, despite Kirchhoff.

In Pamphylian we find & Γταΐσι.

In the differentiation of the t-sounds, in the retention of the rough

⁴ On the Ionic character of f in Homer, see Fritsch in Zeil. f. Gym.-Wes. XXXVIII 612, Cauer in Jahrb. d. phil. Vereins X 294, Kretschmer in K.Z. XXIX 390 ff., XXXI 285, 442, Brugmann, M. U. V 43, Monro Hom. Grum. § 405, van Leeuwen, in Mnemosyne XIX 149.

have a trace of F in the epic, the verse in question is Aiolic. That the loss of F in Ionic-Attic preceded its disappearance in Aiolic is no proof that the presence of the spirant in Homer is an Aiolism. In the earlier period of the Ionic cultivation of the epos F may have been a living sound in certain parts of Ionia, while in others it may have passed out of existence. We do not know that the diction of Homer reflects any single Ionic dialect. In the later accretions to the poems the Ionic rhapsodes may have imitated the effects produced by F without being conscious of its existence. The F controversy, so far as it concerns Homer, is to a great extent interwoven with the question when an oral was abandoned for a written transmission.

395. Combinations of Digamma.

 F_{ρ} (initial) becomes ρ . There are no indications of the spelling $\beta \rho$. Medial F_{ρ} becomes $\rho \rho$ in $\delta \rho \rho \eta \tau \sigma s$, $\delta \pi \delta \rho \rho \eta \tau \sigma s$ in Hdt., $\delta \tau \delta \rho \rho \sigma \sigma \sigma s$ in Hdt., Hippokr., but $\delta \rho \delta \sigma \sigma s$, we., Hdt. $\delta \delta \rho \sigma \sigma s$ became $\delta \rho \delta \sigma \sigma s$ in all dialects ($\delta \sigma \sigma s$ is a prosthetic vowel).

 ρF , λF , νF , μF lost their F with compensatory lengthening § 224, 253, 254. The assimilation of κF to $\kappa \kappa$ is younger than that to $\pi \pi$. * φάρμακκος has become φάρμακος (§ 162). On μικκός see

\$ 353.

τ becomes in Ionic σ, as in σέ, τέσσερες = Skt. catvaras. On

σείω (§ 219, 4), see Brugmann Gr. Gr. p. 32.

Initial σF becomes (1) F, then h, and (2) perhaps σ . Toos (Homeric $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$) is from $F\tau\sigma F\sigma\sigma$. In Herodas $T\sigma\sigma\sigma$ for $T\sigma\sigma\sigma$ of the MSS. we may read $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ and $T\sigma\sigma\sigma$ and $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ and $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ and $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ and $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ are $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ and $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$ and $T\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma\sigma$

The Breathings in Ionic.

396.] The Ionians, who introduced the sign H (Heta) to denote the rough breathing, at an early period adopted $\psi\iota\lambda\delta\tau\eta s$. The Ionians of the Dodekapolis were the first to use H as the mark of \tilde{e} (Eta). Heta was the name for η in all non-Ionic countries (including Attika) which retained the rough breathing until the year 400 B.C. After that time the use of H for η , and not for \hbar , led to the adoption of the name $\tilde{\eta}\tau a$, which is originally Ionic.

397.]

Ionic ψίλωσις is attested by the ancients, who drew no accurate lines to mark its extension in Ionic territory.

Apoll. Dys. Synt. 5519 έπεὶ τὰ ψιλὰ μετατιθέασιν οἱ Ἰωνες καὶ τὰ δασέα εἰς ψιλά κ.τ.λ.; Eust. 15649 ψιλωτικοὶ γὰρ ἄσπερ Ἰωνες οὕτω καὶ Αλολεῖς, cf. 92041; Tzetz. Ex. Il. 6220 οἱ Αλολεῖς τε καὶ Ἰωνες πάντα τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν δασυνόμενα ψιλοῦ(σι) καὶ διὰ ψιλοῦ συμφώνου ἐκφωνοῦσιν, cf. 11927. The following list contains the chief

examples of words adduced by the ancients in proof of the adoption of the lenis by the Ionians. No account is here taken as to whether or not the ordinary aspirated form is due to the loss of an initial spirant. Many of these words are also called Aiolic by the grammarians.

αίρεω in ἀπείλεν Aug. 669, ἀποαιρέω Schol. Ven. A on A 275 (interlinear). drδάνω in αὐτώδης Apoll. Pron. 94 C, άδοι Eust. abou Greg. Kor. § 18. 1561₅₁. άλλομαι in άλτο An. Ox. äμαξα Eust. 91347, 1263.2, 137214, III 40129 Aiolic or Ionic. This Tzetzes on Hsd. W. D. 450 (Attic this). Hippon. 7). eiλίσσω (είλίχατο Hdt. VII 90) Eust. 234₁₁. ετη Eust. 1866₁₂. ηλιος in ἀπηλιώτης ¹ Hdt. IV 22, Apollon. in Hdn. II 379₂₃ (Choir. Dict. 698₃₁), II 839₃₈ (Choir. Dict. 878₂, An. Ox. IV 374₃, cf. 198_δ), Greg. K. § 18, Apoll. *Pron.* 3 Å, *Adv.* p. 139₁₄ (Schn.), Eust. 83₃, 1562₃₈, Tzetzes on Hsd. W. D. 156, 413, ἀντήλια Eust. (Choir. Dict. 8783, An. Ox. IV 3744). Τεσθαι Suidas s.v. πρόκα, Hdt. VI 134 (lévai often occurs in the MSS. of Hdt.). in ἀπικόμην &c. Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. § 18, Vat. 699, Aug. 669, Birnb. 67839, Et. Gud. 4283, 43960, An. Ox. I 31833, Et. Mag. 62416. ίρεύς Eust. 162361, cf. 51536. ίρηξ Eust. 920. (but τρηξ Greg. K. § 66, who quotes Hesiod), 124848, 173417. τππος in επ' τππου Leid. 629, επ' τππωυ Joh. Gr. 235, Vat. 694, λεύκιππος Eust. 832, 52428, 156237, Tzetzes on Hsd. W. D. 156. The asper in $l\pi\pi\sigma s$ is due to that of the preceding article. έπίσταμαι Apollonios in Hdn. II 83927 (Choir, Dict. 87734) An. Ox. IV 3744), Et. Mag. 36453. ίστια in ἐπίστιον Hdn. II 37926 (Choir. Dict. 6991), II 146 (on Z 265), An. Ox. IV 1986. Greg. Kor. § 89, Eust. 156233, 46. δδός in αὐτόδιον Eust. 1562₃₇, 1605₁₈. olos Greg. Kor. § 18. 624₁₄, Et. Gud. 428₂, An. Ox. I 318₃₈. δμίχλη Et. Mag. doar Joh. Gr. 235, Leid. 629, Vat. 694 (ἐπορᾶν), Joh. Gr. 240, Aug. 668, Birnb. 678₁₃, Apoll. *Synt.* 55₂₂ (катор**û**). Scholiast Ven. A on IX 193. δρκος in ἐπιορκήσαι δς in ἀπ' ὧν Aug. 669. άπουρίσαι Eust. 1282₁₅, cf. 1774₃₆. **δρα** σεμνύνεται Hesych. (Ionic?); cf. Et. M. 448₄₅. üpa in katwpatsetai

398.] Spiritus asper in the Inscriptions.

Since the inscriptions offer the most valuable evidence for the presence or absence of the rough breathing in Ionic, all examples which afford absolute proof of the use of the asper (i.e. actual presence of h or aspiration of a tenuis) will be adduced below. Only from the inscriptions previous to 403 B.C. will be eited examples of words which might have been provided with the asper, but are without it, and from those of a later date only cases of aspirated tenues. Roberts' method of aspirating such old Ionic inscriptions from Asia Minor as are free from all taint of Atticism is not to be defended. Certainty in so elusive a matter as the placing of the correct spiritus cannot be expected in the later inscriptions. Beehtel puts the lenis in quite late documents provided they contain some Ionic form. In many of the inscriptions from the fourth century which contain Attic forms the same scholar adopts the lenis, while in others he uses the asper. All Kow $\acute{\eta}$ inscriptions should have the aspirated forms.

A divergence in the treatment of the initial spiritus asper between the divisions of Ionic constitutes one of the chief marks of sub-dialectal difference. Only the Asiatic Ionians adopted $\psi\iota\lambda\delta\tau\eta s$. The dialect of Western Ionic and that of the Kyklades have retained the rough breathing.

Medial σ upon its disappearance left an intervocalic spiritus asper, which, if the initial syllable of the word was provided with a lenis, was in Attic and some other dialects transferred to the beginning of the word. Thus εδω is from *εδω
*εδω Lat. ūro. Asiatic Ionic must be regarded as rejecting, the dialect of the islands and of Euboia as adopting, this phonetic principle. In Asiatic Ionic leρόs or lρόs, in Thasos and Siphnos leρόs resulted from *lσερόs, *lέροs.

399.] Asia Minor, including the Ionic of the Dodekapolis and of the colonies, even when these are islands such as Iasos, Leros, Teos, Chios, Samos, Samothrake. Care will be taken to notice whether the dialect of the islands differs from that of the metropolis.

The Ionians of the East, i.e. those included under this division, had lost the initial asper at the time of our earliest inscriptions from Asia Minor, while all the other Ionians had preserved it.

Miletos: \Box in the older group of Milesian inscriptions never denotes h; and \Box in the younger group is likewise always used for η . In the Abu-Simbel inscription, however, \Box may denote either \Box or \Box (\Box ay \Box of \Box or \Box of receiving the asper are provided with \Box . But there is nothing to show that those words in the Abu-Simbel document which receive the asper were written by Milesians; and the evidence of \Box d(\Box) \Box o \Box o

ημέας; 97 Ἰστια[îos]; 98 δ; cf. also Roberts I 132 bis from Naukr. (ἐπ[οκρητή]ριον), and 132 ter from Naukr. (δ), Bechtel 237, "Hons Naukr. I 447 is to be read "Hon not "Hon, cf. No. 689. ἀπ' ἐκάστου occurs in 1002. In 1022 Bechtel writes ἰερή, since the coin is of the fourth century; cf. likewise ἰερῆ in Pantikap. 123, and Ephesos 150, both late inscriptions.

Prokonnesos: H is used for η only. 103 υποκρητήριου, τουρμοκράτεος and ήθμόν (cf. άπηθέω). Roberts' question as to the propriety of writing ήθμον is otiose, although Ηηθμον appears on the Attic copy. This copy has several cases of H. In later times, at least, $\dot{\eta}\theta\mu\delta s$ was the proper form; cf. Scholiast on

Apoll. Rhod. I 1294 (quoted by Roberts).

Iasos: No. 104 dates from about the middle of the fourth century and its forms may receive the Attic asper. No. 105 is

also Attic in colouring.

Kyzikos: In the second part of 108 (dating perhaps from the first century B.C.) Bechtel writes the lenis because of its archaistic character. But the contemporary dialect of Kyzikos must have followed the Kown usage.

Priene: In No. 144, about 350 B.C., from the territory of the Πανιώνιον, we find κατάπερ, though Bechtel writes the asper on initial vowels. This κατάπερ is not decisive as to the deaspiration of Ionic in Priene in the middle of the fifth century. See below under *Chios*.

Ephesos: H is used for η throughout in No. 145. καθάπερ in No. 14711 occurs in an inscription almost entirely Hellenistic. $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \xi \hat{\eta} s$ 148₃₄ dates, according to Dareste, from about the period of king Mithridates.

Kolophon: d with no sign of B in No. 152 from Abu-Simbel, Roberts I 130 E: Πά(μ)βις δ Οολοφώνιος. Roberts' δ is incorrect.

Smyrna: εφ' ton in C. I. G. 313778 is late.

Teos: Έλεσίβιος ὁ Τήιος in No. 155 from Abu-Simbel.

Roberts' (I 130 B) Έλεσι- and δ are incorrect. In No. 156 (middle of the fifth century) H is used throughout for n, never for A. The sole trace of aspiration is καθημένου (B 31). C. I. G. 309412 has Kab' Eros and Le Bas-Waddington 87 do' loov (both late inscriptions). In No. 158 which contains scarcely a remnant of Ionic, we find, line 20, απήγησω despite καθάπερ lines 4, 25, καθισταμένοις line 32. See below under Chioe.

Abdera: Ἐρμῆι and Ἐρμοστράτου in No. 162=Rob. I 143. H is used for η throughout. Cf. the coin legends $E\pi$ $E\rho$ μοκρατίδεω 1633, Έπ' Ἡροδότου 1635, [Έ]π' Ἡροφάνε[ος] 1636 (see on Erythrai below), Ἡγησαγόρης 1634. Ἐρμῆι occurs in No. 171 Lampsakos. Έρμιςω 180 Chios, but Έρμιαι is written

in Eryth. 204₁₄ (about 354 B.C.).

Chios: H is employed in No. 174=Rob. I 149 to denote η .

There is no sign of the spiritus asper. In 174 A $\mathring{\eta}$'s line 2, 'Ερμώνοσσαν 2, 'Ερμωνόσσης 4, έξς 5, έβδομήκοντα 7, όση 8, έκατόν 13, οὐροφύλακες 15, 19, οἰ 18; in 174 B πέντ' ἢμέρη[ι]σιν 5, ἢμέρην 15, and ὅ τι 20; in 174 C $\mathring{\eta}$ 3, δ 10, 'Ικέσιος 14, 'Ηγεπόλιος 14, ἐπτακοσίων 18 and 25; in 174 D 'Ι[κ]εσίον 14,

ἐνός 19. In 175=Rob. I 150 we find δδόν.

μεθέληι 174 A II is to be explained as καθημένου in Teos, κάθοδον in Halikarnassos, i.e. by the assumption that in a compound the original rough breathing is preserved, whereas, when occurring in the uncompounded form, an aspirated word becomes subject to the influence of later phonetic laws of Ionic and suffers deaspiration. Cf. καθημένη Sim. Am. 790 κάθοδος Anakr. 436, καθεύδοντα Hippon. 61 (attributed by Schneidewin to Hipponax), καθεύδει Anakr. 882; καθάπερ and καθισταμένοις Teos, καθημένων on an Ionic papyrus of the fourth century B.C. (Philol. XLI p. 746). That this principle, differentiating the simple from the uncompounded words, did not obtain throughout the length and breadth of the dialect is clear from the numerous forms in Herodotos and from Teian ἀπήγησιν. Both of these forms must be held to be innovations, not survivals. ἀφήγησις was the old compound, which, existing side by side with uncompounded words in ηy- from ηγέομαι 1, became ἀπήγησις. So too with ἐπίμερον in Sim. Am., κατάπερ in Priene, Halikarnassos. See Fick B. B. XI 247, Bechtel Ion. Inschr. p. 98. The same principle may account for such forms as καθεύδω in Sappho.

Maroneia: Έπὶ Ἡγησαγόρεω 196, 10, Ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείδεω 196, 11. Erythrai: In 206 A 14, 36, 42, B 14, 45, 50, 60 we find ἐφὶ ἱεροποιοῦ, but ἐπὶ ἱερο[ποιοῦ] C 14, cf. C 8. This shows that the non-elision of the ι does not prove that the vowel of the

following word began with the lenis.

Samos: Β and H are employed to denote η. τήρηι 211, 'Ηφαιστίων 212. Roberts has the first correct, the second wrong, as also ['H]ραγόρης ὁ in his No. 154=Bechtel 213, where read ['H-] and δ. No. 216 οδρος, not ὅρος, since there is no H on the stone (Attic HOPOΣ is found in C. I. A. I 493 ff., also in Samos I. G. A. No. 8). Cf. § 253. No. 22132 with καθότι is from 322 B.C.

Amorgos (inscriptions of Samian origin, see § 400): In 228 = Rob. I 158 A, 'AH $\rho\sigma\iota\omega\nu$ is read by Bechtel 'A $\rho\sigma\iota\omega\nu$, by Roberts 'A $\eta\rho\sigma\iota\omega\nu$, which is a new and strange name. 'A $\rho\sigma\iota\omega\nu$ (with aspirated ρ) is the hypocoristic form of 'A $\rho\sigma\iota\nu\sigma$ os. Bechtel

compares Φθράθσο = Φράξου in Rob. I 25 (Delos).

Halikarnassos: H is used for η , not for h. Bechtel 238 = Rob.

¹ Even in Doric we find such names as 'Αγησίλασε with the lenis of άγω, in contrast to 'Αγηΐστρατος from άγέσμαι. Cf. 'Αγιέω Bechtel 131, 11, from Olbia.

I 145 has δ 1, δ, 'ΑλικαρναΤ[έω]ν 2, lέρη[ι] 3, lσταμέ[νου] 5, ἀπ' οῦ 18, ἄδος 19, κατάπ[ε]ρ 19, δρκῶ<ι>σ[αι] 20, ὅ τ[ι] 20, οΙ 21, ὕστερον 22, ὅρκον 24, ὀρκοῦν 26, ἡμί[ε]κτον 26, ὅρκον 27, οἴτινες 29, ὅτε 30, ὕστερον 31, ὥστε 34, lερά 36, 'Αλικαρνησσ- 40 and 41, ὅς 43, ὄρκια 44, κατόπερ 43. The only form that indicates k is κάθοδον 40, on which see under Chios. In No. 246 $_{\delta}$ we find κατιδρυθέντος on a stelè of unknown period. All the other inscriptions from Halikarnassos are certainly late.

Mylasa: C. I. G. 2693, c. 4 has καθ' έτος. See above under

Teos.

Adespota: No. 255 with TETEPEI = τἢτέρηι has been referred by Bechtel to an Asiatic-Ionic source on account of the absence of the aspiration. Cf. τοὐτέρου Simon. Amorg. VII 113, Hippon. tr. 183. See § 134, note, Roberts I p. 374.

In No. 260=Rob. I 166 we read ραψωιδός, though the ultimate provenance of the inscription is uncertain. There is

no H.

400. Kyklades (Island Ionic).

Amorgos (inscriptions of Naxian origin, see § 399): H denotes both h and η . No. 31 = Rob. I 160 B Η ποκράτης, Η ποκλης: No. 33 = Rob. I 160 F $\tilde{\eta}\lambda[\iota\sigma]s$ where in HA the H stands for $h\tilde{e}$. H represents η in ΔII μ aινέτΗς, μ νΗ μ a, τΗς in No. 29 = Rob. I 158 D; τΗς in No. 32 = Rob. I 160 C, also in Rob. I 159 B (an abecedarium), and in the very obscure inscription, Rob. I 160 A: ΦαιστυλίΕς (?), συβάκΗν. In B. C. H. VIII 24 (10. 16) καθ' ενιαυτόν is due to the analogy of καθ' ετος with inorganic h from f.

Keos: H denotes η (pan-Hellenic). In No. 40=Rob. I 31 A, H by an error stands for E in ἀν | | θ H σαν; see Roberts ad loc. In No. 41=Rob. I 32, χρν | σ Ην, κατ Ηξ', and H=η are quite doubtful; in No. 42=Rob. I 31 B, Ξειν Ηρετος, Εύδ Ημος: in No. 46=Rob. I 33 B, ['A] φροδίτ Ηι, ἀνέθ Ηκεν. We find but one word in the older inscriptions (apart from the doubtful η mentioned above): Ιστι Ηι (Bechtel No. 45=Rob. I 33 A) which must be transcribed Ίστίηι. No. 43=Rob. I 32 A

¹ The initial B is not an error for BE but a peculiar sign, used elsewhere (Delos and Oropos), for \$.

(after 420 B.C.) has no sign for the asper, H representing η (= \tilde{a}) and $\eta < \epsilon + a$, except in $\delta\iota a\rho a\nu\theta H\iota_{17}$, $\theta\acute{a}\nu H\iota_{23}$.

Delos: H stands for he as in Naxos and Oropos. Cf. No. 53=

Rob. I 24 A HKHB $\Omega[\lambda\omega\iota]$, where H also represents $\eta < \bar{a}$.

Paros: H appears for η only. No. 58 = Rob. I 16 has $-\epsilon \beta \delta o - [\mu \eta] \rho o \nu \tau o \nu \tau H s$, $\epsilon \chi \sigma \epsilon \pi o \epsilon \eta o \epsilon \eta c$. No. 59 = Rob. I 17 $\Delta H \mu o \kappa \nu \delta H s$, $\Delta v \epsilon \tau o \epsilon \eta c \epsilon \eta c$. No. 59 = Rob. I 17 $\Delta H \mu o \kappa \nu \delta H s$, $\Delta v \epsilon \tau o \epsilon \eta c \epsilon \eta c$. No. 59 = Rob. I 17 $\Delta H \mu o \kappa \nu \delta H s$, $\Delta v \epsilon \tau o \epsilon \eta c$. No. 60 = Rob. I 15 $\mu H \tau H \rho$, $\theta \nu \gamma \delta \tau H \rho$, $\tau o \epsilon \iota h \mu a$: Rob. I No. 18 $\Delta v \epsilon \iota \delta \iota h \epsilon \nu c$. $\delta \iota \eta \rho s \iota \eta c \epsilon \iota h \epsilon \iota h$. I 15 $\mu H \tau H \rho$, $\delta v \gamma \delta \tau d \epsilon \iota h \epsilon \iota h$. I No. 19 = I. G. A. 406, a boundary stone, has HOPOΣ TOIEPO. If this is Ionic the transcription must be $\delta \iota h \epsilon \iota h \epsilon \iota h$. It is unfortunate that upon no Parian inscription before 403 B. c. do we find any word capable of aspiration $\delta \iota h \epsilon \iota h$; else we might settle the question whether Rob. I 19 contains an example of $\delta \iota h \iota h \iota h$, or whether HOPOΣ is Attic $\delta \iota \rho o \iota h$ and the boundary stone of Attic provenance $\delta \iota h \iota h$ (as the Samian HOPOΣ I. G. A. 8, cf. C. I. A. I No. 493 ff.). The absence of H from IEPO is to be noticed, because in Siphnos (Rob. I No. 20) we have HIEPΩN and in Thasos IHPON for HIPON (No. 70 = Rob. I 23).

Thasos: H denotes η , e.g. in NυμφΗισιν, ΝυμφΗγέτΗι, θ Ηλυ, &c. in No. 68 = Rob. I 22. $\sharp \mu$ is expressed by AM in the same inscription (cf. § 292, 3). In No. 70 = Rob. I 23 we find IHPON which stands for HIPON (cf. $\mathfrak{l}\rho\delta\nu$ Bechtel 71, and $\mathfrak{l}\epsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha$ 717) rather than for IEPON, as Roberts (I p. 61, note 1) assumes; cf. IEMI for EIMI in Theodosia, Bechtel No. 125. In J. H. S. VIII 402, a document of the fifth century, H denotes $\tilde{\epsilon}$.

Siphnos: H represents h in $H\iota\epsilon\rho\delta\nu$ (Bechtel No. 88=Rob. I 20), the only inscription of ancient date. Were others extant,

H would express η as well as h.

Lastly, we must examine the inscriptions of-

401.] Euboia.

A. Chalkis and Colonies.

Kyme: H represents h twice: in $Hu\pi\dot{u}$ Bechtel 3 A=Rob. I 177 A, and in $\exists \dot{u}$ Rob. I 173. η is expressed by E in the oldest inscriptions free from any encroachment of the Ionic alphabet.

Rhegion: H represents h in HOSSA Rob. I 180 (but see § 373). In the parallel inscription, Rob. I 181, the same word has no H, the only letter preserved after $\chi\rho\eta\mu\dot{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$ being O. PHywos occurs on a coin legend, hence $P[\eta]\chi\dot{\alpha}\nu$ in Beehtel

1 Except perhaps -εβδο[μη]οοντούτης No. 58, though here the medial h was

scarcely to be expected.

The latter supposition is more probable than to hold with Kirchhoff and Roberts I § 29 that the H is an archaism similar to that found on Attic boundary stones of a later period. Fick places the inscription at the earliest about 400 B.c. because asper and lenis appear.

6 B must be without $H = \hbar$. In Bechtel No. 6 B, Ionic H is used for η $[\Gamma\lambda]a\nu\kappa iHs$, $E\rho\mu H\iota$, and there is no sign for \hbar : O stands for δ , $E\rho\mu\hat{\eta}\iota$ for $E\rho\mu\hat{\eta}\iota$. This inscription is later than 4.50 B.C.

Bechtel No. 13=Rob. I 179 is of Chalkidian origin. In lines 7 and 11 we find Βότι, line 8 Βο, line 9 Βαιρεί [σ]θω. Rob. I No. 183 contains Ηιπ(π)οδρόμης: it is a Chalkidian

inscription from Gela.

We may here insert the vase inscriptions: $H\iota\pi\pi$ ολύτη Rob. I 188 B, cf. Έχιππος Rob. I 189 ('Ρόπιος with no H, 188 K), $H\iota\pi(\pi)$ αῖος 190 I G, $H\iota\pi(\pi)$ ος 190 II A, $H\eta\rho$ ακλῆς 191 B and also 192 B.

B. Eretria and Styria.

Eretria and Oropos: Under Eretria we may class Oropos No. 18, where (line 18) we find αὐθημερόν, ἀφ' ἐκάστον (line 35), ἐγκαθεύδειν (line 36), ἐγκαθεύδοντος (line 39), καθεύδειν (line 44); and finally Hσπέρης (lines 46-47) = Hεσπέρης¹, the sole instance of H on the stone, which is certainly older than 377 B.C. This case of H is an archaism according to Wilamowitz in Hermes XXI p. 98.

Styra: Bechtel No. 19 contains the following names in point: EiHáyηs 108 (the only example of medial H in Ionic inscriptions), Hεσχατίων 110, Ηυπεί(ρ)ων 111, Ηηγεμονεύς 200, Ηιππώνδης 373, Ηομήριος 374 (cf. I. G. A. 372). E in No. 19 represents ϵ , η (pan-Hellenic), $\eta < \bar{a}$, spurious EI, and (rarely) genuine EI (12, 265). No H is found in Έρμόκριτος 371, nor in 'Paíβos 82, 'Ρύμβις 299.

Certain adespota may be referred to the Ionic of Euboia or of the Kyklades on the score of possessing λ. Bechtel No. 265, found near the Parthenon and dating before Ol. 80, has Ηνιός, but Ηγέλοχος. No. 266 is also classed as Ionic by Bechtel. In

line 4 we find Hvús.

Spiritus Asper in Literature.

402.] The Iambographic Poets.

Iambographic poetry best reproduces the speech of the people. Cf. Fick Bezz. Beitr. XI 246 ff.

Archilochos: Archilochos has retained with but two exceptions the influence of the asper. These exceptions are ἐπ' ἡμέρην 702, where most of the MSS. have ἐφ', and ἐπ' ἡβης 115. The asper appears in ὑφ' ἡδονῆς 102, ἐφ' ἡπατι 131 (... παρ' ᾿Αρχιλόχφ

1 On ⊟ or H = λδ, cf. Naxos 23, Delos 53 ἐκηβόλων. In Styra 19₀₀ HE is = λδ (Ἡγεμονεός). Η εσχατίων occurs 19₁₀.

διὰ δασέος Athen. III 107 F), θητέρηι 93, Γλαῦχ', ὅρα, οτ Γλαῦκ', ὅρα 54 by force of the punctuation. In verbs compounded with a preposition (which prove but little if the rule upheld § 399, under Chios, be here available): ἄφελκε 42, ἐφέπων 132, ἐφίμερος 213, κάθημαι 873, καθαιρεῖ 116. The evidence of Parian or Thasian inscriptions is in itself not sufficient warrant for as-

cribing to Archilochos a thoroughgoing use of the asper.

Simonides of Amorgos: ἐπίμερον 7₅₁, τοὖτέρον 7₁₁₃, but χώς 24₁, τοῦθ' ὁρᾳ 7₈₀, ἐφήμεροι 1₃, καθημένη 7₉₀, and ἀφεῦσα 24₁. In view of similar inconsequences in other poets, it would be an over-refinement of criticism to explain ἐπίμερον in contrast to ἐφήμεροι, by referring it to the character of the settlement of Amorgos, i.e. by Naxians, Samians, and Milesians ¹. As Simonides was by birth a Samian we might expect a constant disregard of the asper. Naxian influence alone could have introduced the rough breathing.

Ηίρροπαχ: κὰφῆ 7_1 , ἀκούσατ' Ἰππώνακτος 13_1 , τοὐτέρου 18_3 ('lωνικῶς'), ὀδύνη Ἰπιαλεῖ 21 Β, κἀπόλλων = καὶ δ 'Απ- 31, ἀπόλλων = δ 'Απ- 45, ἐπ' ἀρμάτων 42, κατ' ὕπνον 89. The asper however appears in ἀγέῖ 11 (where its existence is improbable, cf. § 156), θαlμάτια 83, κοὐχ ἁμαρτάνω 83, and in ἀφέω 75 and καθεύδοντα 61_1 (see above, § 399). As an iambic poet of the Asiatic mainland, Hipponax represents with tolerable fidelity

the speech of his countrymen.

Ananios has γνοίη χ' ὄσφ in the choliambic fragment No. 3, but κημέρης 510 (tetr.), cf. Chios 174 B 14. καθείρξαι occurs

in 31.

In Herodas we observe nearly sixty cases of the presence of the asper, and only twenty of the lenis. The asper has been misplaced in χήρωτες 704.

403.] Elegiac Poets.

Instances of deaspiration in the texts of elegiac poets from the twelve cities are extremely rare: Xenophanes 2_{10} has $\tau a \hat{v} \tau a \kappa^{2} \pi a \nu \tau a$, according to the majority of the MSS., though Bergk follows B in reading $\chi^{2} \tilde{a} \pi a \nu \tau a$. In 2_{19} we find $\tau o \tilde{v} \nu \epsilon \kappa \epsilon \nu$, a form which is however also epic (Hesiod).

The elegiac poets usually accept the aspirated forms through inability to break with epic tradition: Mimnerm. 12, ξφ' ΰδωρ, 12, ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων and ἀφικόμεθα 92: Xenophanes 11, οὐχ ΰβρις

and ἀφίκοιο: Phokylides of Leros has οὐχ ὁ I1.

404.] Melic Poets.

In the melic poets there are scarcely any traces of the placing of the lenis for the asper: Anakreon has ἐσκατορᾶς 16 (Apoll,

¹ ἐπίμερον and ἐφήμεροι have a parallel in Herodotos' ἀπικέσθαι by the side of ἀφικέσθαι in Xenophanes.

Synt. 55), ἐπίστιον 904, but οὐκέθ' ήβη, κάθοδος 43, καθεύδει 88_2 , λευκίππων 12 B from original ἴππος.

405. Herodotos.

In view of the unanimous testimony of the inscriptions of Ionic Asia Minor as to the loss of the rough breathing, it is imperative that the text of Herodotos should be made to conform to the dialect of his day. The influence of an initial rough breathing may however be admitted to a certain extent. In compounds it has aspirated a preceding tenuis; though in numerous instances such forms as $\partial \pi i \kappa \epsilon \tau \sigma$ may be justified with the same propriety as the Teian $\partial \pi i \eta \eta \eta \sigma \iota s$, on which see § 399, under Chios.

The following instances of the occurrence of the *lenis* or variation between *lenis* and *asper*, deserve notice. Words with an initial F are expected to show the *lenis*.

έδώλια I 24 in C b. έργω, έργυυμι: ἐσεργυῦσι ΙΙ 86, κατεργν \hat{v} σι IV 69, κατέργοντες VI 102, εἶρ ξ ε III 136 ($\emph{v}.\emph{l}.$ ξρ ξ ε), ξργεσθαι VII 197 (v.l. εἴργ- and εἴργ-): ἐρκτήν is however found IV 146. ἔρξαν V 65, ἀπέρξαντες IV 62, but ἔρδον IX 103 (P ἔ-), ἔρδεσκε VII 33 (P); cf. Sim. K. $5_{20} \tilde{\epsilon} \rho \delta \eta$: on $\tilde{\epsilon} \rho \delta \omega$ in Hesiod, see Rzach's ἐσμός V 114. Dialekt d. Hsd. p. 359. ηώς though έω is a frequent r.l.; ἐωθινός occurs in III 104; in ηώς, as in other words here mentioned, the lenis is original (ηως < ἀνσως). ΙΙ 67, cf. Eust. Il. 9204: τὸ δὲ Ιρηξ Ιωνικώς ψιλοῦται, εί καὶ τὸ ιεραξ δασύνεται. In III 76, despite Ιρήκων in MSS. Rd, we read with Stein the form with the lenis. όλμος, ούλος, ούρίζειν. ώρη heed, care III 155 (ώρη most MSS.), as in the tragedians. ωρη season II 4, I 32. είλίσσω has the asper II 38 according to Stein, as είλίχατο VII 90, though Eust. 23411 wrote είλ-; cf. Tzetzes on Heniod, W. D. 450: τὸ έλιξ Αττικοί δασύνουσιν, οί δὲ ίστίη has the asper. λοιποὶ πάντες ψιλοῦσιν.

The non-aspiration of ἐπέατι in the MSS. of Hdt. IV 70 deserves notice, as the deaspiration of words with initial v is extremely rare in the Greek dialects, with the single exception of Aiolic. Cf. ἐδρίαν Ι. G. A. 32145, ἐπεδέξατο C. I. A. I 4425, ἐπαργύρω C. I. A. I 1656, 1734, ἐπάργυρα C. I. A. I 32 B 28; see Roberts I § 43. This lenis appears before v only in those dialects whose v was the old sound oo (u).

406.] Occurrences of tenuis for aspirate in Herodotos.

The MSS. of Herodotos have the tenuis (1) before an initial guttural spirant and (2) not infrequently in compounds.

1. A final tenuis is not aspirated:—οὐκ δμολογέουσι I 5 (cf. § 348), and so also in the case of ἀπό, ἐπί, κατά, μετά, ὑπό, and ἀντί¹ (Bredow, p. 203 ff.).

¹ ἀντ' ἄδου Greg. Kor. § 18, who also cites οὐκ οἶοί τε ἦσαν.

2. In compounds whose tenues are due to the influence of the

lenis of the uncompounded word.

ἀπαμμένους II 121 (δ); ἀπηλιώτης IV 22 (§ 397); ἀπικνέουτο IV 125, cf. ἀπίξουται Charon 9 (§ 397); αὐτημερόν II 122, VI 139; ἐπέδρης I 17, ν. l. ἔδρης, ἐπέδρην V 65 (ἔφεδρον V 41); ἐπεξῆς II 77; κατά = καθά I 208 (elsewhere κατὰ τά, but καθ' ὧς IX 82) where Kirchhoff would prefer κατ' ἄ; κατά περ I 118, 131, 169, κατύπερθε II 5; κατίσαι II 121 (ε), cf. II 126; κατηγέουτο IV 125, ὑπηγεομένης Demokr. 92. All MSS. have καθεύδουσι in Hdt. IV 25, with which we may compare καθεύδει II 95. Stein has κατ- in both cases. In VIII 49 the MSS. have ἀφ-, Stein ἀπεῖτο. Dindorf incorrectly conjectures ἀπήσειν in VII 193 for ἀφήσειν, since there is an obvious reference to ἀφίημι in order to explain 'Αφέται.

In the Herodoteian crasis of δ + αὐτός to ἀυτός (§ 258) we find the asper vanishes; cf. τοὕτερον (but θἄτερα IV 157 and

ούτερος Ι 34).

407.] As the case now stands it is impossible to discover the exact usage of Herodotos as regards compounded words; and it will continue to be impossible until we are placed in the position of being able to control by the inscriptions the form of each word whose second component part originally began with the asper. In fact, as we know that κάθοδος is a legitimate Ionic form of the fifth century, it may be doubted whether ἔφέδρον in Hdt. V 41 is not correct and ἐπέδρης I 17 a fictitious form 1. Great as are the limitations in respect of our knowledge of the Ionic asper, it should be recognized that to write ἐπέδρης in one case and ἔφέδρον in another (as the editor of Dietsch's text does), is not in accordance with probability, whatever may be said for the advisability of such a procedure from the point of view of the textual critic who has not the courage to disregard MS. evidence.

408.] The Asper in Hippokrates.

Hippokrates usually employs the asper in the same way as the Attic. οὖκ ὑπέστρεψεν II 664, according to Ermerins, where Littré (with A F G I) reads οὖχ; οὖκ οὖον II 74 (Littré οὖχ), οὖχ ὑποδέχεται II 76 in both Ermerins and Littré. In VII 96 for ἐφ' ἄμαξαν, α ν. l. is ἐπ', cf. Homeric ἐπ' ἄμαξαν Μ 448 (see § 397), VII 326 κῶμφαλός = καὶ ὁ ὀμφ. (in θ). On ἀπ' ὅτεων in II 74, see Gomperz, Apologie der Heilkunst, p. 77, where other forms are discussed: ὑπ' ὅτεν VI 34, VI 98, ὼντός VIII 588, ἀπίκηται VII 8, ἀπικνέεται VI 390, ἐπόδοισι VI 508, μετεωῦντοῦ VI 114 (in M), where other MSS., except A, have μετ' ὡντοῦ.

409.] Pseudo-Ionists.

Aretaios has the asper throughout, or with such insignificant

¹ See Thumb, Asper, p. 58.

exceptions as not to disturb the usual Attic practice. The medical writers form a pronounced exception to Herodotos and his imitators. Lukian: Dea Syria ἀπικυέομαι very often; but ἀφῆs V. A. 6, &c.; ἐπικνέεται § 15, with ἐφ- three times, κατ- three times, κάθηται § 16; κατ' §§ 17, 44; μετήσομαι § 18; υπηγέονται § 57, ὑφ- § 46; ἀντ' § 12; οὐκ § 52.

In the De Astr. there are nine cases of $d\pi$ in composition and

ὰπ' ἡμέων § 21; μετέποντα § 13.

Arrian: ἀπηγέομαι, ἀπικνέομαι in all ten times, with φ four times; $\dot{\alpha}\pi$, $\dot{\delta}$ 3, the only certain place; $\dot{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\hat{\imath}\nu\alpha\imath$, $\dot{\delta}$ 11; $\dot{\epsilon}\phi$ -four times; $\dot{\epsilon}\pi$, $\dot{\delta}$ 32, $\dot{\epsilon}\phi$, five times; $\kappa\alpha\tau$ - twenty-seven times ($\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\rho$, κατύπερθε, κατοράω, κατορμίζουται, κατηγεομένων, κατήκω), καθthirteen times; κατ' §§ 11, 29, 30, καθ' four times; μεθ- not μετ-; ύφ- not ύπ-; ούχ δ § 5.

Abydenos: ἀπίκατο 1; καθορμίσονται 1; μετίει 1.

Eusebios: ἀπεστήκεε 8; ἐπ' 5; προσεκατέατο 8; κατ' δτεω 5; καθ- twice; οὐκ ἀμαρτεῖν 2, ἀπ' δ.

Eusebios Myndios: ἀπ'- but once and no case of ἀπ': ἐπησθείην 1, έφ- twice; έπ' 44, 63, έφ' twice; κατηγεομένους 63, καθ- twice; ούχ 14, 36, 53.

In the supposititious letters of Herakleitos kar- occurs once

These letters have $d\phi'$, as that of Thales. (12).

Vila Homeri: ἀπικνέομαι twenty-three times, ἀπηγέομαι § 22, 23, απικυέομαι, κατήμενος § 9, κατίζων 10, 12; elsewhere καθ-. So also ἀφ', μεθ'.

410.] Varia.

In Attic we find a few instances of the lenis that may be ascribed to an Ionic source: ἀντήλιος Agam. 519, Aias 805, άπηλιώτης Kykl. 19 and in prose and inscriptions. ξευμένη occurs in Antig. 251. Even Aristophanes has απηλιαστής Ares 110. See § 397.

ἐποδώκει, the reading of the vulgate Persai 656, cannot be defended as an Ionism of tragedy, and is to be abandoned on other grounds.

In late inscriptions we find the asper even where Classic Attic has the lenis: καθ' ένιαυτόν Β. C. H. VIII 2410, 16 Amorgon', έφ' ໃση C. I. G. 313775 (Smyrna), ap' loor Le Bas-Waddington 87 (Teos), and eros C. I. G. 309412 (Teos).

Sentence Phonetics.

411. Assimilation of Consonants.

The assimilation of a nasal to the consonant of the following word is very common.

r becomes μ before π; Kyzikos 111, Zeleia 1132, Naukr. 139 C, Ephesos 1476, 12, Abdera 162, Erythr. 206 B 58, Samos 221₁₁, Halik. 240₁₃, 21, 29, 30, 33, 35, 37, 41, 47, Mylasa 248 B 7, 8; No. 261. ν becomes μ before ϕ : Zeleia 114 F, Eph. 147₆. ν becomes μ before β : Halik. 240₃₈, Eph. 147₂. ν becomes μ before μ : Eph. 145, Chios 174 C 24, Erythr. 206 A 25, Halik. 240₅₁. ν becomes γ before κ : Ephesos 147₁₄, 16, Teos 158₂₀, Chios 174 C 22, Erythr. 206 A 47, B 29, Halik. 240₁₆, 18, 25, 34. ν becomes λ before λ : Halik. 240₈, 29, 31. (Έλλιμένιος Thas. (L) 8₈, cf. J. H. δ. VIII 402, 18). ν becomes σ before σ : Halik. 238₄₁. κ becomes γ before β in $\hat{\epsilon}\gamma\beta\alpha\lambda\hat{\epsilon}\nu$ Teos 158₂₁. Cf. the variations in Herodoteian MSS. between Έκβάτανα and Άγβάτανα. κ becomes γ before δ : Chios 174 B 22 (κἀγδικασάντων), Head H. N. 504. κ becomes γ before λ : Samos 220₃₅ ($\hat{\epsilon}\gamma\lambda\hat{\epsilon}(\pi\hat{\epsilon}\iota)$. We may also notice λ 0 κκάος on an Ionic vase C. I. G. 7375, Ένκαιρος Styra 19₁₈₅, συνγράφη λ 2, J. H. δ. VIII 402₂₁ Thasos. In Herodas we find λ 1, λ 2, λ 2. λ 3, λ 4. λ 5, λ 5. λ 6, λ 6, λ 6, λ 7, λ 7, λ 8. λ 8. VIII 402₂₁ Thasos. In Herodas we find λ 2, λ 3, λ 4. λ 5, λ 5, λ 6, λ 6, λ 6, λ 6, λ 7, λ 7, λ 8. λ 8, λ 9, λ

DECLENSION.

412. The Dual.

By the fifth century the use of the dual in the literary monuments of Ionic had entirely passed out of existence. Recent editors of Herodotos are rightly unanimous in extirpating the two cases in which all the MSS, agree in its retention: I II δυοίν όδοιν παρεουσέων Γύγη δίδωμι αίρεσιν, 91 έκ γάρ δυοίν ούκ όμος θνέων έγεγόνες. Elsewhere δυών, δυοίσι are the forms adopted. While the inscriptions have no instance of δυοΐν, δυῶν occurs in Chios 174 D 14, a document which however inflects the numerals after the Aiolic norm. Hipponax 29 has δύ ἡμέραι as might be expected. Hippokrates avoids the dual with such persistency that it may be doubted whether he employed it at all. All of the examples quoted from the Hippokratic corpus are found in the treatises of the younger school. These are VI 472 δυοίν διαφόροιν . . . συμφόροιν where the MSS, have διαφόροις or διαφόρων: VII 120 ἀμφοῖν τοῖν ὀφθαλμοῖν (θ has the pl.): VII 128 τω δφθαλμώ πονέετον τε καὶ εξέχετον (θ has the pl.): VII 138 δυοίν: VIII 54 αμφοίν: VIII 76 τοίν οφθαλμοίν in θ (v. l. has the pl.): VIII 326 τω πόδε (θ has the pl.), τοῖν ποδοῖν (not in θ), τω μηρώ (θ has the pl.), τοῖν σκελοῖν (τῶν σκελέων in θ); in IX 84 we find such an anomaly as δυσί γαστέραιν: VIII 144 τοῦν σφυροῦν but θ has ἐκ τῶν σφυρῶν: VIII 236 τῶ

¹ But τὴν Λ- 240₅₆, ἐν Λ- 240₅₈, 5τ.
² Cf. ΣΥΝ for ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ, Ephesos, Head H. N. 495, Samos ibid. 516.

χεῖρε (θ has the pl.). As regards the Ionic writers of the Renascence under Hadrian, Lukian d. S. § 30 adopts δργυιέων δυοῖν, Arrian δυοῖν § 7, δοκίμω ἄνδρε § 17, ἀμφοῖν τοῖν χεροῖν 16, τοῖν σκελοῖν 14 bis, ἐκατέροιν 14. Aretaios writes once τὰ πόδε, but not elsewhere where pairs of the parts of the body are spoken of. These cases of the occurrence of the dual must be regarded as deviations from normal Ionic in the direction of Attic. See § 573 for the dual in conjugation.

413.] Gender, &c.

- 1. The grammarians regarded as Ionic the use of the following words as feminine: 1/10 Eust. 77518, 156614, klor 139048, 139989, 192387, Chapes 1652889 Ιπποι (cf. Et. M. 47322), κύνες, ήμιόνοι 87700 139040, έλλός 139040 δνος Et. M. 47300 őpribes Eust. 112640, βoûs Et. M. 47330, Eust. 13904, σύς, χοίρος 175214-20, Athan. IX 375 C, xques 187645, piros 67945, 19264. poisos too is feminine in Ionic according to Eust. 1631, Schol. 4 315 and Photics II 135; derphysics (but of. Anakr. 46) Bekk, Anecd, I 454m = Bachm, Anecd, I 154m. In comparison with Doric, Ionic has to show a larger number of nouns whose feminine gender awakened the attention of the grammarians. Occasionally the use of the masculine for the feminine is noticed, as in the case of aσβeλes in Hipponax (Bekk. Anecd. I 17m); ἄρριχος when masculine is Ionic, when feminine Attic: Et. Mag. 14920, Bachm. An. I 146 (Bekk. An. I 446), cf. Eust. 116300 1533se Schol. Arist. Ares 1309. Joh. Gr. 240 holds that Fowepes (Hom.) is Ionie for towipa, cf. 8 ridpas Hdt. I 132, ridpy VIII 120. 8 negges is found in a Delian document, Ditt. Syd. 367170. In Hippokr. VI 198 8 paper where • has the fem., so VI 212. An Ionic change from the fem. to the neuter is claimed by the An. Par. III 15613 on the score of maperd; told. III 46416 κέλευθα for κελεύθους.
- 2. Such forms as wides, dpinpes, dpwodppares for wiel &c. are called Ionic by Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. K. 444, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667.
- 3. ϕ_i is archaistic in all post-Homeric monuments, as indeed it is in Homer. $\theta \epsilon \delta \phi_i$ in Naukr. I p. 63, No. 28 ($\Pi a \rho \mu \epsilon \nu \delta \phi_i$) is perhaps the only occurrence of ϕ_i in a prose document. This inscription is not necessarily Ionic.

A Declension.

414.]

This declension embraces masculines in $-\eta s$, feminines in $-\eta$ and $-\check{a}$, where other dialects have $-\check{a}s$ (Attic $-\eta s$ in part), $-\check{a}$ (Attic $-\eta$ except after vowels and ρ) and $-\check{a}$. The dialects vary considerably in their adoption of the forms in $-\check{a}$.

Masc.	Fem.	Plur.
ης	η, ă	a t
€w, €w, w, €V, €OS, €VS	75, 75	(WY, (WY, WY
ηι	ηι, ηι	year, yes, als
ην, εἄ	ην, ďν	ås
η, ἄ	η, ď	gi.

In the following discussion of the cases of the singular, especial attention is directed to the occurrences of Ionic $\eta = \text{Attie}$ \bar{a} after ρ and vowels. Most of the inscriptional forms are enumerated and the date of the ingression of the Attic \bar{a} noted. On forms where η was preceded by ϵ , see § 263. For cases of the presence of Ionic η in Attic, see § 72.

Hdt. has ἡ ψάμμη, ἡ τάφρη, ἡ φονή. There are many words which end in -αρχης instead of -αρχος. Hippokr. and Hdt. have ἡ πάθη and τὸ πάθος. τὰ Αβδηρα, not ἡ Αβδηρα, is the form in the Ionic of Hdt.

415.] Nominative Masculine (Inscriptions).

The inscriptions have generally preserved throughout the fourth century the specifically Ionic η after ρ and vowels. See

\$ 172.

1. After ρ : 'Αθηναγόρης Teos 161 (2), Δειναγόρης Naxos 24, 'Ηγησαγόρης Abdera 163 (4), Samos 217, 'Αρισταγόρης Ephesos 151 (1), Δημαγόρης 151 (2), Πυθαγόρης Samos 226 (1) bef. 350 B.C., 262 Asiatic Ionic (after 408 B.C.), Thasos (L) 10 B₂, Head H.N. 512, 518, Πρωταγόρης Halik. 240₂₂ and in several other examples from the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre dating from 300–275 (first and second periods according to Bechtel).

The Attic ā has forced an entrance in Nikayópas Eph. 147: (300 B.C.), cf. Nikayópηs Thasos (L) 710; 'Aν[α]ξαγόραs Smyrna 1534: an inscription which is almost Attic. 'Αρισταγόραs Thasos 82 A 5 (225-200 B.C., cf. 'Αρισταγόρηs Thasos (L) 4 B 9 about 300); Φαναγόραs Erythrai 206 B 55 (after 278 B.C.), cf. Φαναγόρηs Thasos (L) 6 D 8 (about 300 B.C.); ['H]ραγόραs Thasos (L) 14 A 11 and in eight names in -γόραs from the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre (15 C 11, 20 A 9, 1615, 18 C 8, 18 C 6, 18 B 13, 19 B 8, 15 A 5, 15 B 5, 15 A 10, 164); 'Αθηναγόραs Klazom. Head H. N. 491.

In No. 215=Rob. I 156 we find Πυθαγόρας Σάμιος ἐποίησεν attached to an offering of Euthymos, a Lokrian ἀπὸ Ζεφυρίου. As this Pythagoras is called by Pausanias (VI 6 4 ff.) an inhabitant of Rhegion, he doubtless belonged to the Samians who came in 494 B. c. to Sicily (Hdt. VI 23) and became subjects of Anaxilas of Rhegion. Cf. Loewy (Insch. gr. Bildhauer, No. 23) and above, § 172. Πυθαγόρης in 261 is the name of an immigrant Ionian in Salymbria,

a colony of the Doric Megara.

2. After ι : 'Astins Styra 19_{173} , Kritins 19_{56} , Xaropins 19_{151} , Mirrins $19_{255-258}$, Purrins $19_{292-293}$, Swoins 19_{445} , Dourins 21, Euboian Ionic. 'Estins Erythr. 206 B 16, Ysswins Halik. 240_{42} , Alngoins Thasos (L) 3_5 , Plaukins Rhegion 6 B, Eukoins Keos 44 B 9, Plausarins Thasos 78 B 3, Munsins Thasos 75 B 9, $\Pi a[\mu] \phi ains$ Thasos (L) 19 A 6, 'Autins Rob. I 190, No. I, E, Tuains Latyschev II 202.

Attic -ιαs is found e.g. in Παππίας Mykonos 92st (Makedonian period), Πασίας 1042s and Φανίας 1042s Iasos (before 353 B.C.), "Αντωνίας Ερh. 120 (time

of Hadrian), 'Iπτίαs, Παυσανίαs Smyrna 15331 an almost Attic inscription, Κριτίαs Thasos 82 A 7 (225-200 B.C.), 'Εστίαs Erythr. 206 A 9 (cf. 206 B 16 'Εστίηs), Παυσανίαs Perinthos 234 B 42, and Thasos (L) Niκίαs 11 B 4, 'Αμφίαs 12 A 4.

- After ε: Αlνέης occurs on a Chalkidian amphora in Rob. I 189 F.
- 4. After v: Παναμύης Halik. 23831, gen. Παναμύω see § 429; Σληύης Naukr. I 235, name of a barbarian Ionized.

Attic & occurs in Mapovas Iasos 1047 (before 353 B. C.).

5. Other nominatives in $-\hat{\eta}s$: 'A $\rho\iota\sigma\tau\hat{\eta}s$ Eryth. 206 B 21, 'E $\rho\mu\hat{\eta}s^1$ Samos 220,22, 'A $\theta\eta\nu\hat{\eta}s$ on an Abderite coin in the British Museum (Catal. 71, No. 48), $\Lambda\epsilon(\omega)\nu\hat{\eta}s$ Keos 44 A 5, 'Hy $\hat{\eta}s$ Chios 179, cf. 'Hy $\hat{\eta}s$ in Hdt., 'A $\pi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\hat{\eta}s$ Iasos 104,15. For other forms, see § 263, 3. On the development of the declension of the hypocoristic - $\hat{\alpha}s$, - $\hat{\alpha}\delta$ os for - $\hat{\alpha}s$, - $\hat{\alpha}$, see below, § 546.

If 'Hγίαs and 'Ελπέαs Keos 44 B 4, B 16 are not Attics, these two names are the two earliest examples (except Πυθαγόραs, above under 1) of the expulsion of the Ionic sound. The document is perhaps older than 400 s.c. It is highly probable that these individuals are not Ionians. The name Δημέαs Delos 57 is from a much later period (second century). On Μικάs Thasos (L) 14 A 7, 'Hρᾶs Thasos (L) 18 C 3, see § 165, note. On supposed cases of -eds in the Styrian lead tablets, see § 157.

416. Nominative Masc. (Lyric Poets).

Έρμης Hippon. 55 B; 'Απελλέης Anakr. 72 B is not different from 'Απελλής cited under \S 415, 5. Μεγίστης in Anakr. 41 may be read Μεγιστής (cf. Μεγιστάς upon Attic and Boiotian inscriptions). 'Αναξαγόρας Anakr. 105 is corrupt.

417.] Nominative Masc. (Prose).

In Hdt.² ' $E\rho\mu\eta$ s, $\beta\rho\rho\eta$ s (e.g. VI 44 no MS. has $-\ell\eta$ s), ' $A\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta$ s, $U\nu\theta\eta$ s, &c., \S 263, 3. Alve $\ell\eta$ s Menekrates in Dion. Halik. A. R. 1.77 (Jac.).

418.] Nominative (Accusative) Feminine in -a.

The Ionic dialect, while presenting many traces of resemblance to Attic and other less closely connected idioms in respect of the retention of $-\tilde{\alpha}$ in the nom, fem., pursues a different path from Attic especially in the treatment of abstract nouns in $-\epsilon \iota \eta$ from $-\epsilon \sigma$ - stems. When Ionic has $-\tilde{\alpha}$, this termination is not the property of this dialect alone.

¹ In 3H3 A 93H on a vase in Overbeck's Atlas zur Kunstmythol, pl. IV, No. 6, H3 is a dittography.

¹ Greg. Kor. § 1 'Apxins.

Examples of -a: τόλμa Hdt. VII 135, and Eurip. Ion 1264, Androm. 702, and in Plato, whereas in Doric we have τόλμα, Pindar, Ol. XIII 11, and so Ion 1416 (?). Cf. schol. Ven. on Γ 130. βασίλεια is referred to § 177. μοῖρα in Hdt., Anaxag. 5, Archil. 16, Mimn. 6, Solon 20, 13₆₃, Tyrt. 7; μοῖραν Sol. 27₁₈, 11₂, Sim. Am. 7₁₀₄, 11₄, Sim. K. 5₁₆, Demokr. 194, inscrip. adesp. No. 265 in Bechtel's collection, cf. § 439 II A. νάρκα Hippokr. VI 368, VIII 310, 312 (also in Menander,

no. 498, Kock).

In many cases this a is difficult of explanation 2. Many words belong to the class of which μοίρα is an example, the iota of the pre-Hellenic suffix -ια having been transferred to the radical syllable (μορ-ια, μοῖρα). Thus γέφῦρα, σφῦρα are to be derived from -υρ-ιά. Where there is a variation between a short and a long vowel as in the case of τόλμα, it has been suggested that the form with ā is due to the influence of such doublets as ἀληθεία and ἀλήθεια. It is, however, by no means certain that the confusion between -ia, the nominal suffix, and -ia, the adjectival suffix (§ 174), is older than the creation of a τόλμα from τόλμα.

Whether χάραδρα Hdt. IX 102 or χαράδρα (Stein, Holder) is the correct form is not clear. C has χαράνδραν, P χαράδρην. The same variations recur in the case of the name of a Phokian town, VIII 33. Here R has Χαράδρην.

In some cases the MSS. of Hdt. have retained, in opposition to their procedure elsewhere, the forms in -ειά, -οιά. Thus we find εὐμένεια, ἄδεια, ἐπιμέλειαν, ἐμμέλειαν, περιφάνεια (§ 176), διάνοια, διάνοιαν, εὔνοιαν (§§ 178, 441). Hdt. has both Φώκαια and Φωκαίη according to the MSS. (§ 179).

Adjectives in -vs have feminine -eia or -ea, § 219. Hdt. has

δασέα ΙΙΙ 32.

419. Hyper-Ionic η for ă.

The maleficent ignorance of the late grammarians and scribes did not fail to lay its hands upon the a which was a genuine heirloom of the Ionic dialect. To these sciolists η was the one unmistakable sign of Ionic lineage. Not only was the -a after p attacked by them, but also the -a in the feminine of nouns and adjectives where it follows upon 4. The dialectological treatises

(L.) p. 331.

See Misteli K. Z. XVII 177, XIX 119; Osthoff's Forschungen, II 25; Brugmann, M. U. II 201, Grundr. I 5 639; Wheeler's Nom. Accent, 35 ff.; Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 64, Johansson, K. Z. XXX 411.

¹ τόλμη in Hdn. I 255:6, 3242:, II 4267, cf. Bekk. An. I 662: (τόλμη καὶ τόλμα, πρύμνη καὶ πρύμνα). It is not elsewhere attested. Joh. Gr. 241 χρώνται δὲ καὶ συστελλομένω τῷ α ἀντὶ τοῦ η Ἰωνες, Δωριεῖς δὲ ἐκτεινομένω. Cf. Phrynich.

of Gregory and the Gramm. Meermannianus are the heirs of this error. Gregory § 10 (cf. § 45 and Gramm. Vatic. p. 696) says τὸ ā εἰς η τρέπουσιν . . . "Ηρα "Ηρη, σφαίρα σφαίρη: the Gramm. Meerm. p. 650 "Ηρα "Ηρη, χώρα χώρη, ώρα ώρη, σπείρα σπείρη, where dialect forms are confounded with pan-Hellenic formations (σφαίρα, σπείρα). In Hdt. I 204 all the MSS. have μοίρην; in IV 120 d has μοίρη, and so too the Aldine edition which generally accepts the perversities of the hyper-Ionizing movement. In II 17 it alone has μοίρην. μοίρην recurs in Lukian's Astrol. § 10, μοίρη Euseb. § 9. νεαίρη is found in the pseudo-Hippokrates VII 312, 316, 320, where, however, the Vienna codex θ (the oldest MS. of Hippokrates) has -ρα. εὐρέη is found in III 212. In Hdt. IV 120 the Aldine edition has μίη, a form repudiated by the MSS. of the historian, though occurring in Hippokrates and Aretaios. Hyper-Ionic οὐδεμίη appears even in Solon XIII 46, where no MS. pronounces in favour of the genuine Attic and Ionic form. οὐδεμίην is also found in Lukian Syr. D. 19, Astr. 27, 29. In the inscriptions there occurs no case of nom. or accus.; mas Olynth. 8 B 13 is Attic. μιης Sim. Am. 2 (conj.), Herodas 141, 779, μιη Theognis 664 (in Λ), Herodas 566, are the genuine Ionic forms which were the starting-points for the creation of the hyper-Ionic μ l η . In the vulgate of Herodas III I we find μυίην.

In the fem. of adj. from masc. -vs, Hdt. usually has -εα (§ 506). εη is found in some or all MSS.: τρηχέη IV 23, τρηχέην IX 122, βαθέην Ι 75, δασέη IV 109, δασέην IV 21. Hippokr. has δξέη VI 172 (θ), 174, VIII 132, δξέην 178, 180, θηλείην VIII 274 (-ιαν θ). βαθέην even occurs in Homer, Π 766 (Nauck βαθύν). παχείην is found in the MSS. of Sim. Amorg. 31 B. The pseudo-Ionists not infrequently have η. Lukian Syr. D. ἡμισέη 14, θηλέην 15, 51; Arrian, πλατείην 16, τραχείη 23, 37 (cf. 32); βαθέην 27; Eusebios § 5 lθείη, Euseb. Mynd. 63, εὐρέη. Cf. τρηχείην Anth. Pal. VII 315.

If in the one passage in an inscription where such an η form appears (Latyschev II 370):—

'Ηδείδη κείμαι, θυγάτηρ το έμα μοι Φιλον[ίκ]η' μνήμην [δ'] έστησείν] Ζάτυρος Πίεζσ[τ]αξένο(υ) [38]α.

the form 'H $\delta\epsilon(f)\eta$ were certain, the forms adduced above might stand on a better footing. While the omission of the ϵ presents no difficulties (cf. 'H $\delta\epsilon$ 6 C. I. A. III 2324, 3186), Aschik's limitations as an epigraphist are such as to throw suspicion upon his transcription. Aschik himself suggested 'H $\delta[fer]\eta$. As Latyschev remarks, the O for OT in the genitive would permit us to place the inscription in the fourth century; a date much too early in my opinion

¹ μηθεμίην II 180 (μίαν in 2269), μίην VIII 334 (μίαν θ', eðleμίην II 648 (-αν Δ), II 658 in but one MS. All have μίαν II 664, as Herodas 120, u. 573-

for the emergence of the hyper-Ionic -n. Until the stone is rediscovered, no weight should be attached to its evidence.

420.] Ionic $\eta = \text{Attic } \tilde{a}$.

Old Attic with its $-i\bar{a}$ in abstract nouns was like Ionic with its $-i\eta$. Since, so far as we can make out, Ionic rarely, if ever, adopted the $-i\bar{a}$ termination (§§ 175, 178), there is a divergence between the two allied dialects, which has been brought about by the transference in later Attic of the ending $-i\bar{a}$ from the feminine adjectival stems to the category of abstract nouns. We are never certain when we find a form like $\bar{a}\lambda\dot{\eta}\theta\epsilon_i a$ in later Ionic that it is not due to the influence of Attic; though no reason may be adduced why Ionic should have refused to admit the innovation which changed to such an extent the character of the prose speech in Attic. $l\rho\epsilon i\eta$ is attested as Herodoteian (§ 177), despite $i\epsilon\rho\epsilon_i a$ in Homer and other dialects. On $i\sigma\tau_i ai\eta$, $i\sigma_i ai\eta$, $i\sigma_i ai\eta$, see § 179.

Mimn. 9₀, Hdt. I 15, 149 have Σμύρνην; so Vit. Hom. 5 (but Σμύρνα 2). σμύρνη is found in Hdt. III 107. πρύμνη ¹ may be an adjective form from πρυμνός (Brugmann, Berichte d. sächsischen Gesell. d. Wiss. 1883, 191). πρύμνα on this view might be an analogue of πρώρα, though it may have been formed as other words in -α (above). πρώρην Hdt. I 194

(cf. VII 180) is clearly erroneous.

For the Attic form $\pi\epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu a$, we find an apparently Ionic form $\pi\epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \eta$ in Plato Lys. 221 A, Phil. 31 E; cf. Trypho in Apoll. Conj. 228, Schn. (quoting o 407), Hdn. II 456_{10} =An. Ox. II 302_{18} , Et. Gud. 74_{54} and Schanz' Proleg. to Gorgias p. VII. With the form $\pi\epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \eta$ we may compare $\pi\hat{\epsilon} \hat{\varsigma} \eta$ mentioned by Hdn. II 372_{10} =An. Ox. I 339_{12} (cf. I 368_{19}). $\pi\epsilon \hat{\imath} \nu \eta$ and $\pi\hat{\epsilon} \hat{\varsigma} \eta$ are not hyper-Ionisms, but genuine Attic formations whose η still resists satisfactory explanation.

421.] Inflection of $\gamma \acute{e} \ddot{a}$, $\mu \nu \acute{e} \ddot{a} = Attic \gamma \mathring{\eta}$, $\mu \nu \mathring{a}^2$.

The following forms of the word $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ occur :-

γαῖα, found in Homeric and Old Ionic γαῖαν Mimnerm.
 καllinos 14. (2) γέα does not occur in any case of the singular, but is attested by γέαι Zeleia 11340 (shortly after Granikos), γέων Hdt. IV 1983, γέαις Mylasa, C. I. G. 2693 F 9,

¹ πρόμνη is found in the tragic poets and in Wasps 399.

² See Merzdorf in Curtius' Stud. IX 225, Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 146, XXXII 349, Fick, B. B. XI 250, Bechtel, Ion. Inschr. p. 54, Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII 264, G. Meyer, Gramm. § 126, Fritsch, V. H. D. 19, 39, Johansson, B. B. XV 183 ff. The last named scholar proposes to explain the interrelation of ¹ Αθηναία and ¹ Αθηνα in the manner described above.

¹ γέων A B R, γεῶν C, γέῶν P, γαιῶν dz.

according to Le Bas, No. 414, $\gamma \ell as$ Chios 174 C 12 (fifth century), Halikarn. 2403 (not much later than 400 B.C.), Mylasa 250, C. I. G. 2693 F 6 according to Le Bas, No. 414, Latyschev II 353, in an inscription from the Movo. κ . $\beta_1 \beta_2$. quoted by Bechtel, p. 147, Olymos 2516 and Le Bas 338 (both late), Zeleia 114 F, and in a fragment of Demokritos preserved by Clem. Alex. Strom. I p. 304 A. The nom. $\gamma \ell \eta$ is not found in any part of Ionic. (3) $\gamma \hat{\eta} = \gamma \hat{a}$ in Doric, Eleian, Aiolic, Thessalian, Boiotian, &c. and = $\delta \hat{a}$ in Doric, $\zeta \hat{a}$ in Kyprian, occurs in Hdt. I 193, Herakl. 21, 23 (?), 76 (?) in Pherekydes of Syros in a fragment quoted by Diog. Laert.; in $\gamma \hat{\eta} \hat{s}$ Herakl. 68, cf. \S 430; in Teian $\gamma \hat{\eta} \hat{\iota}$, 156 B 9, $\gamma \hat{\eta}$ Herodas 223; in $\gamma \hat{\eta} \hat{\nu}$ Herakl. 8, Hdt. I 30, Teos 156 A 6, Iasos 10431, Erythr. 20416, Halik. 2389, 2407, 12, 16, 18, &c., Amphip. 104.

μνέ[a] is a probable conjecture, Paros 62, μνης Herodas 7_{79} , 91, μνην Herodas 2_{51} , 52, μνέαι Hdt. II 168, VI 79, μνέων Hrd. 2_{22} , μνέας Hdt. III 13, 89, μνέας Hrd. 7_{90} . μνα is found in μνας Hipponax 20_3 , Hrd. 5_{21} , Thasos in J. H. S. VIII 402, l. 10. μνέες is a strange reading in the Syria Dea § 48. Cf. ημιμνήων

Paros 62, δίμνεως Hdt. V 77.

The explanation of these forms is as follows:-

In compounds we have year derived from year: year (§ 211) from year the weak case-form; and year from year. Slurgers is derived from surger.

422.] Nominative Feminine in η after ρ and vowels (Inscriptions).

Nικάνδρη Naxos 23, Οούρη Naxos 23, 'Αρισταγόρη Erythr. 206, (' 38, one of the few Ionisms in 206, Μνησιδώρη Amorgos 39, Βιττάρη Priene, Μίτλ. XVI 291. 'Ολβίη is a form preserved till late imperial times (§ 173), Μιλησίη 99 Miletos, Έκαταίη Parion 115, 'Ιωνίη Pantikap. 121, Κο]μοσαρύη Phanag. 167, "Ηρη Naukr. 447, 841 ff., Ιερή Pantikap. 123, Ephesos 150, time of

^{&#}x27; γηοχέοντι Hdt, VII 190 is suspicious. Ionic γεω- has forced its way into a Doric poem of Theokr. I 13 – V 101.

Hadrian, $< i \epsilon \rho \epsilon(\iota) \eta$, cf. Hdt. $i \rho \epsilon i \eta$ I 175, V 72 (§ 177), Κλεαγόρη Eretria, A. J. A. VII 247 (No. 2), $Z \omega \beta i \eta$ ibid. 249 (No. 20). Δωροφέα Rob. I 29 (fifth century) is not Ionic. In Chian inscriptions in Paspates' Glossary: 'Αρτεμισίη 13, Σαμίη 13: in Latyschev II: 'Ιτίη 97, Λειμείη p. 310; 'Ικεσίη Teos, Mitth. XVI 296. Attic -ια in Εὐ(π)ορία Pantik. 121, Κασταλία Phanag. 168, &c.

423.] Nominative Feminine in η (Lyric Poets).

Uncontracted -έη in adjectives is unusual even in -αλέη, ε.g. 'Αγχαλέη Hippon. 99, with which cf. ἀργαλέη Anakr. 435, κερδαλέη Archil. 895 (-ῆ in Ammon. and An. Par.). ἀργυρέη is the correct form in Anakr. 33 according to Bergk, and Rossbach, Metrik III 567, ἀργυρῆ according to Hiller in the Anthologia Lyrica* No. 29; the latter form is correct. πορφυρέη Anakr. 23. Archil. 191 has συκῆ in an epigram (Renner -έη).

424.] Nominative Feminine in η (Prose).

Hdt. has $\sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\epsilon\eta$ I 39, a form obsolete in the Ionic of the fifth century (see under Accus.). On $\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\dot{\eta}$, see § 263, I. $\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\dot{\eta}$ in Aret. 146 is from $\kappa\epsilon\nu\epsilon\dot{r}\delta s$. For $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\eta$, in all MSS. of Hdt. III 42, we must read $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\dot{\eta}^{1}$, which occurs in Hippokrates (§ 263, 3, b).

425.] Genitive Masculine.

The form of the genitive in Ionic possesses a peculiar interest both from the variety of its formation and from the interrelation of vowels. $-\bar{a}o$ is Homeric, Boiotian and in a few cases Kyprian, $-\bar{a}$ is Doric and Aiolic, an \bar{a} which must have differed in pronunciation from that of $\tau \iota \mu \dot{a}$. Homer's $-\epsilon \omega$ is generally diphthongal, and in Ionic the ω is without effect upon the accent.

426.]

The Ionic genitive according to the grammarians :—(1) -εω preceded by a consonant, ἀγκυλομήτεω An. Par. IV 86₂₂, Et. M. 11₁₂, Et. Gud. 5₁₈; [Aiνείδεω Et. Gud. 5₂₀;] 'Αλτεω Eust. 1225₂₃ (cf. schol. Nik. Alex. 8), the only instance in Homer of dissyllabic -εω. Read 'Αλτα', C having 'Αλταο; 'Αρχίεω Grog. K. 384, 'Ατρείδεω Hdn. I 408₁₉ = An. Ox. III 228₁₄, Hdn. II 313₆, 314₄ = An. Ox. I 347₂₀ = An. Par. III 115₅ ('Iωνες καὶ οἱ ποιηταί), Hdn. II 679₂₂, II 267₁₀ = An. Ox. I 157₃ = An. Par. III 338₇, Hdn. II 665₂₀ = Choir. 120₂₀, An. Ox. III 231₂₉, Choir. 134₁₈, An. Ox. I 9₁₁, I 19₃₂ (-έω), I 248₆, II 404₂₂, Et. M. 1534₂₉, 522; Et. Gud. 5₁₉, 83₂₀, Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. K. 385, Meerm. 655, Eust. 13 init., schol. Ven. A on B 461, O 214; αὐλητέω Hdn. I 408₁₉ = An. Ox. III 228₁₉; Θαλέω Hdn. I 408₁₉; Καυσέω An. Ox. III 228₁₉; κόμεω Hdn. II 679₂₂, An. Ox. 231₂₁₈. Choir. 134₁₈; Λαέρτεω Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655; Λαερτάδεω Joh. Gr. 242; μύκεω Hdn. II 679₉ = An. Ox. III 231₆, Choir. 139₂₁, Bekk. An. 1399; Ξέρξεω

¹ Bredow proposed διπλόη, a form found in Hippokr. III 186, 250.

Hdn. II 313₆=An. Ox. I 347₁₀=An. Par. III 115₃ ("Iwres scal of mosqraf), Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Vat. 695, Excerpt. Birnb. 677₀; 'Opérrew Hdn. I 408₁₅=An. Ox. III 228₁₄, An. Ox. I 19₂₀, I 20₃, Et. M. 153₄₀, 22, Et. Gud. 83₂₀; Πέρσεω Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Vat. 695, Birnb. 677₀; Πηλείδεω Hdn. II 267₁₀=An. Ox. I 157₂=An. Par. III 338₇, An. Ox. I 9₁₁, Et. M. 153₄₀, 154₅, Et. Gud. 5₂₀, Eust. 13 init., Meerm. 655; Πηλημάδεω Hdn. II 314₅=An. Ox. I 347₂₀ (cf. 346₂₁), An. Par. III 115₀, 299₂₃, Eust. 12 ad fin. Joh. Gr. 239 B, cf. 242, Greg. K. 385, Birnb. 677₀; Πηλείδεω (sic) Meerm. 655, Vat. 695; Πριμμάδεω Hdn. II 314₅=An. Ox. I 347₂₀, Hdn. II 655₂₀=Choir. 120₂₀, An. Ox. II 404₂₂, An. Par. III 115₀; τεξότεω Joh. Gr. 241 B.

(2) Forms with a vowel preceding -ew: Abelew Hdn. I 408₁₃, cf. An. Ox. III 229₂₇, Hdn. II 665₁₇ = Choir. 120₂₅, An. Ox. I 9₁₁ (-éw), Et. M. 153₄₀, Eust. 13 init., Greg. K. 385; 'Aσίεω and 'Aσίω Hdn. I 52₁₅, I 408₃₆, II 243₃₆ = Schol. B D L V on B 461, II 479₁₄, An. Ox. I 19₂₅, I 20₆ ('Aσίφ), Et. M. 153₄₀, m. 154₁₀ Et. Gud. 83₂₂, π, schol. Ven. A on B 461, Greg. Kor. 385; Bepiew and Bepiew Hdn. II 317₂₂ = schol. V on H 238, cf. II 705₃₆, An. Ox. I 20₇, Et. M. 153₆₆, Et. Gud. 83₃₀, Eust. 444₄₇₁, 994₆₇₁; 'Epµelew and 'Epµelew Hdn. I 408₁₄ = An. Ox. III 228₁₆, An. Ox. I 20₄, Et. M. 153₃₆₀, as, Et. Gud. 83₃₆₀, Eust. 13 init. 444₆₆₀, schol. Ven. A on O 214, 'Epµéw schol. Nik. Alex. 8; δημελίω Hdn. I 52₁₆, I 408₁₆, II 243₃₂ = schol. B D L V on B 461, II 479₁₅, Et. M. 153₃₆₇, Et. Gud. 83₃₆, Eust. 444₄₇₇.

427. Genitive Masculine (Inscriptions).

The following list of inscriptional forms does not include nouns which are elsewhere declined in part according to the -cs declension, e.g. 'Αρταξέρξευς Myl. 248 ABC 1, names in -πείθης, -φάνης, -άλκης, &c., which may be found § 527. Other cases of the admission of -εος or -ευς have been inserted. Inscriptions whose date is quite doubtful have been omitted. The forms in -a and -ov are not Ionic, and those in -cos, -evs are due to the influence of sigmatic stems which have affected the accusative as well as the genitive singular. On the -ω forms, see below. The -ευ forms are not yet satisfactorily explained. Bechtel (B. B. X 282) claims that this -ev is in reality an Ionic spelling for -eo (cf. § 246) and that this -εο represents -εω by a change of -ω to -o. The fact that no example of the change of final εω to εο is known in Ionic or any other dialect, does not increase our sympathy for Bechtel's explanation of εθεόρεον, θεοροί, &c.: that ev, which originally arose from final -ew, forced its way into a medial syllable. See § 287. Brugmann, Gr. Gr. § 19, endeavours to account for -co by assuming that the w of -cw became o under the influence of the final o in the ending of the O declension (îπoo).

	EU	n	ETE
VICent.	Δεινοδίκεω Naxos 23 Λαμπσαγόρεω Amorgos		
V Century	Αυκκίδεω Rhegion 6 Β Κ[ρ]ιτωνίδεω Paros epigr. 60 'Ερμοκρατίδεω Abd. 1633 'Απολλωνίδεω Halik. 23811 ·ιδεω Milet. 96, Rob. I 136, cf. Kirch. 26 Μολπαγόρεω Abd. 1638 Πρωτέω Abd. 1638 Πρωτέω Abd. 1638 Πρωτέω Αbd. 1638 Πρωτέω Αbd. 1638 Πρωτέω Αbd. 1638 Πρωτέω Abd.	'Aσίω Chios 174 C 27 'Aννικῶ Chios 174 C 13 Πυθῶ Chios 174 D 4 Αυσῶ Chios 174 D 17 Πα]ναμίω Halik, 238 ₁₂ , '240 A 11 Μικιννῶ Halik, 240 A 38 'Αρχαγορῶ ibid, B 3 Βρώλω Halik, Ditt, Syll, 6 D 22	
IV Century	'Έρμέω Amorg. 230 'Έρμέω Sam. 22031 (this form also Chios, Paspates 34) 'Έρμέω Chios 180 'Έχεκρατίδεω Amorg. 35 epigr., perhaps third cent. Μορμυθίδεω Milet. 9) 'Απολλωνίδεω Chios 176 (and Paspates 43) Στρατωνίδεω Maron. 19611 Φίνεω Iasos 10411, 50 Φάνεω Abdera 16317 Ιππάρχεω Κγχ. 111 Σκύθεω Phanag. 164 'Αθηνέω Maron. 1966 'Απελλέω Maron. 1961' Ενεργέτεω Myl. 248 C 9 Ποίκεω Τοοs 1575 'Ηγησαγόρεω Kyz. 109 'Ήραγόρεω Samos 218 Νυμφηγέτεω Samos 218 Νυμφηγέτεω Samos 219 Μάν[ε]ω Pantikap., Lat. II 116 'Ατώτεω ibid. II 164 Σπιθάμεω ibid. II 381 Εὐαλκίδεω ibid. II 381	Παυσανίω Abd. 16318, and Cat. Brit. Mus. Thrace II, No. 57 Πακτύω Myl. 248 C 3, 13	'Hρακλείδευ[s] Keos 49 Οὐλιάδευs Iasos 1047 Φοινικίδευs Iasos 1042?

EOS	A	ET	or
Λεάδεσε Olyn. 9 Παιρισάδεσε Panti- kap., Lat. II 9	Μεννέα Insos 104 ₁₄ , ²⁶ 'Αμύντα Insos 104 ₂₁ '1 3 Διονυτά Ins. 104 ₂₈ 'Αθηναγόρα Insos 104 ₄₉ Μανίτα Myl. 248 C 2 (Καλλία C. I. G. 2121 Knides ')	'Ap] xwyérevEryth. 201, smaller side, l. 6 II] este Eryth. B. C. H. IV 160, No. 10, l. 1	Έρμίου Eryth. 2042 'Α]ντιαγόρου Κyz. 1114

	ΕΩ	Ω	ETE
III Century	Φιλωνίδεω Thasos 77 A 5 Αλκίδεω Th. 75 A 11 Νικίδεω Th. 75 B 1 'Απολλωνίδεω Th. 78 B 1 15 Λεωνίδεω Th. 78 C 13 Κοσμί(δ)εω Th. 79 Πειραντίδεω Th. 80 Φιλ]οξενίδεω Th. 81 Ληΐδεω Th. 81 Αηΐδεω Th. (L.) 7, Βραττίδεω Th. (L.) 7 B 9, 105 Εὐαλκίδεω Th. (L.) 46 Νικίδεω Th. (L.) 46 Νικίδεω Th. (L.) 8, 'Αλεξίδεω Th. (L.) 912 Φιλιστίδεω Th. (L.) 912 Φιλιστίδεω Th. (L.) 1013 12 B 9 'Αναξαγόρεω Th. 75 B 7 Πυθαγόρεω Th. 79 (cf. Μανδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 38 Σφοδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 710 Σημαγόρεω Th. (L.) 710 Σημαγόρεω Th. (L.) 104 Κυδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 105 Κυδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 106 Κυδραγόρεω Th. (L.) 12 Β 11 Χάριεω Th. 80 'Αριστέω Th. 8 B 10 Θαλέω Ετγth. 206 B 46 Βεδαύρεω Th. 54 Πρόκεω Th. 1010 'Αγίεω Olbia 13111 (III C?)	·	['H]γη[το]ρί(δ) ευς Thasos 77 A 14 Λεάδευς Th. 77 B 7 'Αμφικλείδευς Th. 77 B 10 'Αριστείδευς Th. 81 B 14 Φαστιμίδευς Th. 82 A 3 'Αγλαίδευς Th. 82 A 3 'Αγλαίδευς Th. 82 B 12 'Ονομασικλείδευς Th. (L.) 6 C 11 Διο[σ]κουρίδευς Th. (L.) 11 C 11 'Αλκιάδευς Th. (L.) 12 C 6 Πυλάδ[ε]υς Th. (L.) 1310 'Ππαγόρευς Th. (L.) 13 Πυβαγόρευς Th. (L.) 11 Α 6, 11 C 10 Νικαγόρευς Th. (L.) 11 Α 6, 11 C 10 Νικαγόρευς Th. (L.) 12 Α 6 Παγγήθευς Th. (L.) 13 Α 6 Παγγήθευς Th. (L.) 11 Α 3
II Century and later	Μηδίκεω Κyz. 108 B 1. Χάρμεω Teos 160 Πόρκεω Maron. 195. Ιππάρχεω Kyzik. Mitth. Χ 202. Φαρνάκ. ὧ Lat. II 299 (late epigr. with Doric forms) Ζεύξεω Eretria, Έρημ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff.	Μενώνδω Χαιρίω Ετetria, Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff.	

EON	A	ET	or
Φιλεωνίδ[ε]os Tha- sos 73 Ζεφυρίδεος Th. (L.)	Χαιρέα Thasos (L.) 14 A 6 Πειθία Th. (L.) 14 Α 12 'Απολλᾶ, Κλεανδρίδα Insos, J. Η. S. IX 341, Νο. 2	'Aριστεῦ Eryth. 206 B 9 'Aκεσ]τεῦ Eryth. 206 A 33 Πυθεῦ Eryth. 206 C 35, and Smyrna 15322	'Ερμοῦ Eryth. 206 B 43 Φαναγόρου Eryth. 206 B 56 Πυθέου Eryth. 206 C 15 Καλλίου Eryth. 206 C 20
	'Aνδρία Dolos 56 ₈₈ Χειρέα Th. (L.) 15 A 9 'Αρκεσίλα Th. (L.) 18 C 12 'Αναξίλα Th. (L.) 20 A 15		'Ασκληπιάδου Paros 67 Πυθέου Delos 56 Προκλείδου C. Ι. G. 3105 Teos 'Ερμαγόρου Pharos 87 'Έρμαῦ Teos 158 _m

The above tabulation shows that $-\epsilon \omega$ holds its own until the fourth century. At this period its supremacy was attacked by other forms of Ionic complexion, as $-\omega$, $-\epsilon v$, $-\epsilon vs$. The last mentioned form is due to the desire to give an Ionic stamp to $-\epsilon os$, which had made its way in from Attic. On the other hand the purely Attic forms in -ov gradually gain power. That so few examples of -ov appear under the head of the third and following centuries is due to the fact that only such inscriptions as contain any trace of Ionism however slight have been taken into account. By the end of the third century $-\epsilon \omega$ is practically dead. The ending $-\tilde{a}$ is non-Ionic and in place on inscriptions in the names of Dorians only.

C. I. A. II 4, B 19 (about 400 B. c.), the only Attic inscription showing a form in -εω, contains a list of banished Thasiotes. The Rhodian Σαμιάδευς is due to the influence exercised by Ionic upon the native dialect. The Ionic Σαμιάδης (for -δῶς) occurs C. I. G. 2534.

Φάνους, read by Prof. Gardner on an electrum stater, Rob. I p. 177, cannot be correct. If not Φάνητος, the Ionic form of the seventh century would be

φάνεω.

428.] Genitive Masculine (Lyric Poets).

The genuine Ionic poetical form is $-\epsilon \omega$, which in the lyric poets, as in Hesiod, must always be read as one syllable (even when a short vowel precedes), except when $-\epsilon \omega$ is reduced from $-\epsilon \epsilon \omega$. Besides $\epsilon \omega$ we meet with (2) the epic (Aiolic) $-\tilde{a}o$, (3) the Doric $-\tilde{a}$ only in the Megarian Theognis, and (4) a few cases of Attic ov which must give place to $-\epsilon \omega$ in case the poet is of Ionic stock. In the late parts of Theognis this -ov may be defended.

1. εω.

A. Iambographic Poets.

Archilochos: Γύγεω 25, μύκεω 47 (trim.), cf. § 438, 1, Αρεω 48 trim., Λεπτίνεω 70 tetr.; on Σελληΐδεω, cf. Bergk on No. 104 and § 233. Ανκάμβεω 28 is merely a conjecture of Elmsley. The MSS. have Ανκάμβεος, cf. § 531, II 2.

Hipponax: 'Αττάλεω 15, Γύγεω 15, trim., δεσπότεω 64, μολο-

βρίτεω 77 for the incorrect μολοβρίτου of Eustathios.

Herodas: Αἴ]δεω 1_{32} , γραμματίστεω 3_0 , Μύττεω(?) 4_{36} , 'Απελλέω 4_{73} , παντοέρκτεω 5_{42} , βυρσοδέψεω 6_{88} , and so 'Ακέσεω 3_{61} ; probably -εω is reduced from -εεω in $\Pi v\theta έω$ 1_{76} . The only exception to the rule stated at the head of this section is presented by $\Pi \rho \eta ξ ι$ -τέλεω 4_{23} (οἱ Π . παῖδες), which is a contaminated form.

^{&#}x27; On the exception $\Pi \rho \eta \xi \iota \tau \ell \lambda \epsilon \omega$ Herodas 4_{23} , see under 1 A below. $\Phi a \rho \tau \iota \kappa \omega$ is also an exception in Latyschev II 299, a very late epigram. Here the open $-\epsilon \omega$ was a necessity.

B. Elegiac Poets.

Tyrtaios: Μίδεω 126, Κινύρεω 126, Τανταλίδεω 127.

Theognis: Αλολίδεω 702, 'Ατδεω 703, 802, 1124, Βόρεω 716.

Solon: 'Aίδεω 248 and πολυτέχνεω 1349. The recurrence in Solon of the Ionic elegiac form ought to guard us against substituting therefor the Attic forms. Anakreon too has 'Αίδεω 438 (melic) and Αλγείδεω 99 (eleg.).

Phokylides: 1 Φωκυλίδεω Bergk, as elsewhere, v.l. -ίδου; 3 Φωκυλίδεω, Stobaios -ίδου, 4 Φωκυλίδεω, Stob. -ίδου, 5 rulgo -ίδου,

ი -ίბ€ω.

 $\Sigma \mu \epsilon \rho \delta (\epsilon \omega (- \circ \circ -))$ occurs in the pseudo-Simonideian epigram

2. -āo, an imitation of epic usage 1, cf. § 446, 3: 'Atδao Theog. 244, 427, 906. Αλήταο Mimn. 115. Πίσαο Xenoph. 23, 221.

Al $\eta\tau ao$, the only example of -ao from an older poet of Ionic birth, is, however, not to be suspected because the verse immediately preceding has been lost. Al $\eta\tau \epsilon \omega \tau \epsilon \pi \delta \lambda \omega$ is therefore an otiose conjecture. $\tau \epsilon \lambda \delta \omega \nu$ in the same fragment is an exception to the tendency to contraction. In the MSS, we often meet with -ao as τ , l, ϵ , g. Tyrt. 124.

3. Dorie -ā in Theognis: Εὐρώτα 785, 1088.

4. Attic -ov (?).

Archilochos is said by Eust. II. 518_{22} to have used the genitive 'Aρου "κατ' Ίάδα διάλεκτον." This is scarcely correct, and Bergk reads 'Aρεω (frag. 48), though he does not change μ ολοβρίτου Hipponax 77. Phokylides' name appears as Φωκυλίδου in MSS. of Stobaios and Strabo (see above on -εω). ου often occurs as r. l., e. g. Theog. 702. In 1014 the pseudo-Theognis has 'Atδου. This form was not possible in the elegy before the rise of Attic poetry.

429.] Genitive Masculine (Prose).

1. -εω from nominatives in -ης preceded by (a) a consonant or (b) any vowel except ε. Examples: (a) Hdt. Ἰσαγόρεω, Λευτυχίδεω, ᾿Αρταβάτεω, Κρητίνεω, Μάνεω, Κανδαύλεω, ᾿Αμύντεω (cf. ᾿Αμύντα § 427), Ἐπιάλτεω, Ξέρξεω; Hippokr. ᾿Αιταγόρεω II 664, but ᾿Αγλαίδου same page, Φρυνιχίδεω II 704, Οἰκέτεω III 60; Demokr. ᾿Αίδεω Μοτ. 54; Herakleitos Τευτάμεω; Xanthos ᾿Αλυάττεω, Σαδυάττεω, cf. Müller, F. II. G. I p. 40 b; Pherekydes of Leros Βρόντεω, Στερόπεω, Ἅργεω 76, Αἰήτεω 60. Lukian uses no other form except -εω, while Arrian in the Indikè, and Eusebios

¹ Greg. Kor. 611 is corrupt: Alaxiδαο γὰρ Ἰωνικῶς καl Alaxiδω ᾿Αττικῶς. The more accurate grammarians thought that the Homeric -αο was either Aiolic or Boiotian, but Tzetz. Ex. Il. 117:6 opines that ἐκατηβελέταο is Ionic, -εω Attic.

Myndios are not so conservative in following Ionic usage. The Vita Homeri has $-\epsilon \omega$ throughout (6, 17, 38). Even in the supposititious letter of Pittakos to Kroisos (Diog. L. I 81) we find, together with Aiolisms, ' $\lambda \lambda \nu \dot{\alpha} \tau \tau \epsilon \omega$.

(b) After ι: Hdt. νεηνίεω, Παυσανίεω, 'Ασίεω, Ανδίεω; Uranios 12 κοχλίεω, cf. 'Ερμίεω in Chios and Bechtel, Ion. Inschr. p. 109.

After v: Hdt. Μαρσύεω, Πακτύεω, Πρωτοθύεω.

After ω: Hdt. Κώεω.

After as: Hdt. 'Αρταχαίεω.

After et: Alveiew Menekrates apud Dion. Halik. p. 77 (Jac.).

After ευ: Hdt. 'Αλεύεω.

2. If, however, the ηs of the nominative was preceded by ε, εεω in the genitive is avoided by the hyphaeresis of one ε (or, what is practically the same thing, by the contraction of εω to ω) in order to escape the hiatus ¹. In confirmation of this explanation, which was adopted by the ancients ², the following forms are cited from Hdt.: 'Αριστέω, 'Ανδρέω, Πνθέω (found in Herodas), βορέω, 'Ερμέω; βορέω from Hekat. 67; 'Ερμέω from Lukian, 8yr. d. 38 Astr. 20, Euseb. Mynd. 63, cf. Homeric 'Ερμέω, βορέω; 'Ερμέω hymn Herm. 413, Aphr. 149. In § 263, 3 it is shown that the nom. of these nouns in the fifth century was not -εηs, as is generally assumed, but -ῆs. No form in -εεω is permissible. Dindorf's βορέεω is a creature of his imagination deriving no support from the statement made in An. Ox. I 207, &c.

If with these Herodoteian forms cited in 1 a and 2, we compare those known to us from inscriptions, certain noteworthy differences come to light. Whereas Hdt. has Παυσανίεω VIII 3, the inscriptional form is Παυσανίω, and whereas Hdt. has Πακτύεω Ι 158, the Mylasian document has Πακτύω. From the fifth century there is a considerable number of inscriptions which place the termination $-\omega$ from $-\epsilon\omega < -\epsilon\epsilon\omega$ after consonants, iota, and upsilon beyond peradventure, whereas in the text of Hdt. there is no instance of the contraction of -εω derived from -εεω. That the inscriptions in no wise impeach the validity of the Herodoteian -εω, is clear from 'Ασίεω and Πυθέω. Between Πυθέω and Πυθώ there can be no radical difference. The -ω form, so far from being a distinct grammatical innovation designed to dislodge the older form in $-\epsilon \omega$, is probably nothing more than a difference of writing to express more exactly the pronunciation. In fact the extent of the pronunciation of -εω as -ω in the speech

Cf. Bennett's Cyprian Dialect, p. 29. When εε is followed by a vowel, hyphaeresis of one ε never takes place in case εε was originally separated by F. Cf. Schmidt's Neutra, p. 323 note.
 Eust. II. 99427 τὸ δὲ Βορέω Ἰωνικόν ἐστι, συγκοπὲν ἐκ τοῦ Βορέεω. Cf. § 426, 2.

of the people eludes observation; but it was no doubt more widely diffused than might be inferred from our texts. We have already noticed (§ 428) that a dissyllabic -εω is not found

in any genuine fragment of older Ionic lyrical poetry.

It has been held 1 that the Homeric forms Alvelo E 534, ἐϋμμελίω Δ 47, 165, Z 4492, and the inscriptional 'Aσίω, Παναμύω, Πακτύω, &c., warrant our formulating the rule that whenever - $\epsilon\omega$ is preceded by any vowel (not merely by ϵ) it becomes - ω . So long however as we have $E\rho\mu\ell\epsilon\omega$ and $A\gamma\ell\epsilon\omega$ in the stone records, it is futile to maintain that the numerous instances of -εω after ι and υ represent the efforts of the grammarians and copyists to foist upon Ionic prose a form foreign to the idiom of the dialect.

In Attic literature -ew occurs only in the case of an Ionic name or in that of a name which passed into Attic through an Ionic source. Ε. g. Θαλέω Plato Rep. X 600 A, Τήρεω, Πυθέω Thuk. II 29, Καμβύσεω Xon. Kyrop. I 2, 1 (-ov Dind.).

The tendency to introduce Homeric forms into the text of Herodoton appears in Inpudrace in the Romanus, IV 8.

Attic -ou appears in βορέου³ III 102 (C', IV 51 in R (and so in Arrian Ind. 2) in Μαρσύου VII 26 and 'Αριστέου IV 15. Stein follows the MSS. in editing Kurlou VI 101. In VIII 11 A B sv have Aloxpalou (adopted by Stein) the rest Aloxpéou.

Occasionally the MSS. of Hdt. have -eos by transference to the -es declension, e.g. Zirdareos IV 80, where Stein reads -ew with P, 'Ordrees III 71, 84, 88, 144. 'Actuaryees is the regular form in Hdt. 'Tordens is inflected according to the consonantal declension though 'Ordens, &c., have also forms of the Â declension:

430. Genitive Feminine (Inscriptions).

The genitive feminine has -ης after ρ (Σέρρης Hdn. I 3716): Ήρης Samos 226,, Naukr. Bechtel 237. In fact the form Ήρης was kept in the language of dedications long after it had disappeared from the speech of the people. Thus the Samian "Hons 226, dates from the time of Augustus or Tiberius 4. Cf. §§ 172, 173. The Attic "Hoas occurs in Samos 2203 (346-45 B.C.), 22137 (322 B. C.), "Hoas Teλeias Erythr. 206 C 15 (after 278 B. C.). See Head, H. N. 517.

After 1: darsins Zeleia 114 E 4, Mytpobins Latyschev II 248, cf. p. 3c6, [Θεοδο]σίης ibid. II 8, γερουσίης Ephesos (Wood's

¹ So Erman in Curtius' Stud. V 294 ff., Fritsch, Stud. VI 126. This is also

the view of Kirchhoff.

² 'Asiw A D and Aristarches in B 461, added to this list, is now often read 'Asiw as in C. See Leaf ad loc.

³ Cf. C. I. A. I 3219, and Hesychies s. r. βορρού, Hdn. II 649₃₈.

⁴ Consideration of Leaf and the series of Ionic, s. g κουμητείρης in

Genitives in par occur in a very late period of Ionic, e.g seemareless in C. I. G. 3002, and in Wood, Discoveries, App. 8, No. 14. Even in the MSS. of the New Testament such forms as exclose, maxalous appear. See § 173, footnote.

Discoveries, App. 6, No. 19, 302 B. C.); of the same period προθυμίης l. l. No. 21. Quite late forms are ἐππωνίης Kyzik, 108 B. (first century), Μαιανδρίης Κyz. 112 (first century), Λυκίης Corp. Inscr. Sem. I, No. 45, pl. 8. Of Attic provenance are Προξενίας No. 261, ὑγείας 129₁₄ Olbia (period of the empire).

After v: Καμασαρύης Latyschev II 19₅.

The Ionic genitive is γη̂s, e.g. Herodas 154, Halik. 238,7, Teos 156 B 22, inscriptions free from all trace of Atticism; also 264 adesp. See § 421. yains in Latyschev II 37 (epigram) is the epic form.

431.] Genitive Feminine (Lyric Poets).

-ens is regularly contracted in the earlier period of the Ionic lyric: πορφυρής Sim. Am. 116, γαλής 750, χρυσής Mimn. 1, Theog. 1293, 1381, as in Homer (Renner -έης), ροδής Archil. 29, (tr.), συκέης Anan. 52 (tetr.). Open εη is found in ἀργαλέης Solon 430 (eleg.), adjectives in -aλεοs often remaining uncontracted.

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Herodotos has σιδηρέης I 38, 39, for which the contracted form should be read. Open εη occurs in Τεγέης VI 105, Θυρέης I 82. When F disappears between $\epsilon \eta$, contraction does not result, e.g. Hdt. νέης I 60, Aretaios 170 κενεής. In adjectives in -υς we have -εης, e.g. θηλέης Hdt. II 35.

433. Dative (Inscriptions).

The dative of the A declension has in Ionic three endings, -n, -η, -ει. The occurrences of -η and -ει are rare.

1. The ending -nt.

We find η_i after ρ and vowels in every Ionic inscription from the earliest to the latest times, whether in pure dialect or tainted with Atticisms (e. g. Eph. 147) except (1) in the specific cases of -η and -et mentioned below, and (2) in the few instances of -at which Even in late imperial times - 11 are given below in the note. occurs, e.g. Είλειθνίηι Paros 66.

Cases of -aι in the dative singular. 'Αμύνται 8 A 2 Olynthos is not an Ionism. δημοσίαι 261 (of the fifth century) is an Attic inscription except for Πυθαγόρην (§ 415, 1), cf. δημοσίηι Mylasa 248 B 11; so also Iδίαι 72, Thasos (third century), eòvola: Eph. 147a, an inscription almost Hellenistic, the only Ionisms being χρυσέωι 10, and [έφ' ίσηι] καὶ δμοίηι 11, cf. Samos 221, where this formula recurs. Other Atticisms are 'Αγροτέραι 165, Phanagoreia (latter half of fourth century, cf. Θευδοσίης, l. 4), 'Αστάραι Phanag. 167, Θεᾶι Σωτείραι Κοοs 52 (Roman period), 'Tyela Paros 67 (time of the empire), 'Epula: Eryth. 20411 (not much before 345-44 B.C.). Έρμῆι is always the dative of Έρμῆς, «.g. Zeleia 162, Lampsak. 171. No case of -at occurs before 350 B. c.

2. The ending -η.

The oldest example of the expulsion of iota adscriptum is Mávη Kyzikos 108 A, an inscription of the sixth century. The later copy (108 B), dating from the first century B. C., has also M[á]νη. Next comes $\alpha \dot{\nu} \tau \hat{\eta}$ Chios B 1754, an epigram of the fifth century, and then $\tau \hat{\eta}$ βουλ $\hat{\eta}$ Erythrai 199 (after 394 B. C.), an inscription which preserves ω_i throughout; $\dot{\epsilon}$] μ Maλυ ϵ (η in 201, another Erythraian inscription of the fourth century (early part)¹; Mylasa 248 C 15 (355–54 B. C.) $\delta \eta \mu o \sigma (\hat{\eta})$; Zeleia 113₁₅ $\tau \hat{\eta}$ $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon_i$ (shortly after Granikos); $\tau \hat{\eta}$ βουλ $\hat{\eta}$ Priene (territory of the Πανιώνιον) 1442 (middle of the fourth century). From the Roman period we have $Ol\kappa_i \sigma \tau \hat{\eta}$ and $\Pi v \theta (\hat{\eta})$ Miletos 101. The latter form occurs also in C. I. G. 2885 and B. C. H. I 287; $\hat{\alpha}[\gamma]a\theta \hat{\eta}$ [$\tau \hat{\nu}$] $\chi \eta$ Olbia 1291, $\Pi \rho o \sigma \tau \hat{\alpha} \tau \eta$ 1292 (period of the empire). In imperial times -HI and -H, not -EI, occur on Attic inscriptions.

3. The ending -ει.

The ending $-\eta\iota$ is often written EI in Attic after the year 380 B. C. EI prevails after 300 B. C., decreases from 200 on and ceases entirely with 30 B. C. (Meisterhans, p. 30 ff.). We find the following examples of this orthography in Euboian Ionic: $\xi\kappa\alpha\tau\dot{\epsilon}\rho$ EI τ EI $\pi\dot{\epsilon}\lambda$ EI Eretria 156 (between 410 and 390); $\sigma\tau\dot{\eta}\lambda$ EI Eretria 1517 TEI $\theta\nu\sigma\dot{\epsilon}$ EI Oropos 1827 (from 411–402 B. C. or between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377); $\delta\dot{\epsilon}$ EI Oropos 1814.

- $\epsilon \iota$ is thus substituted for - $\eta \iota$ in the dative about the beginning of the fourth century.

δυνάμει Teos 156 B 32 is a locative, all the datives in this inscription ending in $-\eta_1$. The subjunctives have $-\epsilon_1$, which is not from $-\eta_1$, cf. § 239.

In Oropos, No. 18 the subjunctive termination is $-\epsilon_i$ throughout. In Olynthos $-\eta_i$ is not affected. In Amphipolis 10 $-\eta_i$ is the dative form, $-\epsilon_i$ the subjunctive ending.

The Kymaian inscription Rob. No. 173 has EI in the subj. $\kappa\lambda\ell\psi\eta\iota$; and in Becht. 3 A = Rob. 177 A we have τ EI $\kappa\lambda\iota\nu$ EI, which we transcribe with $\eta\iota$. Cf. $\kappa\lambda\iota\nu\eta\iota$ Keos 434.

4. It is noticeable that, whereas in Attic $-\epsilon_i$ gains ground towards the end of the fourth century B.C., in those inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Ionic mainland of Asia Minor which show Attic influence (notably Eph. 147, 300 B.C.) there is no trace of a dative in $-\epsilon_i$. As far as Ionic is concerned, the weakening of $-\eta_i$ to $-\epsilon_i$ in the dative is restricted to Euboian Ionic. In other Ionic regions we find ϵ_i from medial η_i ; see § 235.

¹ An I, found upon the stone after the H, is held by Bechtel to be a break in the marble.

² The El's of No. 16 (Eretria) are not to be counted, since -ws, not -ss, is found in the datives.

³ But cf. B. C. H. VI 6 ff. (= Bochtel, No. 56), a Delian inscription (185–180 B. c.), which has η and e_i , e, g, $\tau \hat{\eta}$ l. 6, γ, $\tau e\hat{\iota}$ l. 2, 27; $\pi d \mu \pi \tau \eta(\iota)$ l. 61; $\tau \rho l \tau \eta(\iota)$ l. 62.

Discoveries, App. 6, No. 19, 302 B. c.); of the same period προθυμίης l. l. No. 21. Quite late forms are iππωνίης Kyzik. 108 B (first century), Μαιανδρίης Κyz. 112 (first century), Λυκίης Corp. Inser. Sem. I, No. 45, pl. 8. Of Attic provenance are Hoofevias No. 261, ὑγείας 129₁₄ Olbia (period of the empire). After v: Καμασαρύης Latyschev II 19₅.

The Ionic genitive is yys, e.g. Herodas 154, Halik. 238,7, Teos 156 B 22, inscriptions free from all trace of Atticism; also 264 adesp. See § 421. yains in Latyschev II 37 (epigram) is the epic form.

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432. Genitive Feminine (Prose).

Herodotos has σιδηρέης I 38, 39, for which the contracted form should be read. Open en occurs in Teyéns VI 105, Oupéns I 82. When F disappears between $\epsilon \eta$, contraction does not result, e.g. Hdt. νέης I 60, Aretaios 170 κενεής. In adjectives in -us we have -εης, e.g. θηλέης Hdt. II 35.

433. Dative (Inscriptions).

The dative of the A declension has in Ionic three endings, -n, -η, -ει. The occurrences of -η and -ει are rare.

1. The ending -ni.

We find η_i after ρ and vowels in every Ionic inscription from the earliest to the latest times, whether in pure dialect or tainted with Atticisms (e. g. Eph. 147) except (1) in the specific cases of -η and -ex mentioned below, and (2) in the few instances of -as which Even in late imperial times -ηι are given below in the note. occurs, e.g. Είλειθνίηι Paros 66.

Cases of -aι in the dative singular. 'Αμύνται 8 A 2 Olynthos is not an Ionism. δημοσίαι 261 (of the fifth century) is an Attic inscription except for Πυθαγόρην (§ 415, 1), cf. δημοσίηι Mylasa 248 B 11; so also Ιδίαι 72, Thasos (third century), evrolat Eph. 147s, an inscription almost Hellenistic, the only Ionisms being χρυσέωι 10, and [ἐφ' ἴσηι] καὶ ὁμοίηι 11, cf. Samos 221 m where this formula recurs. Other Atticisms are 'Αγροτέραι 1653 Phanagoreia (latter half of fourth century, cf. Θευδοσίης, l. 4), 'Αστάραι Phanag. 167, Θεᾶι Σωτείραι Κοοs 52 (Roman period), 'Tyela Paros 67 (time of the empire), Epula: Eryth. 20411 (not much before 345-44 B.C.). Έρμῆι is always the dative of Έρμῆς, ε.g. Zeleia 162, Lampsak. 171. No case of -as occurs before 350 B. c.

2. The ending -η.

The oldest example of the expulsion of iota adscriptum is Mávn Kyzikos 108 A, an inscription of the sixth century. The later copy (108 B), dating from the first century B. C., has also M[á]vn. Next comes $a v \tau \hat{\eta}$ Chios B 1754, an epigram of the fifth century, and then $\tau \hat{\eta}$ Bovl $\hat{\eta}$ Erythrai 199 (after 394 B. C.), an inscription which preserves ω_i throughout; $\hat{\epsilon} \mid \mu$ Malve($\hat{\eta}$ in 201, another Erythraian inscription of the fourth century (early part)¹; Mylasa 248 C 15 (355–54 B. C.) $\delta \eta \mu o \sigma (\hat{\eta})$; Zeleia 11315 $\tau \hat{\eta}$ $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon_i$ (shortly after Granikos); $\tau \hat{\eta}$ Bovl $\hat{\eta}$ Priene (territory of the Haviώνιον) 1442 (middle of the fourth century). From the Roman period we have $Olki\sigma \tau \hat{\eta}$ and $\Pi v \theta (\hat{\eta})$ Miletos 101. The latter form occurs also in C. I. G. 2885 and B. C. H. I 287; $\hat{a}[\gamma] a \theta \hat{\eta}$ [$\tau \hat{\nu}] \chi \eta$ Olbia 1291, $\Pi \rho o \sigma \tau \hat{\alpha} \tau \eta$ 1292 (period of the empire). In imperial times -HI and -H, not -EI, occur on Attie inscriptions.

3. The ending -ει.

The ending $-\eta\iota$ is often written EI in Attic after the year 380 B. C. EI prevails after 300 B. C., decreases from 200 on and ceases entirely with 30 B. C. (Meisterhans, p. 30 ff.). We find the following examples of this orthography in Euboian Ionic: $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\rho$ EI τ EI $\pi\delta\lambda$ EI Eretria 156 (between 410 and 390); $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda$ EI Eretria 1517. TEI $\theta\nu\sigma\iota$ EI Oropos 1827 (from 411–402 B. C. or between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377); $\delta\iota$ EI Oropos 1814.

-ει is thus substituted for -ηι in the dative about the beginning of the fourth century.

δυτάμει Teos 156 B 32 is a locative, all the datives in this inscription ending in -ηι. The subjunctives have -ει, which is not from -ηι, cf. § 239.

In Oropos, No. 18 the subjunctive termination is -et throughout. In Olynthos -ηt is not affected. In Amphipolis 10 -ηt is the dative form, -et the subjunctive ending.

The Kymaian inscription Rob. No. 173 has EI in the subj. $\kappa\lambda\ell\ell\eta\iota$; and in Becht. 3 A = Rob. 177 A we have τ EI $\kappa\lambda\ell\nu$ EI, which we transcribe with $\eta\iota$. Cf. $\kappa\lambda\ell\nu\eta\iota$ Keos 434.

4. It is noticeable that, whereas in Attic $-\epsilon_i$ gains ground towards the end of the fourth century B. C., in those inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Ionic mainland of Asia Minor which show Attic influence (notably Eph. 147, 300 B. C.) there is no trace of a dative in $-\epsilon_i$. As far as Ionic is concerned, the weakening of $-\eta_i$ to $-\epsilon_i$ in the dative is restricted to Euboian Ionic. In other Ionic regions we find ϵ_i from medial η_i ; see § 235.

¹ An I, found upon the stone after the H, is held by Bechtel to be a break in the marble.

³ The El's of No. 16 (Eretria) are not to be counted, since -es, not -es, is found in the datives.

³ But cf. B. C. H. VI 6 ff. (= Bechtel, No. 56), a Delian inscription (185-180 B. C.), which has η and ει, ε. g. τη l. 6, γ, τεῖ l. 2, 27; πέμπτη(ι) l. 61; τρίτη, ι) l. 62.

Dubois suggests Τή]ρει Παλ[α]ιεῖς for IPETΠΑΛΙΑς B. C. H. VI, p. 190 (Amorgos). This is quite improbable. Cf. Hρηι Paros 65, Samos 223.

434. Dative Singular (Lyric Poets).

The open -εη is found only in κυνέη Tyrt. 11₃₂ which is an Homeric reminiscence. εη was contracted in the earliest period of the Ionic lyric. Scriptio plena occurs in σφαίρη πορφυρέη Anakr. 14₁.

435.] Dative Singular (Prose).

The genuine contemporary form occasionally comes to light in the MSS. of Hdt., e.g. $\kappa\nu\nu\hat{\eta}$ IV 180, where Stein's $\kappa\nu\nu\hat{\epsilon}\eta$ is entirely unsupported. But $\beta\rho\rho\hat{\epsilon}\eta$ V 33, VI 139 is without v.l.; so too $\delta\omega\rho\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\eta}$ III 130, $\gamma\epsilon\nu\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\eta}$ I 3, 35. $\nu\hat{\eta}$ is adduced from the $\Sigma\alpha\mu\ell\omega\nu$ $\delta\rho\rho\iota$ by Hdn. II 9123 (nom. $\nu\hat{\eta}=\nu\hat{\epsilon}a$). A crude hyper-Ionism is $\hat{\eta}\mu\hat{\epsilon}\rho\hat{\epsilon}\eta$ in Abydenos 1.

Some MSS. of Hdt. have -ε by transference to the -ε declension, e. g. Κυαξάρε I 73, 74, cf. -η I 16. ᾿Αστυάγει, or -ει, is

the regular form in the MSS., e.g. I 74, 119, 129.

436.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Inscriptions).

1. Masculine in -ην, e.g. 'Αρισταγόρην Mykon. 92₁₄, Πυθαγόρην 261, name of a Salymbrian on an Attic monument (cf. § 415, 1 note), παλαίστρην Naukr. Bechtel 139 C. Attic forms are Νικαγόραν Eph. 147, 8 (300 B.C.), 'Αμύνταν 8 A 5, not an Ionian; 'Ερ]μίαν Erythr. 204₂₅ (345-44 B.C.) is the earliest instance of the admission of the Attic form.

437.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Lyric Poets).

Έρμῆν Hipponax 32 is the regular post-Homeric form in all branches of Ionic. Βορέην in Tyrt. 124 is the Homeric form.

438.] Accusative Singular Masculine (Prose).

Hdt. has βορῆν in all MSS. I 6, 174, III 97, IV 31, VII 189,
 Elsewhere there is fluctuation between βορέην and βορῆν (II 101, IV 22, 116) or all MSS. have βορέην. The latter is the form found in Lukian, Syr. d. 28. The correct form is βορῆν though rejected by Bredow, Stein, and Holder. Έρμῆν is found in all MSS. V 7. μύκην is Hekataian, cf. μύκεω in Archil., § 428.
 See § 545.

2. The overreaching character of the $-\epsilon_s$ stems is manifest in the declension of proper names of the \hat{A} declension, whose genitives and datives in Herodotos end regularly in $-\epsilon_{\omega}$, $-\eta$, but whose accusative have $-\epsilon_{\alpha}$. In the attack upon the \hat{A} de-

¹ These accusatives in -εα are frequently called Ionic by the grammarians. Apoll. Adv. p. 191_ε (Schn.) cites Ξέρξεα, Πολυδέκτεα (not in Hdt.), Γύγεα. Cf. Hdn. II 835₂₂=Choir. 866₂₃ (cf. Choir. 561₂₂, 601₂, 860₂). Ξέρξεα is usually selected as the example. Cf. An. Ox. IV 211₃₀ and IV 363₂₆, An. Par. IV 232₂₁.

clension, the accusative appears to have offered the first avenue of approach, the genitive the second.

Some of the examples of the accusative in -ca may here be given, while the reader is referred to Bredow, pp. 225 ff., for a complete list of the forms in question. I give merely those cases where Stein has adopted the accusative in $-\epsilon a^{1}$: (1) names in $-\delta \eta s$: Λεοτυχίδεα VI 65, 73, 85; Ίπποκλείδεα VI 129; Μιλτιάδεα VI 35, 37 bis, 39, 135, 136 bis: (2) names in -γορης: 'Αρισταγόρεα V 32, 33, 65, but 'Αρισταγόρην V 35 bis, 37: Στησαγόρεα VI 38; Αυσαγόρεα VI 133: (3) other names: Μιτροβάτεα III 120 bis, 126, 127, but Εὐροβάτην ΙΧ 75; Γύγεα Ι 10, 11, but Γύγην Ι 8, 15; 'Αλυάττεα I 73, 74, III 48; Καυδαύλεα I 10, 11, 12; 'Αράξεα I 205, 209, 211, III 36, but 'Αράξην IV 11; Ξέρξεα IV 43, VII 4, 38, 46, but Ξέρξην VII 5, 6 bis, 12, 17 ter, 27, 56, 118, 120, 130, 145, 208, 210, 223, VIII 22, 25, 69, 110, 113, 114, 118 bis, 119, IX 1, 116 bis; 'Αρτοξέρξεα (sic) VII 151 bis, IX 1, 116 bis; 'Αρτοξέρξεα (sic) VII 151 bis, IX 1, 116 bis; 'Αρτοξέρξεα (sic) VII 151 bis, IX 1, III bis 'Αρτοξέρξεα (sic) VII 151 bis, IX 1, III bis 'Αρτοξέρξεα (sic) VII 151 bis, IX II bis 'Αρτοξέρξεα (sic) VII 151 bis 'Αρτοξέρξεα (s 152; Πέρσην VIII 3, 108, 109, and throughout; Δηιόκεα I 96; Καμβύσεα ΙΙΙ 1 bie, 2 bie, 3, 10, 15, 31, 32, 34, 44, 62, 64, 66, 73; 'Οροίτεα ΙΙΙ 120, 121, 124, 125, &c.; Σανδώκεα VII 196; Φαρνούχεα VII 88 (Arrian's Anab. has -χην); 'Επιάλτεα VII 213, but Ἐπιάλτην VII 218 bis, as VII 214; 'Οτάνεα III 141, V 25, VI 43, VII 61, but 'Οτάνην III 76; 'Αστυάγεα is the regular form in Hdt.

In the pseudo-Ionists these accusatives in -ca in proper names occur, e.g. Αττεα Lukian, Syr. d. 15, but Αττην Ikarom. 27; in Arrian Υδάσπεα 310, 196, Ύδραώτεα 310, Γάγγεα 42.

The presence of this metaplastic form in proper names gave

rise to the view among the hyper-Ionizing scholars that even in appellatives this -εa was permissible. We find δεσπότεα Hdt. 2 1 91, IV 43, III 1 (-ην in R), VII 88 (-ην PR), and in Lukian, Syr. d. 25. δεσπότην is found in all MSS. I 212, III 134, IV 136. ἀκινάκεα is found in III 118, but ἀκινάκην VII 54, a reading rightly adopted by Stein. The same editor rejects κυβεριήτεα the reading of R in VIII 118, a form adopted by Bredow and Krüger. In these common nouns the activity of the μεταγραψάμενοι does not seem to have extended much beyond the expulsion of $-\eta \nu$ from the accusative. But that they tampered with other case-forms appears from drivarcos in all MSS. IV 62. The Aldine edition has akwaker in the same chapter.

439. Accusative Feminine (Inscriptions).

1. Accus. in -ην.

Et. M. 38618, Eust. 194628 (Astrodyca). Sometimes the form is mentioned without being specially referred to Ionic, e.g. Bekk. An. II. 967₁₃.

Stein as a rule adopts -nv where Bredow prefers -cs.

³ For Brugmann's purpose (Grundr. II § 395) this form may be regarded

A. η after ρ and ι in προεδρίην 1 Erythr. 1995, 20210, 2037, Iasos 10510, J. H. S. IX 341, No. 2 (elsewhere Attie ā), Zeleia 114 A B C E; λερήν Naukr. 753; δλιγαρχίην Thasos J. H. S. VIII 402, 20, διαδικασίην Zeleia 11310, ολκίην Κεος 4315, Halik. 24014, εφηβίην Paros 67, πατριήν Iasos J. H. S. IX 341, No. 3 (from the third century), επαρήν Teos 156 B 30; πάτρην Thasos 7210 ενλοπωλίην Teos Mitth. XVI 292, and in the forms found in the epigrams preserved in Latyschev II (βίην 167, ἡλικίην, θαλερήν 171). Νικᾶν Paros 728 is from Νικᾶ< Νικάη, ef. § 273.

Attic forms: Σαλυβρίαν 261, an Attic sepulchral monument to Pythagores of Salymbria and dating from the fifth century. πολιτείαν Zeleia 114 ABC (shortly after Granikos), Iasos J. H. S. IX 341, No. 3, Samos 2212 (322 B.C.), Eph. 14710 (300 B.C.); προ]θυμίαν Samos 2218; []ερητείαν Eryth. 206 A 17 (after 278 B.C.); παιδείαν Teos 1582; (very late).

B. After ϵ in adjectives denoting material, and in nouns.

It is a significant feature of the dialect that $\epsilon + \eta$ is always contracted, whereas $\epsilon \omega$, $\epsilon \omega$ are retained, at least in the official language, till after Christ. Examples are $\chi a \lambda \kappa \hat{\eta} \nu$ Eryth. 199₁₄ (after 394 B.C.), 202₁₂ (about 350 B.C.); $\chi \rho \nu] \sigma \hat{\eta} \nu$ has been restored upon an epigram Keos 41.

In nouns ε+η is contracted: κωλην Miletos 1003. γενεήν Paros

59 epigr. is poetical.

2. Accus, in -av.

A. From nouns in -ἄ (pan-Hellenic, cf. § 418). θάλασσαν Teos 156 A 10 (Ol. 76–77), Halik. 240₄₄ (fifth century), Eryth. 204₁₇ (345–44 B.C.); ἔρευναν Mylasa 248 C 9 (355–54 B.C.); γλῶσσαν Mil. 100₅; μοῖραν in No. 265 adesp., before Ol. 80 probably, in honour of Ἡγέλοχος, an Ionian from Euboia or the Kyklades; Έρμώνοσσαν Chios 172 A 2 is= Ἑρμώνασσαν, the o of the penult being due to assimilation.

Attic forms: $\epsilon\ell\nu\nu\iota\alpha\nu$ Samos 221₈ (322 B.C.), cf. § 178. $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ is the regular form in Ionic inscriptions: Zeleia 114 A B C D E (after Granikos), Ephes. 147₁₃ (300 B.C.), Iasos 105 (late), J. H. S. IX 341, 2, 3 and 4, Eryth. 199₆ (after 394 B.C.), 202₉ (about 350 B.C.?) despite $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{2}$ (first cent.). Cf. § 175.

B. From adjectives in -υς, fem. -εια (Pan-Hellenic) we have δασέαν Miletos 1002, cf. §§ 219, 419, 441.

440.] Accusative Feminine (Lyric Poets).

ημέρην occurs in Hipp. 32. Open εη is found in κυνέην Tyrt.

11₃₂, the Homeric form, as γενεήν Solon 27₁₀, epigr. Paros 59συκήν is found in Hipponax 34, κωλήν Xenoph. 5 (Renner -έην).

 $^{^1}$ The η of $\pi\rho\sigma\epsilon\delta\rho(\eta$ holds its ground when that of other words has succumbed to the Attic $\tilde{\sigma}_{\epsilon}$

χαλκέην is found in Herodas III, χρυσῆν in Phoinix of Kolophon apud Athen. 495 E. From δθρόος we have δθρόην Archil. 35.

441.] Accusative Feminine (Prose).

1. Herodotos has in all MSS. κυνέην I 84, II 151, 152, 162, συκέην I 193, IV 23, χαλκέην II 151, χρυσέην I 52. For λεοντέην IV 8, as is edited by Stein, most of the MSS. have λεοντήν, R λεοντήν. In this reading we have an indication of the genuine form of the fifth century which is supported by διπλήν V 90 (all MSS.) despite διπλέη III 42 in all MSS. Cf. § 263, 3. διπλήν is found K 134, τ 226.

Open εη occurs in δωρεήν ΙΙ 140, ΙΙΙ 84, 97; ίδέην Ι 80, IV 109; Μαλέην IV 179, VII 168, 'Ρέην Lukian, Syr. d. 15.

When F disappeared εη remained open: e.g. στερεήν Hdt. I 52.

2. Accus. in -av from nom. in -a (§ 418).

With evuolar (§ 439 2, A) we may compare the Herodoteian form, which, although the nom. is evuola, is evuolar in III 36. So also diduolar I 46, 90, II 162, IX 45. Other Attic forms are $\ell\pi\iota\mu\ell\lambda\epsilon\iota a\nu$ VI 105, $\ell\nu$ - or $\ell\mu\mu\ell\lambda\epsilon\iota a\nu$ VI 129. See §§ 175 and 178. ' $\Omega\rho\epsilon\ell\theta\nu\iota a\nu$ or ' $\Omega\rho\epsilon\iota\theta\nu\ell\eta\nu$ are both found in the MSS., § 178. On the hyper-Ionic $\mu o\ell\rho\eta\nu$ Hdt. I 204, see § 419; on $\pi\rho\epsilon\ell\rho\eta\nu$, § 420. $\mu\ell a\nu$, not $\mu\ell\eta\nu$, is the correct form, Hdt. I 164, Herodas 1_{22} , &c.; cf. § 419.

Hdt. has davear III 32 (MSS. daveiar). On other forms from

the -vs adj., see § 506.

442.] Vocative Singular.

Herodotos III 34, 35, 63, &c. has the vocative Πρήξασπες from the analogy of the -ες stems; cf. Στρεψίαδες Clouds, 1206, Ἡράκλειδες Herodian II 69033 (from a comic poet). The reverse procedure appears in Κυπρογένη Theognis 1323, Arkadian Ατέλη C. D. I. 1205, and Aiolic Σώκρατε, &c. Πρηξάσπης is inflected in Hdt. according to the consonantal declension, though in III 75 sz have the genitive in -εω.

Hipponax has Έρμη 12, 16 bis, 21 A, 89, and so Herodas 774. Other forms are Μιμνή 49, Anakreon Σμερδίη 5, Μεγιστή (or

Μεγίστη) 162, 743.

Vocatives in -ă from names in -ης: Λυκάμβα Arch. 94, Κυτάγχα Hippon. 12, Κανδαῦλα Hippon. 12. κριτή (Hipponax 118) stands for κριτά according to Priscian (Hipponax εὐηθες κριτή μτο κριτά). Cf. Ἡλιε καλλιλαμπέτη Anakr. 27. The Homeric τύμφα would seem to be Aiolic, despite the statement of the schol. Ven. A on Γ 130 that it is Ionic. This form of the vocative is in reality pan-Hellenic, though retained with greater consistency by Aiolic than any other dialect.

¹ Bredow reads διπλόην as Hippokr. III 186, cf. 250. The adj. in the fem. when ā follows is διπλέια – Ionic διπλής - διπλόη; when a follows it is διπλέες, cf. διπλόοι Aischyl. fr. 33. διπλόη is a substantive.

443.] Nominative Plural.

On γέαι Zeleia, No. 11340 (after Granikos), δύο μνέαι Hdt. VI 79, cf. § 421. λιναῖ Samos 22021 is an unusual contraction in an adjective of material. The contracted form is also found in Hdt. This nom. is scarcely Ionic. γαλαῖ IV 192, Hrd. 790 is a doubtful form because εαι is often left open, while εη is contracted. Cf. Merzdorf in Studien, VIII 145.

444. Genitive Plural.

Homer $-\dot{\alpha}\omega\nu$, $-\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu^{1}$ (and $-\dot{\omega}\nu$, when ι precedes and in the forms of the article and pronoun), Boiot. $-\dot{\alpha}\omega\nu$, Doric and Aiolic $-\dot{\alpha}\nu$. In Ionic we have $-\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ or $-\dot{\omega}\nu$ in both masculine and feminine.

In Homer we find $\tau d\omega \nu$ and $\tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$, in the later Ionic only $\tau \tilde{\omega} \nu$. In other dialects which preserve in the declension of nouns a fuller form of the genitive, the article presents the shortest form possible according to the laws of the dialect in question. Thus in Thessalian we find $\tau \tilde{\alpha} \nu$ kourdour as well as $\tau \tilde{\alpha} \nu$ kour $\tilde{\alpha} \nu$, in Boiotian $\tau \tilde{\alpha} \nu$ $\delta \rho \alpha \chi \mu d\omega \nu$. $\tau \dot{\epsilon} \omega \nu$ was too ponderous a form. $\ddot{\epsilon} \omega \nu$ was never used for $\tilde{\omega} \nu$.

-εων is attested as Ionic by Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. 379, Gram. Meerm. 649 (-dων Aiolic, cf. 655), Vat. 696, Hdn. II 22, Et. M. 78739, Drakon 160π, An. Ox. I 27818; Doric (!) An. Ox. I 38213, Et. Gud. 49334. Herodian II 22915 = An. Ox. I 2392 also wrongly attributes the termination -εων to the Dorians. In the passage referred to, for Δωριείς read "Ιωνες, because of the statement made in II 21.

445.] Genitive Plural (Inscriptions).

600-500 в.с.		500-400 в. с.	
EON	ΩN	EON	ΩN
àλ(λ) Βον Naxos 23. This form has been regarded as standing for ἀλληον not for ἀλληον, on the ground that no diphthong possesses more than three morae. If this is the case - εων is the direct descendant of -ηον. See B. B. XI 268		'Αβδηριτέων Abd. 1632, 8 'Τελητέων Velia 1721 (450-400) Μαρ[ω]νηιτέων 1962 Ματοποία Μαρωνειτέων 1963 Μαρωνειτέων 1964 απd Cat. Brit. Μυs. 125, Νο. 15 front Σαλμακιτέων Ηαlik. 2382, 13 δρ[αχ]μέων Κεοs 43α (after 420) Νυ[ω]φέων Siph. 88	Μαρωνιτῶν Cat. Brit. Mus. 125, No. 15 reverse

¹ In Homer dissyllable -εων is found but three times: πυλέων Η 1, Μ 340, θυρέων φ 191; -εων 20 times in IL, 19 in Od.; -ιῶν at verse end in Σκαιῶν Γ 263, Ζ 307, κλισιῶν Ψ 112, δμφῶν τ 121; παρειῶν Ω 794, δ 198, 223, λ 529, π 190, τρυφαλειῶν Μ 339, Μαλειῶν τ 187, παλαιῶν β 118. But in all these instances dissyllable -εων is excluded by the metre.

400-300 B. C.		300-200 B. C.	
EON	ΩN	EON	ΩN
Neoroλιτέων Neap. 42; 84, bet. 400-350 'Αμφινολιτέων Amph. 105; No. 11 (424-358) δημοτέων Orop. 1815 (411-402, or between Antalk. Peace and 377) 'Αβδηριτέων Abd. 16316, 15, 150 bet. 400-350 Τορετέων 127 Pantikap., or Phanagoreia (387-347) Μαρωνιτέων Μα- ron. 1964, 13	Neurolitür Neap. 41, 350-300 Alvertür Ainea 12 Alvertür mentioned Becht. p. 7 (Alex. the Great period) 'İŋtür Ios 91 Alex. the Great πολιτῶν Zeleia 1132, 22 after Granikos; Lasos 1054 Meltür Pantik. 119, 120, 122, Phanag. 166, 167, 168, latter half of the cent. Toperür Phanag. 165, latter half of the cent. Cf. also Lat. II 36 'Telytür 1722, about 350 B. C. Massalia Becht. p. 106 'Aθyrür Samos 216 Attic form, 365-322 B. C. döikiür Oropos 1819 (411-402, or between Peace of Antalk.	EQN	άξοταστῶν Eryth. 206 A 25 (after 278 B.C.) ἐππραθεισῶν Eryth. 206 C 20 is Attic (after 278 B.C.). Προμγιαῶν Eryth. 206 A 14, C 53 (after 278 B.C.). Βραχαῶν Eryth. 206 B 49, C 49
and 377) Kalerier Eryth. 2012 Onylor Eryth. 2011	and 377 B. C.)		

200 B. C		Of doubtful date	
EON	ממ	EON	ΩN
'Ολβιστολιτέων (Ilbia 1302, 2nd cent. 'Ολβιστολειτέων (Ilbia 1302, 2nd cent.	Toukiyr@rKcos 52, Roman period Miroyr@r Samos 232 (Roman) Kepausyr@r Kera- mos 253 (Rom.) δικῶν Teos 158 ₁₁ Mourῶν Teos 158 ₂₁	Naxos 27, in letters of a tolerably early period	Βαργυλιητών 252

Especially noteworthy are the following forms: ἀδικιῶν Oropos 18₁₉, on a document that retains -εων after a consonant; βοηγιῶν and λαμπαδαρχιῶν Teos, Mitth. XVI 292 (perhaps before 350 B.C.); Naxos 27 preserves -εων after ι (Μυχιέων). Cf. ᾿Ασίω and ὙΕρμίεω in Chios. Cf. § 289, 2.

The evidence of the inscriptions warrants the statement that the Ionic termination $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ after consonants was not attacked by the Attic $-\hat{\omega}\nu$ until the middle of the fourth century. After the

fourth century $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ is practically dead.

446. Genitive Plural (Lyric Poets).

There are four sets of forms in the lyric poets 1 of which the first two are Ionic; (1) Ionic $-\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, (2) $-\dot{\omega}\nu$, (3) Homeric (Aiolic) $-\dot{\alpha}\omega\nu$, (4) Doric $-\dot{\alpha}\nu$. Between (1) and (2) there is no essential difference.

1. Ionic -έων is invariably monosyllabic.

A. The Elegiac Poets.

Tyrtaios: ψυχέων 1014.

Theognis: πετρέων 176 (cf. v. l. πετρών), πολιητέων 219, μερι-

μνέων 343, 1153, Κυψελιδέων 894.

Solon: Mov $\sigma \in \omega \nu$ 1361 (by conj.: the MSS. have $- \omega \nu$ and $- \omega \nu$ also 262, where Fick calls for the Attic $- \omega \nu$, as in $A\theta \eta \nu \omega \nu$ 3362, and $\delta \in \sigma \pi \circ \tau \omega \nu$ 3612 (so Bergk). See under 2.

Mimnermos: μελεδωνέων 6₁. See under 2. Xenophanes: Ἐλλαδικέων 5₄. See under 2.

B. - έων in the iambic poets and Anakreon.

Archil. Μουσέων 12, τερπωλέων 22, Γυρέων 542, θυρέων 127.

Hipponax: κριθέων 432. Ananios: μεσέων 50.

Phoinix of Kolophon: κριθέων I, (Schn.).

Herodas: βροντέων 7_{65} , μνέων 2_{22} , Μοιρέων 4_{30} , Μουσέων 3_{71} , πορνέων 2_{36} , χιλέων 3_4 , ἀστροδιφέων 3_{54} , and so δημοτέων 2_{30} and ήμερέων 3_{60} .

Anakreon: σατινέων 2112, Μουσέων 943 (eleg.).

2. Ionic - ŵv.

Mimnermos: 73 πολιτών, 6 μελεδωνών in Bergk, for which read μελεδωνέων or μελεδώνων; cf. μελεδώνες Od. τ 517.

Xenophanes: 54 ἀοιδάων . . . Έλλαδικών, which may be read

Hipponax : Βακχών 91 (MSS.). Αlνειών 42.

Theognis: Μουσών 769, 1056, κριθών 1249, θυελλών 1273, ἀνιών 344, ταχεών Άρπυιών 715, πολιτών 455, κακών μεριμνέων

¹ Cf. Renner in Curtius' Stud. I 201 ff.

² So also -ων for ὑμέων 11₆, ἡμέων 13₇₂.

343, 1153; cf. v.l. 176, 219, 343, 1153. Verses 455, 769, 1249, 1273 have been regarded as spurious.

Solon: In the elegies Σαλαμιναφετών 24; 'Αθηνών 336 tetr.,

δεσποτῶν 36₁₂ trim. See Renner, l. l. p. 205.
In the later elegy -ῶν is found in Μουσῶν Dionys. Chalk. 45, Σκοπαδών Kritias 51. Hrd. 22 has 'Αττικών.

3. Aiolic -dwv, in imitation of epic usage, only in the later elegists, never in iambic poets.

Theognis: μεριμυάων 766 and Μουσάων 250; περινισομενάων

Phokyl. 11.

Xenoph.: 54 ἀοιδάων . . . Έλλαδικών (sic; Bergk writes ἀοιδοπόλων). In the MSS, we often find v. l. -dwv, e.g. Solon 1351, Theog. 219. These forms, like those in -ao, usually claim a fixed position in the verse (caesura, fifth foot, and verse close).

4. -âv (Doric):

Tyrtaios: 152 πολιαταν embat.

447. Genitive Plural (Prose).

I. Nouns.

A. The termination is $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ in all cases when the $-\eta$ (or $-\tilde{a}$) of the nom. is preceded by a consonant or by iota (except in Hippokrates after 1)1. Examples from Hdt. are τιμέων, ημερέων, ίστιέων, ολκιέων, θυσιέων, νεηνιέων, ροιέων, έλαιέων, ποιέων: Hekat. 140 Περσέων: Demokritos συμφορέων, ασυμφορέων Mor. 8, ψυχέων 20: Protagoras νεηνιέων: Charon Βισαλτέων: Hippokrates 2 doχέων, κριθέων, ώρέων³, δημοτέων, δεσποτέων: Philip of Pergamum νησιωτέων (Β. С. Η. II 273): Vita Homeri βουλευτέων 12, 13, ναυτέων 17, 18, πολιητέων 36, and so in other pseudo-Ionic treatises.

After ι, Hippokrates has -ων: ροιών, έλαιων, ήλικιών, ἀφελειών, θεραπειών.

In some cases the Attic form has crept into the MSS. In Hdt. I 160 κριθών occurs in all MSS., in II 36 κριθών (συκών I 193) in Rd, and in Hekat. 123. In I 147 'Admrer is the only form in all MSS. and as v.l. in many other passages (Bredow, p. 217). Hekat. has ἐκβολῶν 203, ἡμερῶν 303.

B. When the η of the nom. is preceded by ϵ , $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ is contracted

άδελφεῶν is correctly read by Stein in Hdt. III 31, V 80, though in the summary of the Herodoteian dialect prefixed to his school edition (p. liv) the same scholar suggests αδελφεέων,

aduction does not necessarily exclude -does from the Ionic of Asia Minor.

² Cf. J. F. Lobeck in Philologus, 1853, p. 21 ff. Hippokrates has a few cases of -assy in certain MSS.; cf. -ess in the Herodoteian tradition.

³ Cf. Greg. Kor. § 4.

¹ Kirchhoff thinks that -cor after a was contracted. Western Ionic (Oropian)

doubtless on the analogy of yeveéwv II 142, VI 98 (in all MSS.). This uncouth form Stein defends on the ground that it is necessary to distinguish it from the neuter γενέων. The MSS. have Μαλεών I 82 (Stein Μαλεέων, Holder Μαλέων). Hippokrates has ιδεών.

2. Adjectives and Participles.

A. Oxytone adj. in -η, and those adj. and participles whose nom. ends in -a, end in -εων, except when a is preceded by ε,

or by i in Hippokrates.

In Hdt. ύψηλέων, Μηδικέων, λοιπέων, πολλέων, δπτέων, μελαινέων, πασέων: ἐουσέων, ἐχουσέων, φρονεουσέων, συμπλευσασέων, διαφθαρεισέων, λεχθεισέων, προδουσέων. Attic forms appear occasionally in the MSS. of Hdt., e.g. λοιπών VIII 7, πολλών VI 68, θερινών II 19.

In Hippokrates μικρέων, χειμερινέων: μελαινέων, πασέων: έχουσέων, ξουσέων, θερμανθεισέων, παρελθουσέων1. But after ι, Hippokr.

has δεξιών, πλατειών, δξειών.

Hdt. II 66 has θηλεών in ABP, while Stein and Holder read θηλέων.

B. Feminine of barytone adjectives, participles in -os, -η, -oν,

and pronouns.

In the MSS, of Herodotos, the fem. genitive agrees with that of the mase. in having -ων, borrowed from the second declension, in the following cases :-

(1) ἄλλων Ι 133, VII 191, ΙΧ 115; ἀμφοτέρων ΙΙ 17; έτέρων ΙΙ 137, and so Hippokr.; ὀλίγων VIII 16, IX 45; ὑμετέρων ΙV 114; σφετέρων VI 15, VII 118, IX 106.

In other passages we find -έων, e.g. ἐσχατέων VIII 47, ἀλληλέων ΙV 113, VI 12, 111, ἀλλέων ΙV 182, 183, 184, ὁκοσέων V 50 in all or almost all MSS. (i.e. except R q), cf. ἀλλέων and άλλων I 94, IV 184. Hdt. VI 46 has μεγαλέων (P R) where Hippokr. has -ων, as ἀλλήλων (cf. ε 71), ἄκρων, ἐτέρων, and in

other adjectives (numeral and pronominal).

Even after ι -έων appears: Αλγυπτιέων ΙΙ 55, IV 181, έσχα-τιέων ΙΙΙ 115, κουριδιέων VI 138 (-ιων P R), έτησιέων VI 140, VII 168 (-ιων d), ἀντιέων VII 10 a), δημοσιέων VI 57, ἐπιχωριέων V 88, τετρακοσιέων VII 190, διηκοσιέων και χιλιέων VII 184, διηκοσίων και έξακισχιλιέων και δισμυριέων I 32. In VI 92 the MSS. have Σικυωνίων, which Stein changes to -ιέων. Diogen. of Apoll. has εὐδιέων. Hippokrates has -ων, ε. g. γυναικείων, άναγκαίων.

When the η of the nom. was preceded by ϵ , $-\epsilon \hat{\epsilon} \omega \nu$ in the

Lobeck states that the MSS. of Hippokrates are not so consistent as those of Hdt. in the gen. of participles in -oa. The adjectival forms often have -ar as v. l.

genitive becomes -έων, e.g. χρυσέων ΙΙΙ 130, 'Ηρακλέων ΙΙ 33 (Rd, -είων AB).

(2) φυλασσομένων Ι 123; είλευμένων ΙΙ 76; συγκατημένων ΙΙΙ 69; οίκεομένων ΙΙΙ 107; οίκημένων Ι 151; τετμημένων ΙΝ 136; γενομένων VII 235, II 137 (οτ τασσομένων); είρημένων VIII 49. Hippokrates has -ων throughout.

The form in -μενέων is not found without the variant -ων: άρπαζομενέων Ι 4 (-ων R b d); μαχομενέων in P II 76, the same chapter that has είλευμένων in all MSS.; ανατριβομενέων III 113 (-ων A B); πειθομενέων V 18 in A B P (-ων ν ε); άλισκομενέων V 124 (-ων Pr); προκειμενέων (VII 16 a) in ABd, and a few lines below where A B have - two, but d -wv. Emikeimevew VII

185 in Pd.

It is a most point whether in the case of the Herodoteian forms enumerated under 447, 2 B, the Attic rule, which holds in Hippokrates, is to be adopted, or whether -two is to be read throughout. Kühner and Kirchhoff are in favour of -w, while Bredow, Stein, Holder, G. Meyer hold that these forms possessed the special feminine ending. The MSS., except (strangely enough) in those adjectives in which an precedes the termination, tend rather to the view that -ων, not -έων, is the correct ending. The epigram from Naxos, No. 23 φούρη Δεινοδίκηο τοῦ Naξίου, ξέρχος ἀλλήων (where \(\mathbb{H} \) denotes the open quality of the e sound) does not settle the dispute; since άλλων, as Blass remarks, would not have been sufficiently precise. The recent discovery of an authoritative inscriptional form would seem to definitively settle the question, at least so far as the participial forms are concerned. In an inscription from Teos (Mitth. XVI 292, L 18), dating perhaps before the middle of the fourth century, we read λισμενέων. Perhaps the -εων form was only employed in adjectives and pronouns when it was necessary to distinguish the genders.

(3) Pronouns.

αὐτή forms its genitive in -έων in Hdt. and Hippokr. MSS. of Hdt. not infrequently have αὐτῶν (Bredow, p. 222). Stein brackets αὐτῶν in III 111.

αῦτη has τουτέων, which occurs in a large number of passages in Hdt. without any variant τούτων. The -εων form also occurs in the MSS. of Hippokrates; ἐκείνη has ἐκεινέων Hdt. IV 111 Stein (-wv R); τοιαύτη has τοιουτέων VII 16 a), and so in Hippokrates; τοσαύτη has τοσουτέων VII 187.

The forms in -εων from αυτη, τοιαύτη, and τοσαύτη are suspicious, as Ionic, unlike Doric, did not carry into the feminine genitive the diphthong av of the other cases. Other pronominal forms, such as τουτέων, contain a parasitic ε inserted under the

influence of hyper-Ionic theories, § 562.

448.

On the genitive plural of nouns in -apxns varying with -apxos, see Bredow, p. 232. In Hdt. VII 99 Stein reads ταξιαρχέων, but in IX 53 ταξιάρχων, cf. ταξίαρχοι VIII 67. In Attic inscriptions the ending is always -αρχος, except in μεράρχαι C. I. A. II 580, 3, 7 (324 B.C.).

elλώτων Hdt. IX 10 is from είλως [cf. VI 81, VIII 25), but είλωτέων VI 58,

75, 80, &c. is from εἰλώτης.

449. Dative Plural.

The terminations occurring in the texts of Ionic writers are -noi, -ns, -aioi and -ais, of which the first and last forms are more frequent than -ns or -auou, which do not occur in the inscriptions; $-\eta \sigma \iota$ is found upon one inscription.

-ησι is called Ionic by the grammarians: Joh. Gr. 240, 241, 241 B, Greg. Kor. § 5, Meerm. 649, 654, Vat. 696, Birnb. 67720, Et. M. 2520, 16643, Et. Gud. 24942, 33220, An. Par. III 31229, cf. An. Ox. I 2191; cf. also Hdn. I 298178 II 14310. -ης Et. Gud. 24945, Et. M. 16642. Tzetz. Ex. Il. 847 has κοίλησι (cf. 1218), and so An. Ox. I 2191. The ancients did not recognize the fact that in Homer the longer form occurs far more frequently than does -ns, or that -ys before a vowel is the same as -you

450. Dative Plural (Inscriptions)1.

The endings of the dative plural upon inscriptions are (1) -nion, (2) -ais, (3) -noi.

Ι. -ηισι.

σο[φ]ίηισιν Delos 53 (sixth century), Bechtel reading -ιησιν: βουληισιν according to Roehl. See Roberts I, p. 63. Νύμφηισιν Thasos 68 (fifth cent.); ηισιν Teos 156 B 36 (Ol. 76-77); ημέρη[ι]σιν Chios 174 B 5 (fifth cent.); Ε] ὐάδηισιν Chios 174 C 20; Έρυ[θρ] ηισιν Eryth. 1996 (after 394 B. C.) the last example upon Ionic territory.

-niouv occurs therefore on the mainland of Asia Minor, in the adjacent islands and in Thasos. There is no example in Bechtel's collection of a dative plural in -ηισιν in Euboian Ionic, where -οισι however occurs, see below, § 473. Whether τηισι or ταιs was the form in use in the language of the people is uncertain, as we have no instance free from suspicion. No. 263 with rais before consonants and vowels is from Lykia, and contains a trace of the Kown. It is possible that rais may have been in normal use while -ηισι was the sole form in nouns (cf. Aiolic ταις δέραισιν, Boiot. τῶν Μωσάων). -ηισι held its ground with greater persistence than -οισι, as is clear from ἐκγόνοις upon the same inscription which contains the last example of -nioi.

All instances of -ais are due to Attic influence2. ravr[a]is

See Fritsch, V. H. D. p. 35.
 On the form δπου l. 23 adduced by Bechtel as a further testimony to the influence of Attic upon the dialect of Keos, see § 342.

Keos 4327, last quarter of the fifth century; εὐεργέταις Eph. 14711 (300 B.C.); δωρε] aîs 14719; δημοσίαις and lolais δίκαις Teos 15812 with almost no Ionic whatsoever; ἡμέραις Eryth. 2048 (345-44 B. c.); Κολωναίς Eryth. 206 A 47, Σαβηρίδαις 206 B 54 (after 278 B. c.); years C. I. G. 2693 F 9 as read by Le Bas 414.

-ais occurs on the Asiatic mainland and adjacent islands. There is no example in Bechtel's collection of a dative plural in -ais in Euboian Ionic.

In No. 5, which contains forefer, we find also seeds werens, which is probably of Doric colouring. On the mixed dialect of Himera, see Thuk. VI 5. The speech of Rhegion was doubtless likewise half Ionic, half Doric. Cf. Fick, Odyssee, p. 10. It may be noticed that Homer uses the dative in -ass in but three words: ἀκτή Μ 284, θεά ε 119, and πᾶσα χ 471. Theog. 240 also uses márais.

3. Upon the fragment of a marble patera from Kyzikos, now at Oxford, is inscribed △E≼PONH≼IN (Rob. I 148, not in Bechtel's collection). We have here an -not which occurs upon Attic inscriptions (άλλησι, δραχμήσι), but thus far nowhere, except in the present instance, upon inscriptions outside of Attika. Without further examples of the occurrence of -ησι, it is best to arrest judgment in pronouncing upon its Ionic character. There is, however, no reason why the form should not be Ionic, though but little weight should be attached to the statement of the grammarians in reference to its appearance in Ionic (§ 449), or to the numerous MS. forms without the iota.

451. Dative Plural (Lyric Poets).

The MSS. of the lyric poets have preserved two sets of terminations, -you and -ys, -aiou and -ais.

1. -ησι.

-ησι and -ησιν before consonants, -ησιν before vowels, are the usual forms from Archilochos to Theognis inclusive.

Archilochos: χαλεπήσι 84, epod., δδύνησιν έκητι 84, βακχίησιν 83 (conj.).

Mimnermos: αὐγῆσιν 1411 (cf. 22) vulgo αὐγαῖσιν.

Theognis: πλευρήσι 55, A O -αίσι, αμηχανίησι 619, σφήσι 712, βήσσησι 881, Ιαχήσι 779 conj.; θαλίησι 983, Ο -αισι, είλαπίνησι 239, αμαρτωλήσι 325, σήσιν 1234, παιδοφίλησιν 1357, κακοκερδείησιν 225, φυλακήσιν 439, πολυϊδρείησιν 703, ξανθήσιν 828 with κόμαις in the same line.

Xenophanes: χαίτησιν 3. Solon: προχοήσι 28 (Fu L προχοαίσι), άργαλέησι 1321 (-αισι Fick), αφραδίησιν 4, (-αισιν Fick).

Tyrtaios: κονίησιν 11₁₉.

¹ eq in forms from -λέος remains uncontracted in the lyric poets; cf. § 263.

Simonides Amorg.: κοπρίησιν 76, ναύτησιν 738, ενιπήσιν 74, πάσησι 789.

Hipponax: κράδησι 41, 52, σκίλλησιν 52, ασκέρησι-δασείησιν 19. Herodas: τῆσι 583, 320 (in conjunction with φύσης), καλῆσιν 7115 (in conjunction with τῆς), αὐτῆσιν 72.

Anakreon: δίνησι 15, χορδήσιν 182 (conj.), πλευρήσι 215, θύρησι διξήσιν 88.

2. -715.

-ys before vowels is the usual form from Archilochos to

Theognis.

Archilochos: θαλίης τέρψεται 9, (θαλίης or θαλίη conj.); δδύνης έχομεν Gaisford 94, ής το πρίν 943 (Fick omits το: the MSS. have \(\eta_s\).

Mimnermos: αὐγῆς αὕξεται 22, where αὐγῆς is Schneidewin's

conj.; cf. 1411.

Theognis: κορυφής υπο 879 (libri κορυφής), μαργοσύνης ἀπό 1271 Bekker, θοίνης δέ 239 in A, -ης O, reliqui θοίναις (Sitzler -ais), ραδινής χερσίν 6, see § 4.

Xenophanes: ροης εν 23 by conj. of Stephanus. Anakreon: ὕλης κεροέσσης Bergk 51, (ὕλη?).

Solon: πλευρής καί 244, though Plutarch has πλευρή and Theog. 722 πλευραις (Fick πλευρά), της άδικ 422.

Herodas: της 7115 (in conjunction with καλησιν), της νεωτέρης

ύμιν 1₁₉, φύσης 3₂₀ (in conjunction with τῆσι).

3. -aioi(v).

Theognis: κριθαΐσι 1269, άμαρτωλαίσιν έπλ σμικραίσι 1281. 40 have πλευραίσι 55.

Mimnermos: 1411 avyaiouv accord. to Stobaios. Bergk reads

αύγησιν.

Solon: πολλαίσιν 37 (Fick - ησιν). In 28 Fa L have προχοαίσι.

Anakreon: χορδαΐσιν 182.

Herodas: ταίσι 363, 631 though in a number of instances ταίς is the form adopted by this writer.

4. -ais.

Whenever -as occurs before a vowel in the middle of a pentameter the case is almost similar to that before a consonant, since elision is rarely permitted in this part of dactylic verse. -ass occurs also at the close of a pentameter, more rarely at the end of the hexameter. In Homer we have ἀκταῖς Μ 284, πάσαις X 471, at the close of the hexameter. When the word in question is found at the end of the verse this is denoted by a |.

Archilochos: ἀγκάλαις | 23 trim., and so in the parody Frogs

704. Renner reads ἀγκάλης, Fick ἀγκάσιν.

Tyrtaios: avyais heliow II with v. l. avyaiow, pilais ev 1005;

Ήρακλείδαις τήνδε 22, εὐθείαις ρήτραις αυταμειβομένους 46, where Diodoros has εὐθείην ρήτρας.

Theognis: θοίναις? 239, πλευραῖς καί 722, πάσαις πολλων 240, πολυφροσύναις | 712, κόμαις πορφυρέους 828 with ξανθήσιν in the same line; θοαῖς | 12 (θοῆς in A), ραδιναῖς χερσί 1002, Athen. ραδινῆς, δειλαῖς φρεσί 161, 'Ασκληπιάδαις τοῦτο 432, μεγάλαις κεῖται ἀμηχανίαις | 632, ἄταις | 631, βουλαῖς δ' 640, εἰλαπίναις φορέοντας 827, σῆσιν ἀτασθαλίαις | 1234. -αις occurs in Theognis only in the middle and close of the pentameter (except in 161, 631). In the later portions of Theognis, Sitzler adopts -αις before vowels. For ραδινῆς 6 as Bergk reads, some MSS. have -ησι (Sitzler -αις); -ης is correct.

Simon. Amorg.: Νύμφαις τῷ τε 20, read by Ahrens and Fick

Νύμφησ' ήδέ (Hippokr. used ήδέ).

Solon: κούφαις έλπίσι 1336 (Fick -ησ'), κακαίς νούσοισι 1361 (Fick κακώς). This case of -ais is in the hexameter, cf. Theog. 161, 631; ἀργαλέαις τε 1361, φίλαις 422 a former conj. of Bergk.

Anakreon: κούφαις | 24, ἀήταις | 25, μίτραις | 65, μελαίναις ἀναμεμίξονται 77.

-as becomes much more frequent in the later elegy, e.g. Plato 7_2 , Krates 1_{11} . -poir is found in Plato 12_2 , -ass in Ion 2_2 , Melanthics 1_1 , Eucnos 2_3 , Plato 31_1 .

From the evidence presented above, it is clear that Ionic poetry possessed a form devoid of the final iota. Nevertheless this fact has been assailed by most scholars, of whom some have objected to -ais, others to -ns. The former form was attacked by Ahrens', who maintained that whenever anteconsonantal -ais and -ois occurred in the fragments of the iambic and choliambic poets, and in the trochaics of Archilochos, the reading is always suspicious, and that the same forms in Anakreon are due to the influence of his Aiolic models, who admitted the shorter forms, especially at the end of the verse. Equally positive in his objection to the original Ionic character of -ais and -ois is Fick? who holds that in the poets of Ionic birth who flourished before the downfall of Ionia (which ensued about 540 B. C.), -ηισι and -olol are the only legitimate Ionic forms. Fick furthermore maintains that after the period thus delimited, -as and -oss became a part of the linguistic material of the later elegists (Xenophanes, Theognis), and of Ananios, following herein the example of Tyrtaios who had admitted them by a concession to

¹ Mischung der Dialette, p. 60 ff. ² B. B. IX 207, XI 255.

the dialect of his adopted fatherland. This argument is especially weak as regards the iambographer Ananios, whose character is quite distinct from that of Tyrtaios. Renner 1 on the other hand claims that for -ais we should substitute -nis, a procedure whose correctness as regards Anakreon was defended by Schneidewin. Fritsch 2, who protests against the Ionic character of -nes before consonants 3, follows Fick in rejecting as non-Ionic all cases of -ais and -ois in the early lyrists of Ionic birth. Wilamowitz 4 also rejects the latter forms in Archilochos. Sitzler 5 proposes to adopt -ais wherever the dative ending occurs in the caesura, and at the verse close, also before consonants, whereas -ns should be read before a vowel. With Diels 6 -ous is to be accepted (1) when a vowel follows, (2) at the verse end, or in the middle of the pentameter, (3) in the case of the article and relative, (4) in combination with several other datives.

While it is obvious that all the cases of antevocalic -ns, -ass (and -ois, § 474), with the possible exception of those forms that occur in the middle of a pentameter, may and should be read with elision, the existence of the shorter forms has been unjustly assailed. We may admit that the longer form has been displaced in the works of the older Ionic school in many passages which yield to a mild treatment. But the total expulsion of the shorter forms is attained only by recourse to the most drastic remedies, notably when the peccant form closes the verse. And in many cases no remedy whatever can be discovered, not even that of

transposition.

If the shorter forms are a fixture in Homer 7, despite the efforts of Nauck and Fick to dislodge them, their occurrence in the lyric poets, howsoever rare they be, need not cause us surprise. More delicate is the question whether we shall read -as or -ns, or whether both forms are possible. The former form is an analogue of -ois; for the latter, which is not found in prose either inscriptional or literary (but cf. § 452), a satisfactory explanation, it must be confessed, is at present wanting. G. Meyer's attempt (Gramm. § 380) may be dismissed as too artificial. Brugmann (Grundr. II § 358) sees in -ηις a locative formed from a more original *-as, -ηs. Brugmann conjectures that in the Homeric period -ηs may have been pronounced without the later 18. So long however as

Odyssey 1297 long, 225 short (150+75), according to Nauck's count.

This form occurs in the MSS. of Archil. 942, where it is doubtless an error of the scribe. Osthoff M. U. II 76 thinks that -ns was formed from -nsos under the influence of -ois.

¹ Curtius' Stud. I 1, 208 ff. ⁸ Cf. Cauer's Rias praef. xxxvi.

² V. H. D. 35. 4 Hom. Unters. 317.

⁵ Jahrb. vol. 125, p. 509.

^{6 &#}x27;Aθην. πολ. p. 38.
⁷ The Iliad has 1564 datives with the longer forms, 251 with the shorter (212 before vowels, 39 before consonants, or at the end of the verse). In the

it occurs before consonants in Homer and in later poetry it is idle to dispute its existence merely because it has not been acceptably explained. It is therefore proper to retain it and -ais in the few passages where they are called for by the metre. -ais and -ois are instrumentals which were but sparingly employed, outside of Doric, in the earlier period of the language. It was not until the fifth century in Attika and later in other quarters of Greece that they became powerful enough to dislodge the old locatives -ησι, -āσι (-ηισι, -āισι) which had officiated as datives. -āισι is non-Ionic. The forms in Theognis, as those in early Attic poetry, might be regarded as -āισι. It is however more probable that -ἄισι is intended. δίκᾶισι is an analogue of λόγοισι.

452.] Dative Plural (Prose).

Of the forms found in the MSS. of Ionic prose writers, -nou is by far the most frequent. -aισι is very rare. -aις has often crept in from Attic. In Hdt. we have -ησι. In VIII 15 the Romanus has τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας where all the other MSS. have ταις αυταις ήμέραις. Bredow's τήσι αυτήσι ήμέρησι is therefore unnecessary. In III 40 -non must be substituted for the -anon of most MSS. rais is found in the Romanus III 110. Hippokrates has -ησι, e.g. II 44 φλεγματίησιν, αὐτέησιν (with hyper-Ionic ε), τῆσιν II 306, III 196. In Demokritos as handed down by Stobaios we find -ησι in fragments 41, 46, 211 (167 Demokrates). In other cases, except avayratour 126, the MSS. have -ais which Mullach changed to -ησι. -ησι occurs in Herakleitos, in Hekat. 172, Pherekydes of Leros (frag. 44 is the only case); Protagoras has τῆσι πάσησιν ἡμέρησιν. The form of the article in the MSS. of the lonic prosaists is often rais. Demokritos there is scarcely an exception to the shorter form. We find ταίσι in frag. 44 (containing dudykais); Mullach τησι. In Aiolie, which usually has -aioi, rais is the regular form. In all the passages where -aioi, -ais occur, and the dative is required, the Ionic forms should be edited.

Pseudo-Ionists: $-\eta \sigma \iota$ is used throughout by Lukian in the dea Syria and the Astr.; and this form is found more frequently in Arrian than $-a\iota s$ or $-a\iota \sigma \iota$. Abydenos has $-\eta \sigma \iota$ six times, Eusebios Myndios $-a\iota s$ 14 times, $-a\iota \sigma \iota$ once. The supposititious Ionic letters of Hippokrates, and Aretaios follow Herodoteian usage. Aretaios 68 has $\pi o \lambda \lambda \hat{\eta} s$, ep. Hippokr. 17₂₈ $\epsilon \pi \iota \theta \nu \mu \iota \eta s$ (?), the only instances of this form. The Vita Homeri has $-a\iota s$ throughout.

453.] On the retention of the long forms.

Both in inscriptions and prose literature, to so late a period as the fifth century, the Ionic dialect retained a termination whose use in all other dialects, except Aiolic, was either curtailed or completely abandoned. In the Doric dialect -ais is in entire possession; and in the case of Aiolic a special cause was at work, which drew in its train the retention of the fuller form in the declension of nouns. In the Attic stone records, -ηισι (after consonants) held its ground sporadically till the middle of the fifth century and perhaps till 424 B.C.; -aiσι (after vowels) is attested in documents of 439 B.C. and 424 B.C., upon which however the locative -ησι already appears. This -ησι (-āσι) was retained till 420 B.C., when -ais was universally adopted 1; a change whose suddenness has elicited much speculation in connection with the history of early Attic prose. That the Athenians recognized the antique flavour of the fuller forms is clear from their treatment at the hands of comedy. But even Aischylos does not reject the -s forms.

454.] Accusative Plural.

The form is invariably $-\tilde{a}s$, which was substituted for $-\tilde{a}rs$ subsequently to the change of \tilde{a} to η in Ionic-Attic, cf. § 161. Tyrtaios has the Doric $-\tilde{a}s$ occasionally $(4_5, 7_1)$, as Hesiod in $W.\ D.\ 564$, Theog. 184. In Chios 174 Č 12 we find $\tau \tilde{a}s$ $\gamma \epsilon \tilde{a}s$ sat $\tau \tilde{a}s$ olk $(\epsilon)a[s]$, the form $\gamma \epsilon \tilde{a}s$ having, as Bechtel assumes, caused the stone cutter to perpetrate a blunder in the following accusative; cf. olk(as) Paros 582. The accusative plural of $\gamma \tilde{\eta}$ in Ionic is always $\gamma \epsilon \tilde{a}s$. See § 421.

In Herodotos -εās is the accusative of nouns and adjectives, whose nominative is ordinarily stated to be -εη, ε.g. (§ 282) χρυσέας, ἀργυρέας, κυνέας, αἰγέας, παρδαλέας, ἀμφιδέας ³, μνέας (cf. § 421), ἀλωπεκέας, λεουτέας, πορφυρέας Ion 1. In Hdt. II 67, where C has μυγάλας and d μυγαλὰς, Stein reads μυγαλᾶς, doubtless with reference to the statement of Anaxandrides (apud Athen. VII 300 A): δύναται παρ' ὑμῦν μυγαλῆ, παρ' ἐμοὶ δέ γ' οῦ. Bredow adopted μυγαλέας; cf. Nikand. Ther. 816 μυγαλέην. In III 28 we find διπλᾶς, cf. διπλῆ § 424.

The accus. pl. of ἀκινάκης, whose accus. sing. is ἀκινάκεα and ἀκινάκην (both forms are amply attested), occurs IX 80; III 128, VII 67, where the MSS. vary between ἀκινάκας and ἀκινάκεας. The former form is to be adopted. The accus. of δεσπότης is -τας, not -τεας, despite z in I 111, 112. Nor are the forms διφθερέας I 194, ἐξηγητέας I 78, ὀργυιέας IV 86 to be adopted.

^{&#}x27; -ησι (-āσι) was retained in adverbs of place.

Haussoullier thinks -εas in oici(ε) as was caused by influence of the gen. -εων. But we have no other examples of such an influence of the gen. upon the accus. plural.

³ Cf. Greg. Kor. § 123 (ἀφιδέας, cf. § 336). With this open ἀμφιδέαι, cf. ἀμφιδαῖ Β. C. H. 1890, p. 403, 412, ἀμφιδῆ 404 (Delian register of 279 B. c.). Aristoph. 320, 11 (Kock) has ἀμφιδέας.

οὐδαμέαs is supported in IV 114 by A B C d, but is nevertheless to be rejected. Ἐνάρεαs I 105 is correct, cf. Ἐνάρεες IV 67.

O Declension.

455.] Terminations of Ionic prose:

os, ov	oı, ă
oυ (never εω)	wy
ω ι	οισι(ν), οις
Oν	ovs, ă
€, os	

Dual forms are wanting in New Ionic, cf. § 412. In the following sections attention is chiefly directed to those nominal and adjectival forms which have ϵ or o before -os, -ov, &c. Cf. the sections dealing with the contact of vowels. Renner's suggestion to admit the open forms (masc. and fem.) in the case of the poets of Ionic lineage, and to regard the open and the contracted forms as the property of the elegists not Ionic born, cannot be carried through.

On the forms of the so-called Attic declension, see § 477. As regards gender it may be noted that Hipponax has ἡ ἀσβολος, Herodotos ἡ σαῦρος.

456.] Nominative Singular (Inscriptions).

The nominative singular of nouns which have ε or o before the thematic o contract this ε or o in the following forms: Καλλίνους Thasos (L.) 77, 'Αστύνους Eryth. 206 C 9, Πολύθρους Thasos 75 B 11.

457.] Nominative Singular (Lyric Poets).

νόος occurs frequently in Theognis, e.g. 88, Solon 27₁₁, and Simonides of Keos (?) 85₁₁. But νοῦς is attested in Theog. 1185, as in Homer κ 240, and Simon. Amorg. 1₂ has νόος (cf. νόον 7₁). γηραλέος is found in Xenoph. 1₁₈.

458.] Nominative Singular (Prose).

- 1. -εος, -εον are uncontracted, e. g. άδελφιδέος VIII 130; θυγατριδέος V 67.
- 2. -oos is uncontracted, e.g. voos Herakl. 111, Anax. 5, 6, 7, 12 (Simplicius has however vovs), Hdt. IX 120, elvos VII 173, &c., olvoxos III 34, cf. Plato, Phil. 61 C.

Hippokrates and the pseudo-Ionists:

πλόος Arrian 22, 38, &c.

πλοῦς Aret. 301, &c., Vita Hom.

άκρόπλοος Hippokr. ep. 183, Aret. 63.

είσπλους Arrian. περίπλους Arrian.

vóos Euseb. Mynd. 14, 19, Hipp. ep. 12, 18₂, 3. póos Aret. 163, 164, &c. εύροος Aret. 210, Hippokr. II 38.

σύννους Hippokr. ep. 15.

κατάρροος Hippokr. V 700 (Erm. -ovs Littré).

elopous Aret. 274.

ăπνοος Aret. 274.

κατάρρους Hippokr. V 700 (Erm.) II 46 (Erm. and Lit.). δύσπνους Aret. 32, Hippokr. II 160, Lit. -00s.

βραχύπνοος Hippokr. III 114, εύπνοος Aret. 264, &c., Hippokr. III 126.

xpoos Aret. 99. λευκόχροος Aret. 163. åπλόος Luk. Syr. 31. διπλόος Aret. 163.

άπλοῦς Aret. 162.

xvovs Aret. 177.

459. Genitive Singular (Inscriptions).

The genitive singular termination is -ov, never in a prose

document -οιο, or -ω.

OY is usually expressed by O upon the early monuments. In the Naxian inscriptions: NaξιΟ ΦραξΟ Bechtel 23=Rob. I 25, λίθΟ 25=Rob. I 27, ΛοφιΟ Rob. I 29. In Paros 60=Rob. Ι 15 ΤΩ ΠαριΩ is τοῦ Παρίου, 'ΑσφαλιΩ is 'Ασφαλίου. not Doric Παρίω as is clear from the word μήτηρ. Miletos 93= Rob. I 133 has τΟ ἀρχηγΟ, and cf. also 94=Rob. I 134, 98= Rob. I 138, Prokonnesos 103=Rob. I 42, Teos 156=Rob. I 142 A, lines 5, 12, B 8, 25, 28, 32, Chios 174=Rob. I 149 70Y70 A 1, cf. also A 2, 3, 5, D 15, 175=Rob. I 150, Samos 210=Rob. I 151, 214=Rob. I 155, 215=Rob. I 156, Halik. 238=Rob. I 1456, 7, 11, 12, 14, 23, 35.
The later form is OΥ ('ΕρριδαίΟ[v] Olynthos 8 A₁, between

389-383 в. с., ef. l. 2).

θεοῦ 22012 Samos. θεός is the Ionic form, θεά does not occur

except in Herodas (410, 11).

The nominatives with -ovs (-oos) have -ov in the genitive, e. g. Πολύθρου Teos 158 (an almost entirely Attic inscription) Καλλίνου Th. (L.) 84, 'Αριστόνου ibid. 1710.

The Homeric genitive in -010 occurs on poetical monuments (Paros 59 alyıóxo10, and doanévolo Latyschev II 37). Other metrical inscriptions have -01 (23, 25, 34, 60, 162, 261, 265).

460.] Genitive Singular (Lyric Poets).

The usual termination is -ov. By imitation of Homeric usage or from the fact that the older Ionic actually possessed the form, -oto 1 has been adopted by the elegiac poets as an archaism and is by them used to a great extent in the same place in the verse as it is employed in Homer. Cf. Renner in Curtius' Studien I A 206 ff. I have indicated by a small figure the position in the verse of the syllables -oto. -oto is rare in pentameter; Tyrt. IIe is the only example from the older elegy, Aischyl. 42 from the later, non-Ionic elegy.

Tyrtaios: ἢελίοιο^δ ΙΙ₆, Τιθωνοῖο⁸ Ι2₆, στέρνοιο⁸ Ι2₂₆; θανάτοιο⁶

1235; Kirupéoio 126 has been corrected to Kirúpeo.

Archilochos: 'Ενυαλίοιο^δ 11, πολυφλοίσβοιο^δ 93.

Mimnermos: θανάτοιο 27; ποταμοΐο 95, πολέμοιο 147, ήελίοιο

1156, 14116.

Theognis: θανάτοιο³ 707, χαλεποΐο³ 103, κιβδήλοιο³ 119 (the two latter passages contain also a gen. in -ου), ἐλάφοιο³ 949; ἡελίοιο 569⁶, 1143⁶, 1183⁶, οὐλομένοιο⁶ 527, νόοιο⁸ 705, Τηϋγέτοιο⁶ 879.

Solon : ἠελίοιο³ 13₂₃, ἀτρυγέτοιο⁶ 13₁₉. Anakreon : ὀχάνοιο 91 ; cf. § 63. Hipponax : hex. 854 ἀτρυγέτοιο⁶.

Of the elegists, Archilochos offers the sole exception to the rule that -o10 in the elegy is used in the third and the sixth foot.

In the iambographic poets we find but one example of -οιο: Archilochos, tetr. 77₁ ('Ω_S Διωνύσοι' ἄνακτος καλὸν ἐξάρξαι μέλος), sic Bergk, vulgo Διωνύσοιο, PVL Διονύσοιο, cf. Iliad XI 35 and Dr. Leaf on the passage. The unique position of this -οιο and the doubt whether the final o can be elided ² caused Hermann to read -ον.

From stems in which o precedes the final o of the stem: voo

¹ Epic -ose has been placed under Aiolic. It is both Aiolic and Ionic. The grammarians often regard this ending as Ionic and Thessalian, e.g. Vat. 700, Et. M. 618₂₇, Et. Gud. 420₃₃, An. Ox. I 313₆₈, II 404₁₆; more frequently as Thessalian alone, c.f. Thessalian, § 35. Sometimes -ose is referred to Ionic alone, c.g. Tzetz. Ex. II. 96₁₄. Greg. Kor. § 22 cites Mercháese in the same breath with θelose.

breath with \$\theta_{elose}.

Lug-bil in Fleckeison's Jahrb. Suppl. XII 216, Fick in his Odysses, p. 29, Platt in Class. Rev. II 99, rightly hold that elision may take place. That the Thessalian gen. in -ec is a locative (Ebel in K. Z. XIII 446, G. Meyer, Gremm. § 344; cf. Mahlow, Die Vocale A E O, p. 37, Stolz, Let. Gremm. § 83) has not yet been proved. Cf. Wilamowitz Hom. Uniers. p. 321.

Theog. 223, Archil. 565, καλλιρόου Anakr. 28. From stems in εο-: ἀργαλέου Mimn. 26, 42, Tyrt. 118.

461.] Genitive Singular (Prose).

Besides the regular forms in -ov we meet in the MSS. of Hdt. with -oio and $-\epsilon \omega$, forms which are due to an erroneous conception of the nature of the Herodoteian dialect.

1. Epic -οιο in R in III 97 Καυκάσοιο. ἔρωτος ἀπρήκτοιο in

Lukian, d. S. 22, is from some poetical source.

2. -εω, by transference from the declension, in all MSS. Hdt. IV 147, 148 Μεμβλιάρεω, but -ον IV 147; as ν. l. in VI 102 Πεισιστράτεω, VIII 122 Κροίσεω, V 32 Κλεομβρότεω, Βάττεω II 181, IV 159, 160, 162, 205. Τεντάμεω Herakl. 112 is from

-ηs (see Bywater, p. xii).

Stobaios has νοῦ in quoting Demokr. 13, and likewise Simplicius in Anaxag. 5. In Hdt. νόον VIII 97 occurs in all MSS. In VI 105, however, all the MSS. have εὕνου; and ἔσπλου is equally well attested in VI 33. περιρρόον I 174 without variant. Hdt. has ἀστέον IX 83. Upon Attic inscriptions we find θυηχόον C. I. A. III 244 (very late), but -χοῦ C. I. A. I 322 A 79, 95 (409 B. C.); χρυσοχόου is found in Demosthenes.

In Hippokrates and the later Ionists :-

πλόου Arrian 37, 38, 40.

νόου Euseb. Mynd. 19, 34. προνόου Euseb. Mynd. 16. ρόου Aret. 164, 302, &c. περιρόου Hippokr. II 692. χειμαρρόου Arr. 38. λευκοχρόου Aret. 114.

πλοῦ Vita Hom. 18. παραπλοῦ Arrian 19, 25. διέκπλου Arrian 22. νοῦ Aret. 79.

ροῦ Aret. 210. καταρροῦ Hippokr. V 680.

462.] Dative Singular 1 (Inscriptions).

1. $-\omega_{\ell}$ is the regular form on all inscriptions, and is found everywhere, except in the few cases when $-\omega$ and $-\omega_{\ell}$ occur. $i\sigma\omega\pi\omega[\iota]$ is to be read in Keos 43_{10} and not $-\omega_{\ell}$. $\chi\rho\nu\sigma\omega_{\ell}$ in Samos 220_{17} (346–45) is a form contrary to the rule that adjectives of material are uncontracted in Ionic when ϵ is followed by an σ sound.

-ω. In Attic ι falls off from -ωι in the first century B. c.
 On Ionic soil -ω is very rare and late. ᾿Ασκληπιῶ 67 Paros (period of the empire), Ἡδριανῶ Σεβαστῶ Ὁλυμπίω 101 Miletos, ἀργυρέω 129 Olbia (period of the empire), χρυσῶ Latyschev I No. 22, I, No. 57 (κοινή contraction), but χρυσέω l. l. I, No. 67.

¹ Joh. Gr. 242 cites the Homeric ἀργυρέφ, χρυσέφ as Ionic.

3. -oi. The ending -wi became -oi in (a) Chalkidian and (b) Eretrian Ionic about 400 B.C. No other section of the Ionic dialect has -o. (not a locative). Cf. the change of -n. to -e., § 239.

A. In Chalkidian colonies:

π]ολέμοι Olynthos 8 A₆ (389– τῶι Olynthos 8 A 2. 383 B.C.).

τωι κοινώι Olynthos 8 B 4. τῶι δήμωι Amphip. 101. τώι unc. 13a.

-01

B. Eretria and colonies :

'Aμαρυν(θ)οî Eretria 1518 (410- τωι Eretria 14. 390 B. C.).

τοι leροι Eretria 15₁₉. έν τοι ίεροι Oropos 188,, 9, 15, 19,

Kηναίωι Eretria 1519. -we in No. 16 throughout.

ξαυτοί Oropos 18₂₈. πετεύροι Oropos 1842. τοι βουλομένοι Oropos 18₄₃. τοι κοιμητηρίοι Oropos 1843. τοῖ also Ι8₃₂, ₄₅, ₄₆.

Cf. the locative -or in Eleian, North-West Greek, Boiotian and Arkadian.

463. Dative Singular (Lyric Poets).

Tyrtaios 12, has ἀργαλέφ, but in Mimn. 11, we find the Homeric χρυσέφ (A 15) with synizesis; Theog. 1052 has νόφ, 1088 καλλιρόφ.

464. Dative Singular (Proce).

Nouns or adjectives with ϵ or o before the stem vowel o do not contract ϵ or o with that vowel in the MSS., e.g. kare Hdt. I 119, πορφυρέφ Ion I, νόφ Hdt. III 41, 51, VIII 19, as Herakl. 91, Demokr. 57. But in IV 125, I 27, II 181, VII 150 all or nearly all the MSS. have vet or ve, for which Stein reads νόψ.

χρυσοχόφ occurs on an Attic inscription II 652 B, 16 (398 B. c.), but in other words -οφ has become -φ.

In Hippokrates and the pseudo-Ionists:

1 But this form may be a locative (cf. Hermes XXI 99), as 'let] not Thases Bob. I 24. Cf. similar forms in treaties in Thukydides.

No. 18 dates either from 411-402 B. C., or from the period between the Peace of Antalkidas and 377 B.C. dr voi lepoi is scarcely a locative, as G. Meyer, Gramm. § 350 suggests.

πλόφ Arrian 23, Hippokr. ep.

17₃₄. νόφ Euseb. Mynd. ῥόφ Luk. *Syr.* 8, περιρόφ Hippokr., Aret.

νῷ Luk. Astr. 15. περιρρῷ Hippokr. V 730. χειμάρρφ Arr. 24, 39. διπλῷ Aret., τριπλῷ Abyd.

The hyper-Ionic αὐτέφ appears in some MSS., Hdt. I 133, where Athenaios has αὐτφ̂, cf. § 563.

465.] Accusative Singular 1 (Inscriptions).

In the stems in -00 we have $\pi[\rho]\delta\chi o \nu N$ Naukr., Bechtel = 139 A, cf. Ω 304; $\xi\kappa\pi\lambda o \nu \nu$ and $\xi\sigma\pi\lambda o \nu \nu$ Eryth. 2027, Iasos, J. H. S. IX

341, 342.

In the adj. inflection ἀλοργοῦν Samos 220₂₂, 30, εὔνουν Olbia C. I. G. 2059₁₄, λινοῦν 220₂₅, 27, but according to the rule Ionic χρύσεον 220₁₈, as Zeleia 114 E, Olbia 129₁₂, Aphrodisias 254 (Roman), also Latyschev I 50, 54, 57, 64 (post Christum).

466.] Accusative Singular (Lyric Poets).

Theog. 1267 has $v\acute{o}ov$, but $\epsilon \~vvovv$ or $\epsilon vvovv$ 641 in all MSS. Wordsworth read $\epsilon \~vvoov$ since Theognis prefers a dactyl to a spondee in the fourth foot. The same poet has $vo\~v$ 350, 898 (cf. Hesiod, frag. 222). Archil. has $v\acute{o}ov$ 784 tetr., 896 epod. and so Sim. Amorg. 71 despite $v\acute{o}os$ 13; Solon 2713 $vo\~v$. Herodas 254 has $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\acute{o}ov$, but in 248 $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\acute{o}\~v$; $vo\~v$ 168, $\check{a}vovv$ 327. Mimn. has $\check{b}\acute{o}ov$ 114.

We find μυδάλεον in Archil. 182, ἀργαλέον in Mimn. 110, 55,

Tyrtaios ριγαλέου 11,7, Theog. ἀφυεόυ 188, 559.

467.] Accusative Singular (Prose).

Nouns and adjectives with ϵ or o before the stem vowel o do not usually suffer contraction with that vowel in the MSS. of Herodotos, e.g. $\pi\lambda\delta o\nu$ II 175, $\nu\delta o\nu$ III 21, I 27, Demokr. 59, Herakl. 16, Pherek. 60, $\pi\rho\delta\nu o\nu$ Hdt. III 36, $\delta\iota\pi\lambda\delta o\nu$ VI 104, $\delta\nu\tau\iota\xi\delta o\nu$ VI 7, VII 49. $\chi\sigma\hat{\nu}\nu$ is contracted in all MSS. Hdt. I 185, II 150, VII 23 and $\delta\lambda\sigma\hat{\nu}\nu$ III 98 (Attic $\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega s$). In III 22 where most MSS. have $\chi\rho\nu\sigma\sigma\hat{\nu}\nu$, R has $\chi\rho\nu\sigma\sigma\hat{\nu}\nu$, which is adopted by Stein. Holder adopts Schaefer's $\chi\rho\hat{\nu}\sigma\epsilon \nu$. $\delta\iota\nu\nu$ $\delta\iota\nu\nu$ appears in IX 22. Attic has both $\delta\iota\nu\nu\nu$ and $\delta\iota\nu\nu\nu$ and $\delta\iota\nu\nu\nu$

In Hippokrates and the later Ionists the open forms prevail:-

¹ Greg. Kor. § 71 νόον, βόον. ² Cf. Fritsch, V. H. D. 46.

πλόον Luk. Syr. 7, Arrian 23 and often, Hippokr. ep. 1740.

πλοῦν Arr. 21, 33, Vita Hom. 17, 29. παράπλουν ΑΙΤ. 32, 39. σύμπλουν Vita Hom. 17.

νόον Luk. Syr. 26, Abyd. 9, Hippokr. II 230, III 228, ep. 1734. εύροον Aret. 248, &c.

σύρρουν Αττ. 43. χειμάρρουν Arr. 39.

δύσπνοον Hippokr. V 590. åπνοον Hippokr. III 68. εύπνοον Hippokr.V 668, II 148, 348, 368, Aret. 202, &c. ἄχροον Hippokr. III 252. εύχροον Aret. 266. δμόχροον Hippokr. V 674, II

axpour Aret. 144.

διπλόου Aret. 205, Hippokr. II διπλούυ Arr. 33. 44, III 184. åθρουν Hippokr. and Aret. often.

πολύθροον Abyd. 5. ἀντίξοον Luk. Astr. 12.

dντίξουν Aret. 38. χοῦν Απ. 13. δικροῦν Hippokr. V 634.

468. Vocative Singular.

The vocative form proper occurs very frequently in Herodotos. Whereas the Athenians, according to Gregor. Korinth. p. 117, said ω φίλος, Hdt. has ω ξείνε, &c., in many passages.

469. Nominative Plural.

The nom. pl. has -οι or -ā. Xenoph. 38 αὐχαλέοι, but γηράλεοι occurs in Anakr. 432 (cf. ἀρπαλέα Mimn. 14). Hdt. has ἀθρόοι, σόοι (σόαι, σόωι, σόα), κατάρροοι Hippokr. II 18, άπνοοι Aret. 105. βραδύπνοοι Aret. 122, δύσπνοοι Hippokr., εύπνοοι Aret., χρόοι Hippokr., Aret., ἀπλοῖ Aret., but εὐήκοοι, ὀξυήκοοι, λιθόξοοι, σιελοχόοι Aret., ελαφρόνοοι Phokyl. 9

Hdt. contracts in διπλά II 148, VIII 87, while Aretaios has εύπνοα, εύροα and δίκροα; Hippokrates varies between εύχρω and εύχροα. ἀπλα is found in Aretaios, διπλα, τριπλα and άθρόα in Hippokr., ἀιτίξοα in Luk. Astrol. 2. Hdt. has I 94 ἐπίπλοα, but τὰ ἐπιπλα furniture from ἐπιπλος, cf. δίπλος Empedokl. 62, δίκρος Aischylos, fr. 47. δστέα Hdt. I 67, II 41, &c., Hippokr. III 534.

Hdt. has δεσμά VI 91 from δεσμός.

470. Genitive Plural (Inscriptions).

The only noteworthy case is $\chi \hat{\omega} \nu < \chi \text{of}$ - $\omega \nu$ Kees 43. (towards

the end of the fifth century), a genuine Ionic form, though the inscription contains one instance of Atticism. xoûs originally belonged to this declension. The Argolic accus. was xw Athen. 365 D. Hippokr. has χοεί, χοέα from χοεύς, but forms of the build of xoos xot do not occur in Ionic.

471. Genitive Plural (Lyric Poets).

όστέων Archil. 843 as Trach. 769, Orest. 404, Acharnians 1226 (lyr.) and Plato Phaido 98 C, D.

472. Genitive Plural (Prose).

The genitive plural in $-\epsilon\omega\nu$, which belongs exclusively to the A declension, has been forced upon the masculine and neuter genitive of autos and outos. These forms were created by the scribes inserting an e which they thought gave the proper dialectal colour 1. These forms are not to be defended on any ground whatsoever; and have been rejected by Gaisford, Bredow, Stein, and others. Good MSS. give very frequently the proper forms, but even when the masculine and neuter αὐτέων and τουτέων rest upon the authority of all the MSS. of Hdt., they are to be rejected 2. In Hippokrates we find the same delusion attested by the MSS., but autor and τούτων have been restored by Ermerins. Oftentimes the cause of the false form seems to have been the presence of a correct -εων in a neighbouring word, e.g. σφέων αὐτέων Hdt. IX 96, ημέων αὐτέων IV 1143.

Apollonios (de Pronomine 123 A) says: ον τρόπον το νυμφέων διαιρείται, τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον καὶ τὸ αὐτέων, ὁπότε θηλυκὸν σημαίνει. καὶ ἔτι αὐτάων. This cannot be strained to mean that Apollonios accepted a masculine and a neuter αὐτέων and τουτέων.

Other instances of the adventitious e in Hdt, are: Σουσέων in all MSS. V 35, Θεσσαλέων found in the Aldine edition V 64, γλουτέων IV 9 in Rvs, πυρέων II 36 in the Aldine edition, &c. Kallimachos went a step further in affixing the termination -awr to fem. names of the O declension (νησάων, ψηφάων). Kirchhoff conjectures that the source of this error is to be found in pseudo-Hesiodic Aspis v. 7: βλεφάρων τ' ἀπὸ κυανεάων.

In the genitive plural of nouns and adjectives with e or o before -ων, ε or o is not contracted with -ων, e.g.: -συμπλόων III 41, σόων in Hdt., ἀπλῶν, διπλῶν Aretaios. The Vita Hom. 36 has συμπλόων. πλόων in Xenophon R. A. I 20, εὐνόων in Thuk. VI 64 will hardly stand.

¹ Lukian makes Hdt. use τοντέων (de domo 20).

In VII 124 Stein has retained τουτέων.
 Bredow's defence of αὐτέων IV 114 (page 245) cannot be accepted.

478.] Dative Plural 1 (Inscriptions).

On inscriptions we meet with two forms of the dative plural, -oto: and -ots.

Ι. -οισι.

Olynthos 8 A 4 ἀλλήλοισι, Kyzikos 108 B 2 τοῖσιν, τοῖσιν ἐκγόνοισιν 108 B 3, τούτοισιν 108 B 8, Teos Τηlοισιν 156 A 2, ᾿Ανθεστηρίοισιν 156 B 31-32, Ἡρακλείοισιν 156 B 33, Δίοισιν 156 B 34 (this inscription has no case of -οις), [Δ]ιοσκούρο[ι]σι 257, found at Naukratis, μύθοισι epigr. in Latyschev II 171. Of these examples those from Kyzikos must be set down as archaistic, since the inscription is scarcely earlier than the first century B. c. and full of inaccuracies. The inscription from Olynthos contains the latest (389-383 B. c.) genuine example of -οισι on Ionic soil². The assertion of Karsten, p. 32, that -οις is a peculiarity of Euboian Ionic, and -οισι a peculiarity of the 'severior Ias' falls to the ground.

2. -015.

All other Ionic inscriptions have -o.s. Even in Olynthos No. 8, where (line 4 A) we found αλλήλοισι, the form αμφοτέροις occurs. But this is the only example of the coexistence of the two forms, such as meets us on the Attic prose inscriptions of the fifth century. All the other inscriptions of Euboian Ionic have -ois, e.g. Oropos 18, Kyme Rob. I 174. In Teos 158 and Mitth. XVI 292, Keos 43, we find only -ois; so too in Miletos 100 (which dates from the first half of the fourth century). Chios 174 unfortunately contains no examples of the dative plural. Halik. 240 has rois and other datives in -ois, but is not free from younger forms. While Halik. 238,0 proves that the Ionic of the fifth century possessed a form rois, it does not disprove the correctness of roios in literature, as Fritsch opines. No genuine case of roiou appears. On the analogy of rais for reas, τοίσι might have become τοίς before -οισι in the noun became -ois. But as in Attika we have both roioi and rois in the fifth century, so there is no reason why the forms should not coexist in Ionic. rois is found early in the fifth century in Attika (C. I. A. I B 8)³.

Adjectives in -εos do not contract -εois, e.g. χρυσέοις Olbia, Latyschev I No. 22, (post Christum).

 ⁻eigi Greg. K. 2, Meerm. 663 (τοῦι ἀνθράποισι), Joh. Gr. 239 B, 241 B, An.
 Ox. I 3311, An. Par. III 3191, Par. 681 – An. Bachm. II 3705 (τοῦτι, τουτέσισι).
 The latest examples in Attic are 'Αθηναίοισιν C. I. A. 301 A 7 (434 B.C.), and δσοισιν C. I. A. II 57026 (403 B.C.).

³ In Attic inscriptions -east and -east are found up to 444 m.c., after which the former disappears (see note 2). In C. I. A. I 2 (before 456) both forms are found upon the same inscription.

474. Dative Plural (Lyric Poets).

As in the inscriptions, so in the lyric poets we find both -our and -ois. Cf. Renner, Curtius' Studien I 1, 208 ff., Fick, B. B. IX 207, XI 255 ff.

Ι. -οισι.

Archilochos: χαρτοῖσίν τε, κακοῖσιν ἀσχάλα 66 tetr., ἀστοῖσι 944 epod., ανηκέστοισι κακοίσιν 95, μύροισι 31, θεοίσι 55, βοστρύχοισι 58, αμηχάνοισι 661, δοκοίσιν 663, ανθρώποισι 701, τοίσι 749, καθαροίσιν 122.

Simonides of Amorgos: ξείνοισιν 719, θύννοισι, κωβιοίσι 15, μύροισι 161, ανθρώποισιν 13, 721, καγαθοίσιν 110, πολλοίσι 116, βροτοίσι 121, τέκνοισιν 734, έχθροίσιν . . . φίλοισι 736, βαρυκτύποισι

1740, ανθέμοισιν 766, άλλοισι 768, πορδακοίσιν 21.

Hipponax: σησάμοισι 362, τούτοισι 141, κηρίοισιν 363, κακοίσι 431, Αυδίοισιν έν χοροίσι 91, τριοίσι 51, Ταργηλίοισιν 373, σπλάγχνοισιν 40, άλλήλοισιν 53, γνάθοισι 62 with the MSS. and Hiller (Bergk γνάθοις).

Mimnermos : ἵπποισίν τε 123. Herodas : ἱροῖσιν 494, ᾿Αβδήροισιν 258, τοῖσι προ $[\mathring{v}]$ νίκοισι

365, τοις σφύροισι 562, κακοίσι 7104.

Anakreon: ἀστοῖσι 152, ξένοισι 84, μηροῖσι 164 (Bergk μηροῖς). Solon: ανθρώποισι 23, 17, 384, δεσμοῖσί τ' αεικελίοισι δεθέντες 4_{25} , ἀμφοτέροισιν 5_5 , ἐχθροῖσι 13_6 , νούσοισιν 13_{61} , ἀνέμοισι, ἀργαλέοισιν 1345, τοίσι 136, 48, 373, θνητοίσι 1363, 247, Σολίοισι 191, φίλοισιν 211, ερατοίσιν 251, θεοίσιν 35, εναντίοισιν 372, φακοίσι

Theognis: very often.

2. -ois.

To forms followed by a consonant I have appended the next word. Forms at end of verse are indicated by a |. The usual place of occurrence is in the middle and end of the pentameter,

rarely the end of the hexameter.

Archilochos: ἀνθρώποις 62, δεινοίς 65, θνητοίς μελέτη 15 (some MSS. βροτοίς). -oιs is here in an hexameter, which is a cause for suspicion. Fick thinks that if πάντα βροτοΐσι πόνος is not correct the verse is not Archilocheian. θυητοῖς 702, ὁκοίοις 703 tetr., μηροίς 722 tetr. (the verse is incomplete), τοίς θεοίς τίθει 56 tetr. (Ahrens τοισι θεοίσι τίθετε, Renner's τοισι θεοίς is objectionable), κακοίς | 65 (κακώς Fick).

Simonides of Amorgos: κακοίς 124, μύροις 764, δασκίοις 14, όφθαλμοῖς ίδεῖν 732, δόμοις ίδών 729 (no F), ἀπλύτοις τ' 75 (MSS. -τος, Meineke ἀπλύτοισ' ἐν), ἀνθρώποις γέλως 774, where Arsen. πάσιν άστοισι, τοιούτοις θυμόν 770 (Ahrens τοιούτον θυμόν with

Ailian; Fick ejects the verse).

Hipponax: φαρμάκοις | tr. 8, in A B (φάρμακοι, conjectured by

Bergk, is adopted by Fick), ἐν γνάθοις κεκινέαται 62₂ (MSS. τοῖσι γνάθοισι, see Bergk ad loc.), σκιράφοις 86.

Ananios: ἐν δόμοις πολλόν 31 trim. (ten Brink and Ahrens ἐν δόμφ συχνόν, cf. Hippokr. II 22, 36; Suidas has χρυσὸς συχνὸς

ήγουν πολύς).

Herodas: τοις τε 3_{20} , τοις καμούσιν 5_{84} , τοις σφύροισι 5_{82} , δικτύοις κείνται 3_{20} , καλοίς $\epsilon \pi$ ίροις ταισδε 4_{83} , δέννοις ϵl (?) 7_{104} , ανωνύμοις ταύταις 6_{14} , ανθρώποις | 1_{46} , 5_{15} , Βρικινδήροις | 2_{87} , ξείνοις | 2_{94} .

Anakreon: Θαλυσίοις | 13, καλοῖς | 63_{10} , ὅμνοις | 63_{11} , κεχρημένοις | 84_2 , ξείνοις, ἔασον 57, πολυανθέμοις 65_8 , ξένοισι μειλιχίοις ἔοικότες

B4.

Mimnermos: τοῖς ἴκελοι 23 (ἴκελος has no F in the Ionic lyric),

λυγροῖς | 71, referred to Theognis (cf. 795) by Fick.

Xenophanes: εὐφήμοις μύθοις καὶ καθαροῖσι λόγοις | I₁₄, a noteworthy line because of the freer use of -oις in the second foot of the pentameter before a consonant (cf. Tyrt. 46), πρὸς τοῖς | 78.

Tyrtaios: μικροίς κουριδίη 106, δφθαλμοίς καί 1006, μεγάλοις

βάλλετε χερμαδίοις | 1136.

Theognis: θεοις σπένδεις 490 (Evenos of Paros?). Fick suggests (B. B. XIII 173) θεφ from an incorrect reading of ΘΕΟΙΣΠΕΝΔΕΙΣ, since o denoted ω in the old Parian alphabet. -oις before a consonant in hexameters, a divergence from the usual earlier use, occurs in 145, 545, 653, 897, 1027.

usual earlier use, occurs in 145, 545, 653, 897, 1027.

The old epic poet Asios of Samos has μεγάροις τέκεν 2, καλοῖς | 132, and δεσμοῖς | 134. The Halikarnassian Panyassis has

 $\delta \sigma \theta \lambda o is \delta \epsilon 13_{14}$; $\theta o o is \delta id 15.$

Solon: before a vowel— τ oîs ddikois dimpitilonoi 4_{34} , ddikois ξ ργμασι 4_{11} , 13_{12} (Solon has no F here), τ oîs 5_4 , 13_{84} , θ νητοῖs 13_{16} , τ 4, ϕ ίλοιs, ξ χθροῖσι 13_5 , αὐτοῖs 15_2 , θ θθαλμοῖs 34_2 tetr.

Before a consonant— ἐν συνόδοις, τῆς άδικ' ἐστὶ φίλα 422, where the MSS. have for the second part of the pentameter τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι φίλοις (Fick ἦσ'), τοῖσι νωτέροις, δράσαι 37, trim. according to Bergk (the numerous conjectures all have -οις), μεγάλοις πάσιν 7 (referred by Fick to Theognis, cf. 799 ff.), μή τι θεοῖς τούτων 112 (τι om. Sitzler, Fick, who read θεοῖσι). At the verse end is found ἀστοῖς 101.

We have seen above § 451 that the forms in -ais, though rare, are not to be rejected. The same holds good in the case of -ois.

In the later elegy our is very common. In Evenos, Kritias, Dionys. Chalkos, Plato, it usually occurs in the same place in the verse as in the earlier elegists. Plato 12, is, however, an exception ififth part of the hexameter'.

475.] Dative Plural (Prose).

-οισι is found in Hekat. e.g. 135, 172, 173 (τοΐσι), Pherek.

Leros λίθοισιν (44); Herakleitos 114 has τοῖs and 11 Δελφοῖs before a vowel in each case.

Demokritos as handed down in Stobaios has -οισι in e.g. 10, 11, 13, 27, 168 (οἶσιν), 184 (τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοισι in Stob.), 193, 197, 202, 205, 213 (τοῖς χρηστοῖσιν), 2154 (but τοῖς 2151), 236 (τοῖς πόνοισιν); 102, 122, 138 (Demokrates). The article generally appears in the shorter form, but Stobaios has τοῖσι in 13, 47 (relative), 193 (τοῖσιν ἀνοήτοισιν), 197, 158 (Demokrates).

In Charon of Lampsakos frag. 9 there are two cases of -oις before a vowel, one of τοῖς before a consonant. Protagoras has τοῖσι πολλοῖσι.

In Herodotos but few cases of -οις occur, and these are due to copyists' errors, e.g. αὐτοῖς in C I 86; the same form in Hekat. 175 (before a vowel in each case). τοῖσδε occurs III 36 in all MSS. In the same chapter τοῖσιδε τοῖσι ἔπεσι where all the MSS. except P C have τοῖσδε, and R has τοῖς for τοῖσι. In VI 119 ἀγγείοις τὸ was formerly read, but is now dropped, being found only in εz.

In Hippokrates and Aretaios and in the imitators of Herodotos -οισι prevails though the MSS. vary constantly. θ has τοῖσδ' in Hippokr. VIII 50 (v. l. τοισίδε, τοῖσιν δέ)¹. Arrian's Ind. has four times as many cases of -οισι as of -οις. The Vita Homeri has on the other hand forty-one cases of -οις to two of -οισι. Lukian's Vit. auct. has τοῖς ἐκεῖ σοφοῖσι 3, but τοῖσδεσι τοῖσιν εἰρημένοισι 5. Of the -οις forms τοῖς is the one most common. On the relation of the inscriptional τοῖς to the τοῖσι of literature, see § 473, 2, and cf. Gomperz' Apologie d. Heilkunst, p. 189.

476.] Accusative Plural.

 $\beta a \rho \beta a \rho O \Upsilon$ s Teos 156 B 26-27 is noticeable from the fact that it is the only early inscription which has O \Upsilon to express the spurious diphthong.

In the lyric poets we find oloakéovs Arch. 94.

In Hdt. we find ἀντιξόους VII 150 (-ous A B' Cd, cf. δορυξός in Attic) and so VII 192; Demokr. 215 has ὁμουόους, Aretaios 279 has εὐρόους. ὀστέα Hdt. I 67, II 41, &c.

The 'Attic Declension' in Ionic.

477.] Forms of the so-called Attic declension occur sporadically even in Doric, e. g. upon an inscription from Kos we find τέλεως,

¹ πρός τοῖσδεσσιν in θ in VIII 358, 268, 372, 308.

τέλεων, τέλεφ ¹. In Ionic there is ample testimony to their presence.

Nouns formed from λεώς:

Nomin.: 'Αρκεσίλεως Styra 1916, Hdt. IV 160², 'Αναξίλεως Miletos 93, Hdt. VI 23, Μενέλεως II 119 (v. l. -λεος II 116), Περίλεως ΙΧ 103, Στησίλεως VI 114, Χαρίλεως III 145, Thus. (L.) 4 B 6, Ήγελεως Κου 44 B 5, Κριτόλεως Smyrna 15324, Αρτυσίλεως Thas. 78 C 8, Φανόλεως Thas. (L.) 4 B 7, Κρατιστόλεως 6 B 2, Λυσίλεως 7 A 9, Πυθόλεως 10 B 38

Genit.: Φανόλεω Thasos 75 A 4, Thasos (L.) 8 B 12, cf. 15 C 6, Πρηξίλεω Thasos 75 A 7, Εὐρύλεω 78 C 4, 'Αναξίλεω Thasos 75 B 5, 'Αδίλεω Thasos (L.) 8₁₀, 'Αριστόλεω Maroneia, Head, Η. Ν. 216, Θερσέλεω Paros 60₂ (epigt.). In Hdt. 'Αρκεσίλεω IV 160, 161, 'Αρχέλεω VII 204, 'Αναξίλεω VIII 131, 'Ηγησίλεω VII 204, 'Αναξίλεω VIII 131, 'Ηγησίλεω VII 204, 'Αναξίλεω VIII 131, 'Ηγησίλεω VII 131, 'Ιππόλεω IV 53, Νικόλεω VII 134, Πρωτεσίλεω IX 116, Χαρίλεω VIII 131. Ion I has Έρμησίλεω.

Του του Μενέλεω Hdt. II 118 in a passage cited by Green Korneits.

Dat.: Μενέλεφ Hdt. II 118, in a passage cited by Greg. Kor. (p. 469) as having -λάφ; V 94 (Aldus -λάφ), VII 169 where Wesseling's reading has been adopted by Holder (-λεω R v s,

-λάου A B); λεψ II 124 (λαω R v s, ἄλλωι A B).

Accus. : λεών Hekat. in An. Ox. I 265104, Zeleia 114 E 6, Hdt. 1 22, VIII 136, II 129 (λεώ ABR); in IV 148 all MSS. have λαόν, in V 42 λαόν rz, ληόν reliqui; Μενέλεων II 113, 118, Πρωτεσίλεων ΙΧ 116, 'Αρκεσίλεων ΙΥ 160. Νικόλαν VII 137 is not an Ionian. In the nom. pl. Hdt. V 68 has 'Αρχέλαοι.

The lyric poets are unacquainted with λεώς. Archil. 79 has Χαρίλαε, Ἰόλαος 1193, and the Homeric, but non-Ionic, λάός \$ occurs in the elegy Kallinos 118, Xenoph. 218, Tyrt. 1113, Theog. See § 140, 4 and 160, where other instances of 53, 776, 781. λαός, especially in proper names upon inscriptions, are cited. The progenitor of λεώς is ληός Hipponax 88 which however came into existence long before the sixth century.

Other forms in Hdt. of the 'Attic' declension are: "Abus VII 22, Μίνως Ι 171, πάτρως Η 133, Νεκώς Η 158, **Μανερώς Η 79,** Ίνάρως VII 7, Τέως Ι 142, Η 178; (Gen.) "Αθω VII 22 (cf. Chandler, Accent. § 547), Mivw I 171, Nero II 158, Nato II 165, άλω Hippokr. I 598; (Dat.) πάτρφ VI 103, Τέψ Ι 170; (Accus.) 'Αθων VI 44, Μίνων VII 171 (Lukian Astr. 20 Μίνω), πάτρων

Bechtel, Gött. Nachr. 1890, 33.
 Homeric 'Αρπέσσιος (sic. is the clip-name of this word.
 For Χίλεος Hdt. IX 9, Plutarch has Χείλεως. In many cases the MSS. of Hdt. have variants in -Acos; cf. Bredow, p. 169.

^{&#}x27; Σημειωτέον δε ότι ουχ άπλως τον δχλον πημαίνει, άλλά τον δποτεταγμένου' Εκαταίος γάρ τον Ηρακλέα του Ευρυσθέως λεών λέγει, καίτοι ένα έντα.

Cf. Eust. Oil. Β 242 de τοῦ ληὸς ὁ λαός 1) οδ μέμνηται Ἡρακλείδης - - - οδικο δὰ ἦν ἀπὶ Ὁμήρου ἀν χρήσει τὸ ληὸς ὁ λαός. Απ. Οχ. Ι 265 τὸ λαὸς ἄτρεπτος ὅμεινο ταρ' 'Ομήρφ, καίτοι τῷ μεταγενεστέρς 'Ide τραπέν, ληέν Hipponax.

ΙΥ 76, ΙΧ 78, Νεκῶν ΙΙ 152, Σαβακῶν ΙΙ 137, 152, Τέων Ι 170, Τυφῶ ΙΙΙ 5, but Τυφῶν ΙΙ 156, Τυφῶνα ΙΙ 144, βούκερων ΙΙ 41; (Accus. pl.) δίμνεως V 77 (accented -έως in the MSS.).

Hdt. has Kéor VIII 76 (της Σαλαμινίης), but Kŵs I 144, Kệ IX 76. On Mirwes, see § 524. ήρων is found Hdt. I 1671 (also in Sophron), but ήρωα II 143, VI 69, μήτρωα IV 80.

léρεωs. With léρεωs Miletos 1004 (of the fourth century), cf. Hdt. II 37 ἀρχιέρεως ABC corr., -ιερέως Cpr, ἀρχιερεύς in Rdz and -ιρεύs in P, Stein reading ἀρχιερεύs. Inasmuch as we have a genitive lέρεω in inscriptions from Milesian colonies (lέρεω Olbia 12823, 33, 59, and Tomoi 13612) this léρεωs upon an inscription of the metropolis is to be regarded as a nominative in -εωs (Bechtel, Nachrichten Gött. Gesell. Wiss. 1886, No. 11, p. 378), and not as a mistake for ἱερεύς as has been held. Herodian I 24512, Bekker An. 44931, 1197 recognize an Attic nom. ίέρεως. Cf. άρχιέρεων Plato Laws XII 947 A. On lέρεως for lερεύς as a special mark of the Milesian dialect, see § 11.

Dittenberger (Syll., No. 376, note 4) 2 suggests that lépeus was abstracted from ἀρχιέρεως which contains the stem -ιερηυ- enlarged by ο, -ιερηο becoming -ιερεω, as in the case of ημιέκτεων «η Fov, from εκτεύς, δρεωκόμος <δρη Fo-. lρωσύνη occurs in Hdt. III 142. Bechtel l. l. holds that lερέω is from *lερῆο (cf. 'Αρεω Archil. 48) the genitive of the nom. lephs found in Arkado-Kyprian. To this genitive a new nominative leρέωs (thus accented) was eventually formed. The latter theory is correct only if the existence of an η declension, allied to that of nu, eu and es stems, can be proved 3. The preferable explanation therefore is that of Dittenberger.

πλέωs is found in the MSS. of Archil. 58 (Bergk πλέος, see § 478), ίλεως Hrd. 425, ίλεω 411.

478. Some words in Ionic not inflected according to the 'Attic' declension.

λαγός and κάλος appear to be the Herodoteian forms for λαγώς, κάλως. The MSS, vary constantly as regards the former word. Hipponax 36 has λαγώς (acc. pl.), Meineke -ούς, Anan. 55 λαγών (gen. pl.); Homeric is λαγωός *.

πλέος, πλέη, πλέον are the Herodoteian forms, found also in Ktesias. Archil. 58 has πλέως changed by Bergk. In Anakr. 94

¹ Schol, V on Il. XIII 428 howr Tives 'ATTIKOS - - -

¹ Schol. V on II. XIII 428 ήρων τινès 'Αττικῶs - - .

² Also Philol. Anzeiger XVI 73, Index lect. Hal. 1889/90, p. iv.

³ Doric Τιμοκρηῦν Telos in Cauer 169 C 3, 'Ερμοκρηῦν 169 C 5, 6 = Τιμοκρέων, &c. were formerly assumed to exemplify the reverse of a process by which *leρηόs became not only leρεώs, but also leρήs and leρεύs.

⁴ Cf. schol. on Nikand. Alex. 465: λαγωοῦ - - - - καὶ 'Ιππῶναξ μνημονεύει (frag. 123); also Aneed. Par. IV 245₂₈: τὸ δὲ λαγωόs (Homeric) 'Ἰωνικόν ἐστι. Cf. Trypho frag. 13 (Velsen), Eust. 1821₂₈, Renner in Curtius' Stud. I 1, 219. Fick, B, B. XI 268, Solmsen K. Z. XXIX 109.

(eleg.) we find πλέφ. Once, in the Odyssey v 355, we meet with

epic πλέον, in the same line with πλείη.

It has generally been assumed that the name of Amphiaraos was declined according to the Attic declension. In Hdt. there are however indications to the contrary. 'Αμφιάρεω Hekat. 340, Hdt. I 49, 92, III 91, but in VIII 134 R has -ρεος, Aldus -ραος: 'Αμφιάρεω I 52, 'Αμφιάρεων I 46 (but -ρεον Aldus, -ρηον Ac). In Oropos 182 we meet with 'Αμφιαράου¹ which is due to the influence of ἀράομαι. Wackernagel has shown (Κ. Ζ. ΧΧΥΙΙ 265) that the original form is *'ΑμφιάρηΓος, from which arose Attic 'Αμφιάρεως and Ionic 'Αμφιάρεως. Cf. Τυνδαρέου λ 298, ω 199, Πανδαρέου τ 518, υ 66° from *ΤυνδάρηΓος. Hdt. II 112 has Τυνδάρεω which is Attic like the forms of 'Αμφιάρεως above. 'Αρχηνάρεως quoted by Wackernagel from a Thasiote inscription (Thas. (L.) 4 B 2) is now read 'Αρχῆναξ Τιμοπεί[θεος].

Stein adopts the forms ἀξιόχρεος IV 126, ἀξιοχρέου V 111, ἀξιόχρεου I 156, where several MSS. have -χρεως, -χρεως: ἀξιόχρεο V 65 makes it probable that he is correct though the evidence for -χρεως is strong. Hippokrates has ἀξιόχρεοι. Cf. Bredow, p. 137, Renner, p. 219. If ἀξιόχρεος is Herodoteian,

Theos may be so too, cf. § 139.

Adjectives derived from γη have -γαιος, not -γεως, e. g. υπόγαιος, κατάγαιος, μεσόγαιος, βαθύγαιος in Hdt., μεσόγαιος Arrian 22. ξανθόγεως in Lukian Syr. dea 8 is not an Ionic formation. See Merzdorf, Curtius' Stud. IX 236. Compounds of ναός: dείναος Hdt. I 145, not dείνως, dείναον I 93. Hdt. has νηός I 183, VI 19. ναόν in Ionic inscriptions, Priene 142 (334 B.C.), and Phanagoreia 165 (latter half of fourth century). After 250 B.C. we find in Attic inscriptions ναός: before that date in prose monuments νεώς. In νεωποίας Eph. 14718, Halik. 2408, νεωποιήσαντες Samos 222, νεωκόρον Orop. 1841 we have the latter form. ναών ους in the Delian register, B. C. H. VI 29 (1), dating from the second century: ναοῦ VI 53 (236), but νεωκορίων VI 53 (235-6).

479.] Other forms, chiefly of the O Declension.

δένδρον in Hdt. I 193, III 107, δένδρεον IV 22, 23, but δένδρος accus. VI 79, δένδρεσι II 138, δένδρεα I 17, 193, Hekat. 173, δενδρέων I 202, II 32. In Hippokr. VII 516, 518, 526, 528 we meet with forms of the O declension, but δένδρει 526, δένδρεσι 528. In the pseudo-Hippokratic ep. 138 δένδρα (δένδρεα sec. man.). Lukian Syr. dea 49 δενδρέων, Arrian 7, 11 (-εῖ), 22,

¹ Cf. 'Αμφιάραστ upon Attic vasca K. Z. XXIX 416; cf. C. I. A. II 162 C 21; 471, 27, 70.

<sup>471, 27, 70.

**</sup>Bριέρεων Α 403 is changed by Wackernagel to -ees. Especially noteworthy is Bestere in Ibykos 4ε.

is Budone in Ibykos 45.

* rade Tzetzes Ex. II. 9711.

* Cf. Greg. Kor. p. 61, Eust. on f 152.

27, 32 δένδρεα and δενδρέων. In an inscription from Keos we have δένδρα ήμερα, whereas Hdt. IV 21 has ἡμέρων δενδρέων, cf. VIII 115. The stem δενδρν- (Attic δένδρει, δένδρεσι) has in New Ionic succumbed to the influence of the sigmatic stem, which in Attic generated δένδρη (δένδρα).

δάκρυον Hdt. II 96; δάκρυ sometimes in Homer.

φυλακός 1 Ω 566 and so almost always in Hdt. φυλακόν in a metrical inscription 1415, which however for other reasons is not evidence for the dialect. On the forms from φύλαξ, see § 549.

viós in Hdt. has viov, &c., except viéas IV 84. The inscriptions know no other inflection than that in o. Simonides of Keos (249) is said to have used a nom. vis; but cf. Hdn. on E 266.

πολλός and πολύς. Hdt. adopts the former form with scarcely an exception (πολύν II 121 δ, III 57, πολύ VI 72, and adverbial πολύ III 38, VII 46, 160). πουλύς πουλύ have no support worth mentioning in the MSS. of Hdt. In compounds Hdt. has mode. Herakleitos and Demokritos have πολλός: πολύ in Herakleitos 91 is a conjecture. In the poets πολλός is well attested. Lukian 2 and Arrian follow well in the wake of Herodotos, except in five passages where πολύ has forced its way in : Syr. 3, Ind. 4, 8, 29, 40. The Vita Homeri has πολλόν 5, 16, 17, πολύ 5, 21, 33, 34. The medical writers pursue an eclectic course: Aretaios has πολλόν 17 times in books I and II, πολύ 11 times, πολύς once, πουλύ 2, πουλύς 12, πουλύν 2 in the later books. In Hippokrates the proportions are somewhat different 3, and lead one to the conclusion that an original πολλός had been buried by successive deposits of epic and Attic forms. On the form πουλύς, see § 254.

Consonantal Declension.

480.] In the dative plural Ionic never has -οις, or -εσσι from non-sigmatic stems. Hence δαιτυμόνεσσι Hdt. VI 57 (in AB) cannot be correct. Stein reads -εσι. Such forms in -εσσι in Homer are Aiolic. τοῦσδεσσι in the Hippokratic phrase πρὸς τοῦσδεσσι: § 475.

The hyper-Ionic genitive pl. in $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ contains an ϵ which may be explained in part as due to the influence of such forms as

¹ Aiolic, Greg. Kor. § 17; Ionic, schol. Apoll. Rh. I 132; generally accented φυλακοs, above § 123.
² Cf. Lindemann, De dial. Ion. recentiore, p. 12.

Sometimes when the vulgate has ou, better MSS. have the form with o. So in VI 358 θ has πολύς. Littré even reads πουλλοΐσιν II 650, where many MSS. have πολλ-; cf. II 692.

θεμιστέων Hed. Theog. 235, γεροντέων Hdn. II 229, and partly to the belief in the predilection of Ionic for an open εω.

Examples of this parasitic -εων are: ἀλωπεκέων Hdt. III 102 (A B C), II 67 (C) from ἀλώπηξ Archil. 86, ἀλώπεκος Sim. Am. 77, Solon 115. Ananios has ἀλωπήκων in fr. 55, according to Hermann, the MSS. having ἀλωπέκων which is in violation of the metre (tetram. scazon). Frag. 5 has other strange forms (e.g. ἐσθίειν). ἀλωπήκεσσι occurs in Oppian. The edition of Aldus preferred χηνέων II 45, where it is certainly not adjectival. ἀνδρέων VII 187 is without any MS. authority. On μυριαδέων VII 187 (C d), χιλιαδέων VII 103 (C d), see § 74, 2. Hippokrates has ἀνδρέων, μηνέων, ῥινέων, φλεβέων, χειρέων, Luk. Astr. 5 μηνέων.

Hippokr. has το πάθος and ή πάθη, το πλάδος, φρίξ (also Hom.) and φρίκη.

Stems in Iota.

481.] Terminations:

ls	ies (is)
tos, €os, €ws	ιων
l , € l	ισι
w	ıs, ıa s
L	ies.

Testimony of the grammarians. I. Genitive -105: Joh. Gr. 240, Hdn. II 61466 (Choir. 4559), Gramm. Meerm. § 10, An. Ox. I 35818, 36129, schol. Ven. A on Γ 219, cf. on Ψ 500, the interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 214, An. Par. III 21611, III 29530 (τὰ εἰς ις δξύτονα οὐ γίνονται παρὰ τοῖς Ἰωσι κατὰ ἀποβολὰν τοῦ δ . . . ανημίος, ἀσπίος ὡς Πάριος, Θέτιος). On Θέτιος απημίος, cf. also Theod. 916, schol. Ven. A on Ψ 500, Hdn. II 61436 (Choir. 4558), II 7004 (Choir. 1894), II 76015, 17, &c. (Choir. 35321), II 2491 (Choir. 41021, Et. M. 4602), Et. Gud. 26028. But Θέμιδος is Ionic, IIdn. II 70017 (Choir. 18928). See also on -105, Hdn. II 4067 = 70212, 54422, 57712, 88523, Et. Gud. 47448.

-cos: Greg. Kor. § 21 δφοος, μάντους, and πόλους, which form is quoted from Euripides' Orestes: τὸ μὲν γὰρ λέγειν δφιος, πόλιος κοινέν, τὸ δὲ δφους καὶ πέλους ... Αττικόν. Έστι δὲ δτε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ χρῶντοι (Tuves), καὶ τούτφ μάλιστα, ἐκ "Ομαρος (ἐξ ἀγροῦ νόσφι πόλιος). Cf. Hdn. II 767τ, 16 (Choir. 3731τ), but in II 70116 (Choir. 19416) -cos is restricted to Attic from which the Euripideian πόλους, δφους are cited, and in II 43236 δφιος is stated to be Κοινή, δφους Attic. It is peculiar, and perhaps not in accordance with the general procedure of Herodian, that a form should be stated to have undergone a dialectal πάθος and at the same time be regarded as Κοινή. δφους is called Ionic by a scholiast on Hesiod, W. D. 414 = 412 (Gaisf. p. 266), πόλους by Diakonos on the Δερίε 285.

-ews (Fram. Vatic. p. 696.

⁻nor An. Ox. I 36124.

^{2.} Intere -ī: Ofrī schol. Ven. A on ▼ 500.

⁻el schol. Ven. A on P 219.

¹ Oérides Erythr. 206 B 27.

3. Nom. Pl.: ὄφτ̄s Greg. Kor. p. 475, πόλτ̄s, φύστ̄s Apoll. Pron. 9412 (Schn.), cf. Hdn. II 57828 where πόλις, δφίς and Σάρδις are not referred to Ionic. A grammatical treatise cited Greg. Kor. l.l. has bis and rov bies. These forms are like the Aiolic, Boiotian and Herakl. τρῖς, Alkman's ὅρνῖς, and Attic ἄρκῦς, merely accusatives that have usurped the place of the nominative.

4. Accus. Pl. -is: Choir. 86110, μάντις, δφίς.

482. Interrelation of stems in i and in i.

This declension comprises the two types (1) -7s, -u-os, and (2) rarely in Ionic, πόλις, φύσις, πόλειος, φύσειος = -cos. All the dialects, except Attic, adopted the forms of the first type which carry t through all cases, i.e. both those in which the termination begins with a vowel (πόλι-ος, πολίων), and in those where 7 would properly appear, e.g. locative plural. The latter forms have 7 due to the influence of the second type. See § 484. Brugmann thinks that the inflection πόλις, πόλιμος was an inheritance of Greek from primitive times. Since πόλεος did not suffer contraction, its open ending, though apparently the direct descendant of πόλει-os, has been referred to the influence of -ef-os. See Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII 302.

The locative in -7 is either the result of the contraction of I+I or #6AI contains an I.E. -ī. The -ηī form is from -ēi+i or from ē+i. In either case -ēi or ¿ was the stem ending of the locative.

Nom. pl. -ies is the form of an 7 stem, -eis that of an 7 stem. The nom. pl. in -īs is the accus. used as a nom. Cf. Attic of lxθûs, al κάχρυs, ἐγχέλῦs.

Gen. Pl. - wv from u-wv, derived from an -i stem.

Dat. Pl. -eg: (Homeric, Attic, Arkadian) owes its existence to the e of the pl. -εις, -εων, which gave the impulse to abandon the form with ι (-ισι). The ε of -εων came from that of the strong case forms.

The ancients (cf. § 481) did not commit the error, still appearing in some modern books, of supposing that -īs is from -ιαs. πόλιαs is from πολυ-αs, the accus, of an -i stem; πόλιs is from πολί-ν-s, cf. Homeric δίs.

483.] Sub-dialectal division.

1. In the inscriptions there is noticeable a difference between the genitive in the Ionic of Euboia and that of the Kyklades and Asia Minor. In Euboia we find the genitive in -toos in the case of proper names whose second part consists of an -1 stem: Δημοχάριδος Kyme 31.

In Attic inscriptions we find -idos (and -idi) in masculine proper names, e.g. 'Αδώνιδος C. I. A. I 324 C, II 36 (408 B.C.), Εὐπόλιδος C. I. A. II 41324 (200-197 B. C.), Εὐχάριδος C. I. A. II 809 C 191 (325 B.C.), Καλλιθέμιδος C. I. A. II 470, 93, II (69-

62 B. C.) 2.

The occurrences of -100s upon inscriptions of the Kyklades (Delos, No. 55: 'Aναξιθέμιδος VII 8, Τιμοθέμιδος 3 V 10; also

¹ This form is found C. I. G. 291110, 11 in a Magnesian inscription.

² But of. Σώτιος in Ditt. Syll. 4233 (320 B. c.), and Κετριπόριος C. I. A. II add. 66 B 22 (356 B. c.). The latter form reappears in Thasos 86.

Θέμιδος Ionic, Θέμιτος Doric, accord. to Hdn. II 700 μτ-

in the hypocoristic names 'Αλέξιδος IV 10, Φίλλιδος V 8, Θέρσιδος VII 12, and in No. 56_{70} 'Αναξιθέμιδος), and of the Asiatic mainland (Erythrai Φαννοθέμιδος 206 A 28, B_7 , Φανοπόλιδος 206 C 19) savour of Atticism, the inscriptions in question dating from the second and third centuries before Christ. In Samos 220, we find a feminine Εὐαγγελίδος.

Otherwise -ιος is the invariable termination in the Ionic of the Kyklades and of Asia Minor. ἐλπίς and ὄρνις are dental stems as

in Attic.

1. The Kyklades.

Thasos λύσιος 72_{12} , Φανοπόλιος 75 B 9 and Th. (L.) 6 C 12, and seventeen other instances of -ιος in Bechtel's collection of Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre, Νύμφιος Thasos 78 C 7, Σχησιπόλιος 82 A 4, Ήγησιπόλιος 76 (and Perinthos 233), even 'Αναξιθέμιος Delos 55, IV 11, and also in the hypocoristic names Μέννιος 55 VIII 10, Κρίττιος 56_{142} , 184, 180, Φίλλιος 56_{19} , 83, 97, 184, 'Αλέξιος 56_{36} (and Akanthos 90), Μνήσιος 56_{141} , 184 (also Olbia 131_{16}).

2. Asia Minor and islands colonized from the Asiatic mainland.

Πρωτοχάριος Samos 210, 'Αναξιπόλιο(s) Abdera 163₁₄, 'Απολλοθέμιος Κyzik. 110, Εὐξιθέμιος Maroneia 196₈, Φιλοθέμιος Amorg. 231₃, 'Ηγεπόλι[ο]ς Chios 174 C 14, Εὐπόλιος Maron. 196₄ (cf. Head H. \dot{N} . 216), Κλεοπόλιος 196₁₂, Φείδιος Amorg. 231, Π]όμπιος (?) Samos 214, Κλείσιος Miletos 98, Βρυάξιος Iasos 104₁₇, J. H. S. IX 341, No. 3, παιηγύριος Mylasa 248 C 5, even in πράξιος (with ā) Myl. 248 C 10, and in many other names. Even Karian names receive Ionic inflection; 'ΟαΤάΤιος Halik. 238₆, Λυ[γδά]μιος 238₁₁, cf. Hdt. VII 99, ΠαινάΤιος 238₁₆. In Latyschev, vol. II, we find Σώσιος 377, Καυκάσιος 9 (metr.), Δέρκιος 23, Κόλλιος 246, 68 (cf. 379) not Κόλακος as Bechtel reads in his No. 121, Αὐσιος 97, Συτέσιος 135 (Roman), ''Αλδιος 206, Κινώλιος 226, Γόρδιος p. 312.

484.] Genitive Singular in -109.

Upon the inscriptions we find -ιος except in the few cases mentioned in § 483. Upon the ancient Ionic papyrus (Philol. XLI 746) we find Όσεμάπιος, Δαμάσιος.

In the Lyric poets.

Archil. Σίριος tr. 214, Mimn. βάξιος 161, δβριος 94, Solon δβριος 48, 1311, Theognis δβριος 40, 1174, πίστιος 1244 (Απίστεως), πόσιος 115, 479, 837, 844 (cf. the name Πόσιος (gen.), Olbia 128165, 1315, Jahrb. Suppl. vol. IV 472, No. 36, V 486,

³ Κουλδάθος Halik, 240₃₀, 'Ιμβράσσιδος 240₃₇, of. 36, Κυσγρίσσιδι 240₅, Χαλμαπίδι 240₁₁, 36, are -5- stema.

There is but one exception in -πόλιδος: Φανοπόλιδος Eryth. 206 C 19, an Atticized document; cf. Φανοπόλιος Thasos 75 B 9.

No. 46, &c., Phanagor. 165, 168), $\sigma r \acute{a} \sigma \iota o s$ 1082, &c., $\phi \acute{v} \sigma \iota o s$ Eurip. frag. 902 Dind. (cf. $\phi \acute{v} \sigma \epsilon \omega s$ Kritias 6), $\check{\sigma} \iota o s$ by conj. Anan. 5_6 . This word never shows a stem $o \iota \epsilon \iota$ in any dialect. Perhaps also in $\lambda \iota \acute{o} s$ from $\lambda \iota \acute{s} = \lambda \acute{e} \omega \nu$, Hipponax 124. The possession of this word by Ionic is interesting as it was in the inflection of $\lambda \iota \acute{s} s$, $\kappa \iota \acute{s} s$, $\lambda \iota \iota \acute{o} s$, $\kappa \iota \acute{s} s$, that Ionic (as other dialects except Attic) found the model for $\pi \acute{o} \lambda \iota \acute{s} s$ see Brugmann, Grundr. II § 109, note 1 and above § 482. Herodas has $M \acute{a} v \acute{o} \rho \iota o s$ 1_{68} , $\pi \acute{o} \lambda \iota o s$ 2_{8} , 2_{6} , 3_{1} .

Prose.

In Herodotos -ιος is to be everywhere adopted though the MSS. have sometimes (1) -εος, ε.g. πόλεος III 54 in R and often in the Aldine edition (2), and (2) -εως, ε.g. προκλήσεως V I in Pd (here z has -εος). Hdt. prefers -ιος in Θέμιος, Τομύριος, 'Οσίριος. In other Ionic prosaists: Hekat. 202 δύσιος, Anaxag. 6 περιχωρήσιος, Diogen. νοήσιος 4, 6, ετεροιώσιος 6 (all attested by Simplicius), Demokr. Mor. φύσιος, καταστάσιος 184, τέρψιος 20, κτήσιος 41, ξυνέσιος 58, πρήξιος 89, Pherek. Leros όφιος 44. Among the pseudo-Ionists the -ιος form is more frequent, though the MSS. vary constantly. In the Dea Syria -ιος is universal, in Arrian 184 we meet with 'Αμφιπόλεως. The Vita Homeri has eight cases of -ιος to two of -εως. καππάριος, but πεπέρεος, or -εως Hippokr. VII 150, σεσέλιος VIII 448, VI 448 (ν.λ. -εως), cf. Hdn. II 646₃₃, 767₇. Hippokrates usually has -ιος in Greek words. In VIII 372 θ has κομμέως, other MSS. -εως, -εος, -ιος; cf. § 546.

Thukydides often uses an Ionic genitive in proper names, e.g. 'Αφύτιος I 64, Γοάξιος IV 107, Κνίδιος V 51; Λυγδάμιος, 'Αθ. πολ. 15, 2, 'Ιριος Xen. Anab. VI 2, 1, 'Αναχάρσιος Plato Rep. 600 A. In inscriptions -ιος appears occasionally as in 'Αντιστάσιος C. I. A. I 489. Also in nouns not proper names: μήνιος Rep. 390 E, τύρσιος Anab. VII 8, 12, τίγριος Arist. H. A. 607 A 4, Theophr.

H. Pl. V 4, 7. In Agam. 942 δήριος.

485.]

πρυτάνεως upon an inscription (No. 144) from the territory of the Panionion, from about 350 B. c., is shown to be Attic not Ionic from the occurrence of Πρυτάνιος Olbia 1315, Mélanges Grec. Rom. II 22, No. 30, Jahrb. Suppl. vol. V 487, No. 47, X 29, No. 21 and Smyrna 1537; cf. also πρυ]τανίων Halik. 242. Upon a Chian inscription B. P. W. 1889, No. 38, p. 1194 πρ[υτάν]εΟς.

The genitive singular in -105 was only displaced after stubborn resistance. It is retained oftentimes when -6ω and -κλεῦς have given way, ε.g. Smyrna

153, Molpios, but Διοσκουρίδου 11, Μενεκλέους 18.

486.] Inflection of πόλις (genitive).

1. πόλιος Paros 63, and other forms § 483-4, also Dittenb. Syll. 1905, an inscription engraved by a North-Greek. This form

occurs in the MSS. Hipponax tr. 47 where Bergk reads πόληος, and in literary prose. πόλιος in Hdt., who has έξαπόλιος I 144.

- 2. πόληος, Ionic An. Ox. I 36125, is Homeric and occurs in Theog. 757. In Hippon. 47 it is a conjecture. See below on πόλεος.
- 3. $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega s$ ($\Gamma O \Lambda E \Omega \leq 1$) is surely Ionic on the evidence of Chios 174 A 13, B 12, an inscription of the fifth century, free from all trace of Attic ingressions. All other forms upon inscriptions fall in a period when Attic influence will account for their presence:—Mylasa 248 A 7 (367–66 B.C.), Erythrai 2024 (about 356 B.C.), Zeleia 114 A B D E (after 334 B.C.), Samos 22122 (after 322 B.C.), Thasos 724 (250–200 B.C.), Teos 15822 (almost entirely Attic), Iasos 1053 (late), Olbia 12913 (period of the empire). In a fragment of Xenophanes in trimeters (p. 116 B⁴) this form occurs in the MSS., and was so read by Hartung and Meineke, whereas Bergk adopts $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \omega s$ in his elegies 29, 22 (Schneid. - ωs). This form is now ejected from Homer Λ 168.

In Theognis 1043 A has $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega s$, which Renner (p. 223) thinks ought to give place to $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\sigma s$. But A has $-\epsilon\omega s$ elsewhere where $-\epsilon\sigma s$ is not to be restored, e.g. $\pi\ell\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega s$ for $\pi\ell\sigma\tau\iota\sigma s$. Bergk reads $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\upsilon s$. $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega s$ in Hekat. 352, a fragment of Attic texture.

The appearance of $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega s$ in Xenophanes sets aside the claim that the form belongs to the dialect of Chios-Erythrai (§ 12). The ancestor of $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega s$ is the Homeric $\pi\delta\lambda\eta\sigma s^2$, which was formed by analogy to $\pi\delta\lambda\eta$ - ι , a form containing the original locative $*\pi\delta\lambda\eta$ + the locative sign ι . $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\omega s$ has not borrowed its ending from $\nu o \mu \epsilon \omega s$, nor its accent from $\phi \epsilon \sigma \epsilon \sigma s$, as has been supposed.

4. $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \iota(\omega)$ s Zeleia 11319 and in the non-Ionic metrical inscription from Priene, No. 141 (Kaibel $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \iota$ $\dot{\omega}$ s). The inscription No. 113 dates from a period which corresponds to that in which ϵ becomes $\epsilon \iota$ before a vowel (§ 220) in Attic (350-300 B. C.). Le Bas regards both $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon (\iota) \omega s$ and $\theta \epsilon (\iota) \delta \nu$ in 141 as genuine Ionisms. But see Dittenberger, Hermes XVII 40, 41.

5. $\pi \acute{o}\lambda \epsilon os$ Oropos 18₄₁ (about 400 B.C.). Whether $\Gamma O \land E O \leqslant$ in an inscription from Arkesine (Rob. I 160 C, Bechtel 32) dating somewhere about 500 B.C., is to be transcribed $\pi \acute{o}\lambda \epsilon os$ or $\pi \acute{o}\lambda \eta os$ is not certain. Since $\pi \acute{o}\lambda \epsilon os$ occurs in Chios in the fifth century, and since $\pi \acute{o}\lambda \eta os$ in Hipponax is nothing more than a conjecture, the latter form would seem to have but scant foothold. In $\pi \acute{o}\lambda \eta os$ in Abdera 1622, even if the H represents η and not ϵ , it must be scanned short. On the other hand the

¹ Karsten, p. 12.

² Cf. Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVII 266, Schmidt, ibid. 297, Johansson, D. F. G. p. 154.

Attic form $\pi \delta \lambda \eta$, held by Meisterhans, p. 108, to be genuine and not an orthographical variation of $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon \iota$, shows that the η forms did not entirely die out. If the form $\pi \delta \lambda \eta \iota$ Iasos 1043 is genuine Ionic, it is difficult to gainsay the existence of a post-Homeric Ionic $\pi \delta \lambda \eta os$. The dialect has however in its later period a greater fondness for $\eta \iota$ than for ηo . Upon late inscriptions $\pi \delta \lambda \epsilon os$ stands

for πόλεως, as βασιλέος for -έως 1.

πόλεος is found in Theognis 56 (A); πόλευς 776, and 1043 (MSS. πόλεως). These two verses have been branded as spurious by some. According to Renner (pp. 221, 223), -εος is not found in the lyric poets except when we read -εος as in Homer. Thus B 811, Φ 567 πόλεος is preferable to πόλιος 2. πόλεος in Anakr. 72 is Bergk's conjecture for πόλεως (Schneidewin πόλιος); cf. Septem 181 (ch.) where a similar correction is necessary. πόλεος occurs in Agam. 1167 (lyr.), Antig. 162, Orestee 897.

Dative Singular.

Three forms occur (1) -ī, (2) -ei and (3) -ni.

487.] Dative in -ī.

The only example of an inscriptional form is χ | ύσι Keos 43.11

(latter part of the fifth century).

Anakreon 143 has νήνι from νεῆνις, Aristoph. has ἀρχηγέτι Lysistr. 642 (lyr.). In Herodotos Stein has adopted as the uniform ending -ι, even where the MSS. have -ει exclusively or in great part; e.g. δυνάμι I 192 and IV 155 (cf. δυνάμει Teos 156 B 31), ἀριθμήσι II 143, ποιήσι II 82, ἐκποιήσι III 109, συνοικήσι I 196, καταστάσι II 173, Θέτι VII 191, ef. Θέτιδος Eryth. 206 B 27, and Θ 370. ἄπολις has ἀπόλι VIII 61.

Hippokrates has, according to Renner, some thirty passages with -i. Littré reads -ει, e.g. in φύσει Π 56, κύστει Π 268, Φάσει Π 60 (Φάσι Hdt. Π 103). Renner quotes Ermerins εψήσι Ι p. 293= Π 246 L, καθάρσι Erm. p. 109, No. 568= V 710, ὑποστάσι Erm. p. 111, No. 578= V 714. Littré gives no variants

- here.

Demokritos has συνέσι 135 which enables us to correct Stobaios' φρονήσει 14 and κτήσει 185, where Mullach has the strange form κτήσιι. In many cases -ει is found in the MSS. of authors quoting early Ionic writers, e.g. πόλει Hekat. 202 (Strabo),

¹ πόλεος Latyschev I 41, 58, 61, 82, 89 (Olbia), cf. Attic βασιλέος C. I. A. III 553, 2 (first century B. C.). -εος, which appears in a few other late inscriptions in Latyschev II (5318, 20, 78, 223, 40252), was called Ionic by the grammarians because of its (possible) appearance in Homer. That it is Attic and Kourh is certain. Early occurrences are probably derived from -īs, -eos (§ 482).

² Cf. Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII 301.

Hellan. 150 (Athen.), ποιήσει Ion 1. Simplicius has φύσει in citing Diog. Apoll. 2, where Mullach reads φύσει, misled by an erroneous pre-conception of the nature of the dialect.

Xenophon, Anab. VII 3, 32 has μαγάδι, cf. Anakr. 18 μάγαδιν

in MSS. (Bergk -δην).

488.] Dative in -et.

δυνάμει in Teos 156 B 31, an inscription of the fifth century and free from Atticism. Other inscriptions with -ει may owe this form to Attic influence: πόλει Halik. 240₃₃, π (early part of the fourth century, but fifth century according to Dittenberger 1), Eretria 157 (410–390 B.C., perhaps πόληι), Thasos 72₁₄ (300–250 B.C.), Teos 158₁₇ (cf. παρευρέσει 158₈) an inscription full of Atticisms, Zeleia 113₁₆ (after 334 B.C.); Σανέργει Phanag. 167, βάσει Olbia 129₁₂ (period of the empire), and πόλει in an epigram Amorgos 34.

The dat, in -et has been regarded by Erman and Karsten as a mint-mark of the dialect of Teos, § 12.

In the lyric poets we find $-\epsilon \iota$. Sim. Amorg. 7_{88} πόσει 2 , Tyrt. 4_{8} , $_{10}$ πόλει, Xen. 2_{20} πόλει, Phokyl. 12 πόλει, Theog. 52, 287 πόλει, προφάσει 323, πίστει 831, Solon 4_{17} , $_{32}$ πόλει. βακκάρι is edited in Sim. Amorg. 16_{2} and Hipponax tr. 41, though the MSS. in both passages have also βακκάρει.

The imitators of Herodotos who generally prefer -ιος, nevertheless adopt -ει with scarcely a variation, e.g. Lukian, d. 8. 60, Arrian 18₁₀. Dindorf overshoots the mark with his πόλι (cf. d. S. 1, 10, 13, 21, 22, &c.). Philip of Pergamum has the Attic παρατημήσει B. C. II. II 273.

To what extent the termination -ει deserves a place in Ionic prose cannot be determined. That such a form was possible is evident from the Teian δυνάμει. All we can say is that the MSS. speak in favour of the adoption of the -ī form.

489.] Dative in -ηϊ, -ηι.

 $\pi\delta\lambda\eta_i$ Iasos 1043 before 350 B.C. may be Attic, cf. C. I. A. II 2510 and II 427 (both before 376 B.C.), and even before 410 B.C. in C. I. A. IV 51, F 24. π] $\delta\lambda$ El in Eretria 157 (410–390 B.C.) may stand for $\pi\delta\lambda\eta_i$. Since the preceding TEl is $\tau\epsilon \hat{i}$, $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon_i$ is however the preferable transcription 3.

Trisyllabic πόλης occurs in Tyrt. 12₁₈. So by imitation of the epic (Γ 50) form, upon a metrical inscription from Epidauros

Έφημ. άρχ. 1885, 65/6, line 71.

1 Cf. Zeitsch. f. Gymn.-wesen XXVIII 114, note 2.

3 CL Tei Boulei C. I. A. II 50, (372 B. C.).

³ This form, as all others in -\(\epsilon_4\), is regarded as doubtful by Renner on the specious ground that the language of the iambographic poets should correspond to that of the Ionic prose writers. Our inscriptions however offer examples enough of -\(\epsilon_4\).

490.]

νήστις in Hippokrates varies between νήστιδι, νήστι and νήστει. The -ι form is found in θ and C VII 382, in θ VII 400, that in -ει is the vulgate reading VII 382, 402, and -ιδι occurs in θ C VII 352, in C VII 400, in θ VII 402. Sim. Amorg. has a by-form νήστης 38, which is also κοινή.

In the Peace 930, δt is called an Ίωνικον βήμα. This form occurs in Aristotle,

who has also olf.

491.] Accusative Singular.

"Αρτεμιν Zeleia 11332; οΐν Thasos 68 A 2, not ὅῖν, since οΓι is generally contracted to o1 even in the iambographic poets. πόλιν Archil. 46, Tyrt. 103, Mimn. 115, &c. Herodotos ἄπολιν VII 104, &c. μῆνιν 1 VII 137. Hipponax 115 has θεῦτιν = τενθίδα. Herodas Πάριν 134, Μάνδριν 177. Hdt. has "Αρτεμιν, Μαιῆτιν, Φθιῶτιν, Ἱστιαιῶτιν, Θεσσαλιῶτιν, Τάναϊν: χάριν, ὅρνιν, forms not declined as iota stems in other case-forms. On 'Αρτέμιδος, cf. § 546.

492. Vocative Singular.

"Αρτεμι Paros epigr. 60, Theog. 11, Λεύκασπι Anakr. 18₂, Γύλλι Herodas 1₆₇.

493.] Nominative Plural.

πρυτάνεις Iasos 104₁₂, διασυστάσεις Eryth. 206 A 36 with the Attic termination. No case of -ιες comes to light. In the lyric poets we have the genuine Ionic -ιες: Theog. στάσιες 51, πρήξιες 1026, ἴδριες 499; Sim. K. 842 ἴδριες. δόσεις is found in Theognis 444 where Renner reads δόσῖς. The inflection δόσις *δόσει-ες is pre-Hellenic, as is seen in τρεῖς in Ananios 32, where it is used as an accusative.

In Herodotos we have -ιες (Bredow, pp. 263, 266), though the MSS. have -ις or -εις very frequently, but rarely without any various reading, e.g. βάρις II 41, πρυτάνις V 71; κτήσεις IV 114. The accusative forms used as nominatives are rejected by the editors except Dindorf. No -υ stem has -ῦς in the nom. in Ionic, as in Attic. The adjectives in -ις follow the nouns throughout, e.g. δυωδεκαπόλιες Ἰωνες VII 95. Philip of Pergamum has στάσιες, B. C. H. II 273 (but also καταλύσεις), Hippokrates φύσιες II 92.

Diogen. 6 ἐτεροιώσιες, Demokr. Moral. 17 τέρψιες (-εις Stob.), 66 ὀρέξιες: Lukian, Eusebios Mynd., epist. Hippokr., Pythag. have -ιες throughout. There is no warrant for Dindorf's παν-ηγύρις, ὄφις, πίστις. Arrian and the medical writers adopt the Attic form; πόληες Arr. 8₅ is indicative of the insecure speculation prevalent in the Hadrianic age concerning the periods of

Ionic. Cf. A 45.

¹ Tzetz. Ex. II. 50₁ corrupt (μίνια Ionic, μᾶνιν Doric, μαῖνιν Aiolic).

494.] Genitive Plural.

 $\pi \rho v$] $\tau a \nu \ell \omega \nu$ Halik. 242, $\epsilon \pi a v \lambda \ell \omega \nu$ Eph. 148₆₈. In Herodotos $-\iota \omega \nu$ is without exception, though occasionally the MSS. have $-\epsilon \omega \nu$. $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ is the only form of the genitive in Philip of Pergamum, B. C. H. II 273, who has $-\iota \epsilon s$.

Diogen. 6 ἐτεροιωσίων: Demokr. Mor. 181 πολίων (according to Mullach, though Stobaios, who has -ιος, -ιες, has here -εων). Lukian Astr. 23 has μάντεων, Arrian 10 πόλεων, but better recollection of earlier usage gives us πολίων ep. Hippokr. XXVI 1, 2, Vita Hom. 28, the Homeric form, though πόλεων appears E 744, where πολίων is usually read.

495.] Dative Plural.

Theognis 302 has λ dτρισι. In Herodotos the dative plural ends in -ισι, e.g. πόλισι, Σ dρδισι, π lστισι, μ dντισι. In the imitators of Hdt. there is not a single example of -ισι (e.g. dμπ ωτ εσι Arrian 21₃; elsewhere Arrian has dν dπωτ εs). The -εσι form is found in βρωσεσιν, π δσεσιν Demokr. Mor. 47, as in nouns in -σιε (-ξιε, -ψιε). The termination -σισι is unusual if not absolutely incorrect. Hippokrates has -σεσι in such cases.

496.] Accusative Plural.

1. - $\bar{\iota}$ s occurs in $\pi\rho\eta\sigma\iota$ s Chios 174 C 8. The MSS. of Hdt. have not infrequently - $\bar{\epsilon}\iota$ s (Attic) or - ι as (Homeric, Aiolic and Doric), though the normal ending is - $\bar{\iota}$ s. Thus in V 121 rs have $\pi\delta\lambda\iota$ as, d $\pi\delta\lambda\epsilon\iota$ s where $\pi\delta\lambda\iota$ s is to be adopted. $\Sigma d\rho\delta\iota$ as never occurs. Hippokrates has - ι s in the accus. of $\tau\rho\epsilon\bar{\iota}$ s: $\tau\rho\iota$ s VI 482, VIII 184, 260, 304(θ). In Herodas 5_5 $\pi\rho$ o ϕ d $\sigma\iota$ s may be itacistic.

Wherever $-\epsilon_{is}$ occurs it is due to Attic influence: Hdt. I 140, IX 7, in all of which passages read $-\bar{\imath}_s$. Teos 158,4 $\pi\rho\delta\xi\epsilon_{is}$, Samos 220,7 $\xi\xi\delta\sigma\tau\epsilon_{is}$. $\tau\rho\epsilon\hat{\imath}_s$ in Ananios 32 is the nom. form which in Ionic was regularly used as an accusative. Hippokr. VIII 226, 228 has $\theta\theta\delta\epsilon_{is}$, Ionic nom. $\theta\theta\delta\hat{\imath}_s$.

2. - ias.

στάσιας Xenoph. 1,23, πόλιας Anaxag. 10 (Simpl. -εις), πρήξιας Demokr. Mor. 88, 105, Eurip. frag. 902, Philip of Pergamum, B. C. II. II 273, who has also διορθώσιας, Demokr. Phys. 4, εκλείψιας. Stein adopts -ιας in the following cases where there is no MS. authority for -ις: πόλιας I 94, V 15, τάξιας VI 111, μάντιας IV 68, ψευδομάντιας IV 69, δφιας IV 105, προφάσιας V 86 α, πανηγύριας VI 111, ενόρχιας VI 32. Bredow proposed to expel -ιας wherever it occurs. Its existence cannot however be assailed.

3. The later Ionists, except Arrian and Aretaics, have -uas. With πόληαs, Arrian 11, 40, cf. πόληες 8; δφεας, δφιας Ind. 15.

In Lukian, Dindorf adopts -īs in opposition to Jacobitz (Syr. dea 1, 2 πανηγύρις, Astr. 23 πόλις but πόλιας 22); V. A. 14 ἐκπυρώσιας.

In a metrical inscription of Abdera, No. 162 (fifth century), we read $\pi\delta\lambda$ Has, a form occurring ρ 486. Since we must scan $\pi\delta\lambda$ $\tilde{\eta}$ as, it has been suggested that the proper reading is $\pi\delta\lambda$ cas (G. Meyer, Blass) or $\pi\delta\lambda$ as Roehl (on his No. 349) and Karsten, p. 26. There is no need of a change, cf. $\tilde{\eta}\rho\tilde{\omega}$ as ζ 303.

Stems in Upsilon.

497.] This declension includes nouns and the masculine and neuter of adjectives in -vs.

Noteworthy is the considerable number of nouns in -τύs in Ionic prose, which in Attic are poetical. Cf. βρωτύς, κτιστύς, ἐδητύς, ὀτρυντύς (Eust. 1180₆), νηδύς, ληστύς = Attic ληστεία ἀρτύς = ἀρθμός (Hesych. glosses the word with σύνταξις). In Hippokr. VIII 96 φλεγμαντύος (θ, C) shows that after a nasal -τύς might be used instead of -σις. Littré wrongly adopts φλεγμάνσιος.

2. Terminations :-

vs	ves, ees
vos, eos	υων, εων
υι, ει	υσι, εσι
עט	vas, vs, eas
v	ves, ees

On the inflection of µvs, see under Sigma stems.

3. The testimony of the grammarians refers only to the inflection of the stems in ευ/εΓ: πρέσβεος Greg. Kor. § 21, δξέος, πολέος, ἡδέος, § 40; δξέες Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm. 652, Vat. 697; πολέες Greg. Kor. § 40, citing Δ 143 (cf. Schol. Ven. A. = Hdn. II 886, on N 734: περισπαστέον τὸ πολεῖς (accus. for πολέας) ὡς ταχεῖς, ὁμοίως τῷ "πολεῖς.... (O 66). τοῦτο δέ φημι, ἐπεί τινες Βούλονται ἔνεκα ἐμφάσεως μείζονος βαρυτόνως ἀναγιγνώσκειν, οῖς μάχεται καὶ ἡ δρθογραφία ἡ κατ' "Ίωνας). υἰέες is called Ionic in Joh. Gr. 240 B, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, by enallage for νίοί, an explanation adopted also in the case of ἐρυσάρματες and ἐρίηρες.

4. This declension comprises the types-

(1) νέκῦς, νέκῦν, νέκῦος = νέκυχ-ος: ὀφρῶς, ὀφρῶς = Skt. bhrūs, bhrut-ás, and

(2) -vs, -vν, with the genitive in εf-os as in πήχεος, ἄστεος, dative in εf-ε as in πελέκει. The Homeric πολύς, λθών, βρωτών owe their long v's to the influence of the first class, as Pindar's λσχύν its v to the influence of the second class. There is no pure dative form, the locative having usurped its functions, as in the case of the iota stems. The inflection according to the

first category comes into play wherever v precedes a vocalic case ending.

-5s in the accusative plural is framed from the stem with the short vowel

(renv-rs).

In the genitive plural -cov we have the strong case form, where the weak form was to be expected.

-νσι in δφρύσι, where we should expect δφρῦσι (Skt. δλεūρι), is due to the influence of δφρῦσι, &c. πήχεσι (Skt. δλεūρι) has taken the place of πήχεσι under the influence of πήχεσι, πηχέων. For the Homeric forms in -νσσι (§ 504, 1), -νσι has been conjectured. Monosyllabic nouns have -νσι, nouns of more than one syllable have -νσι. In the first class are included those with prosthetic vowel (δφρῦς, Ιχθῦς).

498.] Nominative Singular. The form Hvis for vios occurs in No. 266, an inscription held to be Ionic by Bechtel ¹. Elsewhere vios, e.g. Mimn. 12₁₁, Hvios 265 (unc. loc.), Amorg. 35 (epigr.), vov Paros 67 (late), viov Delos 57. There is no trace of $v_s = v_l$ is, that word being employed by Herodotos in place of v_s . Simonides of Keos (249) adopted the nominative v_s (vis). Cf. Et. M. 553₁₆, 775₂₀, and Herodian quoted in the scholium on E 266. Hdn. denied the existence of a nominative v_s or v_s . The neuter ends in v_s

499. Genitive Singular.

- 1. -υος: Θράσυος Thas. (L.) 7 A 11; Hdt. "Aλυος, "Aρδυος, λσχύος, λλύος 2, ύός, e.g. I 36 where all MSS. have συός (cf. Hippokr. VIII 134 but ύός VIII 138); Hippokr. VII 142 νάπυος, II 692 δσφύος. The Pseudo-Ionic writers have -υος.
- 2. -εος: ωκέος Mimn. 115, αστεος Sim. Am. 774 by an unusual synizesis. Hdt. has αστεος, πήχεος, τετραπήχεος, ἡμίσεος.

That &oreos, a r. l. in Thuk. VIII 92, 7 adopted by Classen, is foreign to Attic, is shown by the inscriptions. On where it is erroneously stated that this form is Attic. Bolotian is farter with from from from from from Attic, which, in its ress, permitted the genitive of s stems to displace the ancient form.

500.] Dative Singular.

- 1. -νι: ἰλνῖ Theognis 961 (MSS. ὅδει). In Hdt. -νῖ (ἰσχῶ, νηδύῖ, νέκνῖ) is read by the editors though the diphthongal pronunciation is not impossible, especially as we find τι in Homer in words of more than one syllable. Boiotian is Δέρμνῖ. νηδύῖ Υ 486 has not the best authority. In Attic -νῖ is not to be questioned. ἰλνῖ is read Hippokr. VIII 138, ὀσφῦῖ VI 78.
 - 2. -ει: ὀξέϊ Theognis 848. -εῖ has become -ει in πελέκει
- 1 ν f) ν is also Attic, C. I. A. I 3984 (epigr.) fifth century. In Attic inscriptions the forms of the -ν declension in this word prevail till about 350 B.O.

350 s.c.

Thus, and not lawer as in \$\phi\$ 318 (lawfow?). Specie Hesiod, W. D. 460, is a poor support for lawer.

Anakr. 472, where a proceleusmaticus would have been unmetrical. In an epigram supposed to be by Anakreon (103) we read $\delta\sigma\tau\epsilon$ i in the fifth foot. The dialect of the poem is, however, not Ionic. The fusion of ϵ i to ϵ i must, however, have taken place before the fifth century, despite the fact that we read $\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon'\epsilon\epsilon'$, $\epsilon\pi\tau\alpha\pi'\eta\chi\epsilon'$ in the editions of Hdt. Anaxagoras 13 has $\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon'\epsilon'$ (sic Simplicius), though Mullach adopts $-\epsilon$ i.

501.] Accusative Singular. δσφύν Miletos 100_6 , πάλμνν Hippon. 1; Hdt. Τῆλυν, Μῦν, <math>lσχύν, ἔγχελυν, νηδύν, δν, τετράπηχυν: in pseudo-Ionic sources: lχθύν, πῆχυν, θῆλυν.

502.] Nominative Plural.

- -νες: Hdt. Μάξυες, Λίγνες, Λίβνες, όρνες, βόρνες, ἰχθύες, and so in pseudo-Ionic writers. Hippokr. ἐγχέλνες VI 548.
- 2. -εες: Hdt. πήχεες, τριπήχεες, ἡμίσεες. Hippokr. VI 600 has both ἡδέες and ἡδείς.
- 3. Neuter (nominative and accusative) -εα: Hdt. ἄστεα, διπήχεα, ἡμίσεα (in Attic sometimes -η and so on a Delian inscription), Phokyl. 112 ἡδέα, Solon 435 τραχέα.

503. Genitive Plural.

- 1. -νων: Hdt. Μαξύων, ὑῶν: ἰχθύων Hdt., Luk., Arrian.
- 2. -εων: Hdt. πηχέων, τετραπηχέων, ήμισέων. In τ 578 πελέκεων occurs. Protagoras has viέων.

504.] Dative Plural.

- -νσι in ὀφρὖσι Anakr. 541, Hdt. ὖσί. ἰχθύεσσιν in Anan.
 is an exception to the law that in Ionic -εσσι is restricted to the sigma declension. The form is a loan from the epos. Homer has σύεσσι, συσί, νεκύεσσι, νέκυσσι, γένυσσι, &c.
- 2. - $\epsilon \sigma \iota$ in Hdt.: $\pi \epsilon \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \epsilon \sigma \iota$, $\pi \acute{\eta} \chi \epsilon \sigma \iota$, $\dot{\epsilon} \acute{\epsilon} a \pi \acute{\eta} \chi \epsilon \sigma \iota$. Homer's $\pi \epsilon \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \kappa \epsilon \sigma \sigma \iota$ is due to the influence of - $\epsilon \sigma \sigma \iota$ from sigma stems, which may appear as - $\epsilon \sigma \iota$.

505.] Accusative Plural.

- 1. -vas: ἐγχέλνας Archil. epod. 101 (cf. ἐγχέλνες Φ 203), ὀφρύας Hdt. II 66 (-ŷs R d), ἰχθύας II 94 (P R d), ἰχθῦς (A B C). The former form is adopted by Stein. It occurs without a variant in III 98, and is found also in Lukian and Arrian. For Λίβνας II 55, 77, IV 160, VII 184 Bredow proposed to substitute Λίβνς, though this form is unattested.
- 2. $-\bar{v}s$ in Hdt. $\bar{v}s$ II 14, 47, IV 186, $\bar{t}\tau vs$ VII 89, and $l\chi\theta\bar{v}s$ I 141. In Attic -vas is later than $-\bar{v}s$. Homer has both terminations, $-\bar{v}s$ occurring in words of more than one syllable, in the first foot and in the arsis of the third foot. Empedokles (106, 125 Stein) used $l\chi\theta\bar{v}s$ both as nominative and accusative.

3. -eas in Hdt. πήχεαs, πρέσβεαs, ἐπταπήχεαs, ἡμίσεαs. The last mentioned form was thought to be better Attic than ἡμίσεις by the grammarians, whereas the contrary is the case, ἡμίσεις being the better attested form. In Ψ 114 we find πελέπεας. Hdt. IV 84 has viέας (Homeric), elsewhere viούς. Agathokles of Kyzikos (Athen. XIV 649 F) used the form θαμέας.

506.] Feminine of Adjectives in -vs. Herodotos has -εa, not -εια (see §§ 219, 419): e.g. βαθέα Ι 178, τρηχέα ΙV 23, βραχέα V 49, παχέα VII 33, θήλεα ΙΙΙ 109, lθέα ΙΙ 17, ημίσεα V 111, δασέα ΙV 191; τρηχέης ΙV 23, θηλέης ΙΙ 35; θηλέη ΙΙΙ 85, βαθέη ΙΙ 156, ΙΙΙ 110, πλατέη ΙΙ 156, lθέη ΙΧ 57; βαρέαν ΙΙ 94, τρηχέαν ΙΧ 122, εὐρέαν ΙV 3; θήλεαι ΙV 23, ημίσεαι VIII 18; θηλέων ΙΙ 18, 46; no example of the dative plural occurs in Hdt.; θηλέας Ι 192, ημισέας ΙΙ 10, VIII 27, lθέας Ι 180. Otherwise adjectives in -vs are inflected like nouns in -vs, -εος.

The MSS, testify in so many instances to the presence of the forms in -ea that we may venture to regard as foreign to the dialect of Herodotos those cases of the retention, even by all the MSS, of the forms in -eac. These are as follows:—βαθεῖα VII 23; l(εὐ)θεῖα II 34; lθείης II 161, III 127; lθεῖαν VII 193; lθείας I 180; δασεῖα, δασεῖαν III 32 (δασέαν Miletos 1004); ταχείας VIII 23; δξεῖα IX 23; and θήλειαν I 105 (CP). There is no basis for the view that a form like δασέα was introduced into the text of Hdt. at a period when such forms were common. In Attic they had a scant existence, in later Ionic they are unvouched for, and even in pseudo-Ionic mitters they are sparingly attested. That the fuller form gained a position in the MSS, is not to be wondered at in view of the fact that it is made use of by Homer and by the Ionic poets. When the MSS, in general, inscriptions¹, and grammarians agree as to the Ionic character of a form, some variations in the MSS, must not weigh in the balance.

In addition to the three examples of $-\epsilon a$ from the genuine treatises of Hippokrates cited on p. 198, there may be quoted from the later tractates included in the Hippokratic corpus the following examples of the shorter form. They are: $\pi a \chi \ell a \iota$ and $\pi a \chi \epsilon \hat{\omega} \nu$ (v. l. $-\epsilon \iota$ -) VI 60, $\delta \xi \ell a \iota$ VIII 134 bis (v. l. $-\epsilon \iota$ -); $\delta \xi \ell \eta$ VI 172 (θ , vulgo $-\epsilon \iota$ -), 174 (θ , vulgo $-\epsilon \iota$ -), $\delta \xi \ell \eta \nu$ VI 178 (θ , vulgo $-\epsilon \iota$ -) and so twice VI 180, the same page showing $\tau \rho \eta \chi \epsilon (\eta \nu)$. In VIII 274 the $\theta \eta \lambda \iota a \nu$ of θ is read $\theta \eta \lambda \epsilon \iota \eta \nu$ by Littré. Hippokrates has as a rule $-\epsilon \iota a$, but also $-\epsilon a$, and the hyper-Ionic $-\epsilon \eta$ even in θ . The forms in $-\epsilon a$ often have the v. l. $-\epsilon \iota a$. In § 219 all the examples found in the pseudo-Ionists were enumerated.

^{&#}x27; The form sereigs Zeleia 114 E 4 is late.

Diphthongal Stems.

These are $-\eta v/-\epsilon v$, $-\eta v$, -ov, $-\omega \iota/-o\iota$, $-\omega v$.

507.] Stems in -ηυ/-ευ. On the cases of the υ declension formed from a stem ευ, see above, § 497 ff. On υίψε, υἰεύε, see §§ 498, 505, 3.

EUS	EES
€0s (ηos?)	€wv
ει (ηι?)	€υσι
ϵã	€ăs
€U	EES

Forms in -εα occur in tragedy (φονέα in Euripides Hek. 882, El. 599, 763); and -εα, -εαs are not infrequent in comedy. Cf. Meineke, I 295 ff. In the latter they may be regarded as the beginning of the movement of the Kourh towards the frequent adoption of the forms with α. Νηρέος Ion 1082, 'Αχιλῆος I. Τ. 436, βασιλῆες Andr. 1022 (-ῆς Dind.), βασιλῆας Phoin. 829 occur only in choric passages. -εες occurs in Persai 63, 580 (both choric). Septem 804 (trim.) contains βασιλέες: but the whole passage is full of difficulties and has long been suspected. Plato, Theait. 169 B, has Θησέες. A change of -εες in these passages to -εης is hazardous since Attic Iππέης may be nothing more than a confusion of EΣ and HΣ.

Testimony of the grammarians. This deals exclusively with Homeric forms. Genilive: -nos Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. § 20, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Hdn. II 69335 = Choir. 1599, II 7092 = Choir. 22116, II 6387 = An. Ox. IV 3375, II 67328 = Choir. 20921 (παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις Ίωσιν', Et. M. 6306, Orion 18816, An. Ox. I 31520, I 3233, An. Par. III 35510, Tzetz. Ex. Il. 6113, 9425; "Apros Hdn. II 68214 = Choir. 14534, Diakonos on Hsd. Aspis 88, but "Apew is also called Ionic by Hdn. II 63925 = Eust. 51828, quoting Archil. 47. -εος: 'Ατρέος Eust. 62364. This was the Kown form according to Hdn. II 67328 = Choir. 20919. - EWS: 'lδομενευς N 424 (now read -μενεύς with MS. authority) and 'Οδυσευς ω 398 are called Ionic and Doric by Hdn. II 32811 and II 69232 = Choir. 15724, II 67511 = Choir. 211 m (in this passage Hdn. recognizes that the nominative is preferable, quoting Φ 305, but Choir. makes no mention of the reading -εύs), II 677; = Choir. 2163, cf. also Hdn. in An. Ox. III 23330, and Bekk. An. III 12041, 124033, Et. Gud. 27328, Eust. 196529. -eios in 'Axilheios, Basileios was used by the νεώτεροι Ίωνες, Hdn. II 6743 = Choir. 20991. 'Αχίλλειος, βασίλειος were also the late Aiolic forms according to Hdn. See §§ 25, 220. Datice: -n: Tzetz. Ex. Il. 72, -er: Joh. Gr. 242, Drakon 1576, cf. 1612. Accusative: -na: An. Par. III 31197. -η < εα in Τυδή Hdn. II 6779 = Choir. 21511 (Ionic and Doric). Nominative Plural: -nes: Joh. Gr. 239 B, 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm. 652, Vat. 696, 697, Drakon 11513. Genitive Plural: -ηων: Schol. Ven. A (interlinear) on A 176. Eust. 1108, Φωκήων: in 273, Eust. says that there was also a reading Φωκείων according to Aristarchos. So schol. Ven. A on B 517. This form cannot well be a parallel to 'AxiAleios. Accusative Plural: -nas: An. Ox. I 31521.

508.] Nominative Singular. ευς throughout: Εὐβοεύς Styra

1920, lepeus Erythr. 206 B 58. On lepeus in Miletos 1004, see § 477.

509.] Genitive Singular. lερέος Orop. 18, 'Ανδρέος Chios 174 D 6, Θαργαλέο[s] Chios 174 C 18, Δωριέος Amorg. 23110. Φιλέος Chios 181 and Μνησέος Chios 182 are genitives from -ης or -εύs. 'Αχιλλέοs from Olbia, Latyschev I 62, 67, 77, 80, 834 (Attic βασιλέος C. I. A. III 5532) are all very late 1.

The Attic has displaced the epichoric form in the following instances:-Kepaulus Olbia, Jahrb. Suppl. vol. V 487 No. 47, X 29 No. 21, Alyundus Smyrna 153m, Bpaßles Maroneia Zeitsch. f. Num. III 284 No. 24 (before 400 B.C.), Keyxpius Erythr. 2017 (early part of the fourth cent.), Kannasius Erythr. 206 A 19, Basilies 206 B 61, Samothrake 236 (Boman), 'Axillies Erythr. 206 B 27, 'Appartes 206 C 31, Banxies 206 C 36, Helies Thases (L.) 14 B 9, Kompius Teon, C. I. G. 306424, Midnelu[s] ibid. l. I. In C. I. G. 21574 (Samothrake) we must read 'Apartia[s]. This inscription contains the form invapxes. Of the forms here cited that are dateable, most may be referred to the third century. This is noteworthy as regards the tenacity of the dialect in respect of its inflectional system.

A genitive βa]σιλη̂ος is read by Le Bas No. 41 in an Erythraian inscription. There is no evidence from later literature of an Ionic -70s²; and historical reasons militate against Le Bas' other restorations in the same inscription (Nöldeke G. G. A. 1884, 294, Bechtel Ion. Insch. p. 125). We read Διός Πλουτήσε on a late inscription (No. 243 Halik.) that has not been recollated. and whose original is not to be found. If genuine, the genitive savours of poetical usage. Bechtel compares "Appos viknospres (C. I. G. IV 7030). $K\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda EO\Sigma$ in No. 266, an inscription found on the Erechtheion, and regarded by Bechtel as Ionic, has been read by Neubauer Κεφαλήσε, by Bechtel Κεφαλεόε (=εύε). See Bechtel ad loc. The only example of -nos from Attic is olanos, in a law quoted by Lysias X 19, a form doubted by Dittenberger Hermes XVII 36 (olkôos for olkéws < OlkEO ?). The support for an inflection -ηος, -ηι to be gained from Πριηνήι Samos 212 (§ 510) is exceedingly weak.

In the lyric poets we find -cos in Πριηνέος (Hipponax, tetr. 79) restored by Bergk for the vulgar Hpinvews from Codex E of Suidas. Holnvéos is also found in Archil. 97, epod., where it was restored for -ίωs by Elmsley. In a pentameter attributed to Anakreon (99) we read Θησίοs. In an Ionic epigram (Bechtel No. 265) we find 'Aρεοs. Herodotos has βασιλέοs, &c. 2 (Alyées

Ku]rēides from Teos in Le Bas No. 130 'a very late inser.).
 A few variants (Ἐρεχθήσε, Πηλήσε) in Hdt. are not valid evidence of the existence of an inflection to which the Aldine edition gave credence.

Struve in his Quaest, de dial, Herod, specimen II first showed that the epic and Attic forms, even when supported by good MS. evidence (which is rarely the case), are to be rejected.

I 173 is incorrect), while Lukian has βασιλῆος in Syr. dea 4 (or -έως) and 17, as if he imitated Homer, not Herodotos. Hippokr. II 666 has γναφέως. Arrian has -εως in 511, 1511, 283, changed by Eberhard to -εος, for which there is MS. support in 341, 389. -εως is not found in the lyric poets except in Μεγαρέως Theog. 23, for which Bekker and Renner read Μεγαρέος.

The forms in - 6105 quoted by Herodian are explained as - 605

with the glide iota in § 220; cf. § 507, note 2.

- 510.] Dative Singular. $l\epsilon\rho\epsilon$ î Orop. 18_{33} , Milet. 100_7 ; $(i)\rho\epsilon$ î Thasos 71_{11} ; βασιλεî Iasos 105_7 ; Εὐβολεî Paros 65; Πρινεî Erythr. 201_{20} . In Samos 212 we read Πριηλ $\hat{η}$ ι or $Πριην\hat{η}$ ι an interesting form of the dative singular, held by Bechtel to be a locative Tyrt. V 1 $βασιλ\hat{η}$ ι is not support enough for so wide a divergence from the Ionic prose ending; much less πόληι, which is an undoubted locative. Cf. § 513. Herodotos has βασιλέι, &c., according to the editors. The variations in favour of -ει are very numerous, notably in the class of which χ was the archetype. There can be no doubt that *εΓι in the dative-locative singular did not remain open as late as the fifth century in the vulgar speech. The epic form occurs in Vita Homeri 11. Hippokr. VI 78 χοεί (v. l. χοt, χωt), Littré χοέι.
- 511.] Accusative Singular. leρέα Oropos 182, 14, 26, 28, Thasos 717, βασιλέα Mylasa 248 A 5, as in Hdt. Lukian Syr. dea has βασιλέα § 20 in E, while the rest of the MSS. have the epic form. Theognis 285 has the Old Ionic βασιλῆα. Εὐρυμεδουτιάδεα Hippon. 85 is from a patronymic in -δευς, cf. Μαιαδεῦ Hippon. 161. Hippokr. VII 156, 158 χοέα (Attic χοᾶ) from χοεύς, which nominative was New Ionic, but not Attic.
- 512.] Vocative Singular. Hdt. βασιλεῦ, &c.; Μαιαδεῦ Hippon, 16₁.
- 513.] Nominative Plural. Έρετριεῖς Eretria 14, ἱερεῖς Iasos 10414, βα]σιλεῖς Ephesos 1479, Μυλασεῖς Mylasa 248 C 7, Ἰασεῖς Sam. 2214, Κασταλεῖς Perinthos 234 B 39, and Παλ[α]ιεῖς Rob. I 160 E. Theog. 263 τοκῆες has the Homeric ending which appears in Bacchyl, 42, in a fragment Ionic in metre, tone and dialect:—

'Αβρότητι ξυνέασιν Ίωνων βασιληες.

This line must not be held to support a contemporary Ionic inflection which retained the η . $\phi o \nu \hat{\eta} \epsilon s$ in Archil. tetr. 59_2 is on

¹ Kirchhoff takes this to be a dative and finds here a mark of sub-dialectal difference. Hdt. I 170 has Πριηνέος. Bechtel compares the locative τὸ χωρίον τὸ Μυρρινοῦντι in Attic.

the other hand a highly remarkable form, as it is the only instance, except ' $H\sigma\iota\sigma\nu\eta$ ' as Kallinos 5, in an early lyric poet of Ionic birth, of the appearance of the long stem vowel. Nevertheless it is possible to find in the character of the verse (cf. § 52) an explanation for the presence of an Homeric form. It is unwise to admit the survival of the $-\eta$ -forms in ordinary Ionic speech; a conclusion not vitiated by $\Pi\rho\iota\eta\nu\eta\iota$ (§ 510). Hdt. $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\epsilon$, &c., and so in the later Ionists except Arrian Ind. 23, $i\pi\pi\epsilon$'s in all MSS. (Eberhard $i\pi\pi\dot{\epsilon}\epsilon$), Abydenos 1 $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\epsilon$ s. The epic form seems occasionally to have been dragged into the MSS. of Hdt. and also occurs in ep. Hippokr. 27_{31} $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\dot{\eta}\epsilon$ s, Aret. 63, 166 $\delta\chi\dot{\eta}\epsilon$ s. $\kappa\epsilon\rho\alpha\mu\dot{\epsilon}\epsilon$ s (32) is the only case in the Vita Homeri of the open form ($\dot{\delta}\lambda\iota\dot{\eta}\epsilon$ s 35). $-\epsilon\epsilon$ s must have been contracted in the fifth century.

- 514.] Genitive Plural. Έρετριέων Head H. N. 307, 'Ιστιαιέων ibid. 309, Χαλκιδέων Olynth. 8 B 10, 9, and Erythr. 2011; Πριηνέων Priene 143, 'Ιασέων Iasos 1043 and Samos 2222; 'Αλικα[ρνη]σσέων Halik. 23841; Θατέων Pantik. 122 and Phanag. 167, 168; ἀμφορέων Zeleia 114 D 5; βασιλέων Eph. 1472; Μυλασέων Mylasa 248 A 7, 10; Δω[ρι]έων Rob. I 137 (Didyma). Herodot. has βασιλέων, &c. (ν. l. occasionally in -ηων as also in epist. Hippokr. 1729). 'Ερετριών, 411 B. C., Έφ. ἀρχ. 1890–1, 196 ff, In the lyric poets: γονέων Theog. 1330.
- 515.] Dative Plural. Χαλκιδεῦσι Olynth. 8 A 8-9, Συκεεῦσιν Prokon. 103₁₀₋₁₁, Μυλασεῦσιν Mylasa 248 A 3; Hdt. βασιλεῦσι, &c.
- 516.] Accusative Plural. βασιλέας Chios Berlin. Phil. Wochenschr. 1889, p. 1195, l. 8; Taopéas Erythr. 209, 2. In the elegiac poets we find the epic -ηας (Theognis 821, 1211 τοκῆας, Kallinos 5 'Ησιονῆας, Tyrt. 43 βασιλῆας). The epic form was apparently affected by some of the pseudo-Ionists: Arctaios ἀνοχῆας 45, epist. Hippokr. γονῆας 136, βασιλῆας 1720, if they are not due to the same cause which lodged the epic forms in some MSS. of Hdt. Hdt. has βασιλέας, &c. 'Υσιᾶς VI 108 (ΔΒΡ, Stein 'Υσιάς) recalls 'Ερετριᾶς, 'Ισστιαιᾶς Eretr. 1577, 18 as in Attic inscriptions of the fifth century ('Αλαιᾶς, 'Εστιαιᾶς). In the fourth century (350-300) both -ᾶς and -έας occur in Attic. vléας Hdt. IV 84 is an exception to the inflection of 'son' in post-Homeric Ionic. See § 498.
 - 517.] Ζεύς, νηθς, βοθς, χοθς, "Αρης.
- I. Zeús 1 Amorg. 33, Sim. Am. 783, Mimn. 16, Theog. 337. For Zás in a fragment of Pherekydes of Syros, quoted by

Clemens, Zis is the form to be expected in Ionic; see Hdn. I 4027, II 9119 and cf. § 182. Διός Paros 593 (epigr.), Erythr. 206 B 19, Halik. 243, Sim. Am. 794, Solon 41, Theog. 1, 11, 15 (Διόθεν 197), Anakr. 69, Hdt. II 13, &c. Znvós Solon 131, 25, Herakl. 65. On Ail and Al see § 270. Hdt. V 49 has the former form. Dia occurs in Anakr. 63, &c. ZEÜV Aischrion apud Athen. VIII 335 B, cf. Eust. 138728. Bergk (8₅) edits $Z\hat{\eta}\nu'$. $Z\hat{\eta}\nu\alpha$ Theog. 285 as in Ξ 157, ω 472. Ξ 265, Θ 206 are hypermetrical if we do not adopt the form $Z\hat{\eta}\nu<$ $*\Delta \iota \hat{\eta} \nu$. Zeû Archil. epod. 88, Hippon. 30 A, Anakr. 79, Theog. 731, &c.

In II 64213 (= An. Ox. III 23723), cf. I 39408, Herodian states that the παλαιοί Ιωνες used Ζήν, Ζηνός, the μεταγενέστεροι, Ζάν, Zavós. Zavós and Zaví are found in Bergk, F. L. G. III Adespota

82 A B:-

Κλῦθί μοι Ζανός τε κούρη.

Ζανί τ' έλευθερίω.

Znvós occurs ibid. Adesp. 78. See § 182.

Διειτρέφης referred in § 215 to a stem διFo- may perhaps be better explained as the old dative of the stem &F -. It cannot, however, be derived from *ΔιηFι, whence Διεί through *Διη.

2. Must in Hdt., with n for a adopted by the nominative from some oblique cases 2. νάν- occurs in ναυπηγήσιμος in Hdt. and Olynthos 8 B 2; ναυαρχίη, ναυηγίη, νεναυηγήκασι, &c., in Hdt. Herodas has νηθε 141. Theognis 84, 856, 1361 has ναθε, but in Whether vevs mentioned by Hdn. I 4011, 970 A has vyvs. II 55311 is ascribed solely to Homer, is uncertain. From II 67423 νεθε, νεόε καὶ γρεθε, γρεόε it might be supposed that Hdn. had the later Ionic in mind. In II 67529 νεῦς, νεός, νεῖ, νεῖ are compared with γρεῦς, γρεός, γρεῖ, γρεῖ. νεῖ actually appears in Hdt. VII 184 (A B C), and νευσί (Littré νεῦσι) in a pseudo-Hippokratic letter (IX 414). But perhaps the forms vées, vewv, véesot, véas, which occur in the epos, were not without influence upon Herodian in causing him to set up a nominative νεῦς. νεός is generally stated to be the Herodoteian genitive. The MSS., however, have υηός 3 almost without a variant, which is not to be rejected, despite λεώς and other forms in which ηο < afo has suffered metathesis quantitatis. Cf. § 170. vnos is found in the elegy: Archil. 41, Theog. 513. Arrian has νεώς, a form that is also found in the best MSS. of Hdt., and for which νεός is substituted

¹ Tzetz., Ex. II. 74_{10} .
² It is to be noticed that only when η is = I. E. \bar{a} is it reinstated in the nominative from the analogy of other case forms. A βασιληθε is unheard of.

* Eust. 1716, Ἰωνικόν δὲ πάντως τὸ νηὸς καὶ γρηός: Tzetz. Επ. Il. 7410.

by Merzdorf (Curtius' Stud. IX p. 242), who regard its -os as due to the influence of that of other consonantal stems (cf. Brugmann m is often found in the MSS. of Hdt. On Gramm. § 19). vet, see above. uni Solon 193. See § 238. Ma occurs in Hdt. nineteen times without a variant. R has via eight times in the eighth book. Euseb. Mynd. 12, and Hippokr. epistle 17, have via, Arrian the Attic vave, a form that may be regarded as Doric in Theog. 680. Herodas 22 has vyûv by a probable conjecture of vées i nineteen times without variant in Hdt., vijes only twice without a variant. Arrian and Aretaios appear to have the latter form, which is more frequent in Homer than the former. νέες is derived directly from νη-ες. veer Hdt. fifty-nine times without a variant, but vy av VII 160 in all MSS. vew is the νηυσί Hdt., Mimn. 92, Solon 1344, Theog. 12. Arrianic form. Arrian has the Attic vavo(2, which represents the original Greek form better than the Ionic vyvol. On a revol in Homer, cf. Hdn. réas 3 110 times without a variant in Hdt., νη̂as without a variant V 83, vaûs VI 46, VIII 94 as in Arrian. In these passages véas is to be adopted. véas is from vijas < nāy-ņe, as $v \in -\epsilon_S$ from $v \hat{\eta} - \epsilon_S$. Attic vaûs, like vaûv, is a new formation.

- 3. yphûs. In Archil. 31 we must read yphûs for ypaûs. yphī occurs in an iambic fragment (Bergk P. L. G. III 692, Adespota 16). γρηθν is found in Hippokr. VIII 448 in C. Bergk reads γρηθν (eic) on Archil. 168. Hdn. II 64530 = An. Ox. IV 33737 cites the form thus and compares your x 395. He, however, remarks: τὸ νηθε η γρηθε διηρημένον κατά τους Ιωνας οὐκ ἐκλίθη. The resolved forms (γρηΰς, &c.) are later than the closed (γρηΰς). Hdn. cites γρεύς, γρεός, γρεί (above under νηθς). Herodas 3 has γρηΰν.
- 4. βούς and χούς. βοός Hdt., Anakr. 215, Hrd. 365; βοί Hdt., βοῦν Hdt.4, Hrd. 4,15; βόες Hdt.; βοῦς accusative plural Hdt. (v. 1. βόας IV 8 in R, which has also Γηρυόναο as an epic reminiscence, cf. Hekat. 349), Boas Lukian Syr. dea 54, Astr. 22 ('Hελίου Bóas an epic reminiscence?) and Arrian 7, Bóas is an earlier form than Boûs, which is formed from Boûs.

χοῦς, from χόΓος, follows the analogy of βοῦς. Hdt. has χοῦν (cf. $\phi \lambda o \hat{v} r$). Arrian has $\chi \phi o \nu 133$ but $\chi o \hat{v} \nu 133$, so fluctuating are the MSS. Eberhard writes $\chi \phi o \nu$ in both cases.

5. "Apris 5 Anakr. 70. "Apros Hdt. II 63, 83, IV 62, VII 76,

¹ pées Gram. Paris. p. 677, § 6 – An. Bachm. II 366₁₈.
² Called Ionic by Tzetz. Ex. II. 847.

véar Greg. Kor. §§ 19, 24, and 53, p. 461; vậar Tzetz. Ex. II. 74, and on Had. W. D. 244.
 Bêv II 40 Rd and Aldus; VI 67 Aldus. This form is that of H 238.

The Homeric forms of this word are given Eust. 51824, An. Oz. III 2371= Hdn. II 639n ff.

Tyrt. 16, (embat.) in DE (vulg. "Αρεως) as in Hom. and Hsd., "Appros is perhaps a v. l. Hdt. IV 62 (C). Lukian, Astr. 20, 22. It is not an Ionic prose form, but is found in Tyrt. II, for the vulgate 'Αρεωs, according to Bergk. Schneidewin here adopted "Apeos. "Appos is the Homeric and Hesiodic form. The H of APHOΣ upon an Attic vase from Kameiros (Journ. of Philol. VII 1877) must be a mistake for E. "Αρεω 1 Archil. 48. This is said to have been written by Aristarchos in Z 485, 2 100, 213 for Zenodotos' ἀρῆς². "Αρει Sim. Amorg. 113 (-εῖ vulgo, cf. B 479), and Hdt. II 63. This form preserves the natural quantity of the initial vowel (α). "Αρηι Hdt. IV 59, 62 in all MSS. (cf. B 385, &c.). Stein reads Αρεϊ, which is correct except the diaeresis. The Simonideian form was the prose form as well. "Apea Hdt. II 63, IV 59, V 7, Luk. Astr. 27. Homer has "Appa and "Appv.

The inflection according to the -ev- stem 3 is older than that in -εσ-; and is supreme in Aiolic. From 'Aρεa, an ambiguous accusative, came the inflection on the lines of a sigmatic stem: "Aρηs, "Aρεϊ. On the other hand "Aρηs was inflected as a stem in η, "Αρηο producing "Αρεω in Archil., and the Homeric "Αρην. On the relations of the three stems, see Bechtel, Göttinger Nachrichten, 1886, p. 378. With "Apeus "Apηs, cf. the so-called Doric Τύδηs, "Ορφης, 'Ωλίξης in Ibykos 4, and the Latin Ulixes, Achilles.

Stems in wi/or.

518.] The terminations of the singular (plural not attested) are ω, ωι; ovs, οι, ουν (ω?), οι. On the forms in -ώ and -ώι see Ahrens, Kleine Schriften I 31 ff., Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII 374, and Brugmann, Gramm. 70ª note.

Testimony of the Grammarians.

The statements of Hdn. II 33816 = 75521 (= Choir. 33214), Plut. Mor. 1078 B that Σαπφόος, Λητόος were Ionic are unsupported by tradition. Λητόος may,

¹ Hdn. II 639₂₅ = Eust. 518₂₆: σπονδειακὸν "Αρης "Αρου δθεν κατὰ Ἰάδα διάλεκτον ἐπεκτείνας 'Αρχίλοχος . . . "παῖδ' "Αρεω μιηφόνου."

¹ The Et. M. 138₂ supposes that this "Αρεω is the genitive of "Αρεως. But in Ξ 485 and Σ 213 the MSS. generally have "Αρεως, not 'Αρεω (in Σ 100 ἀρῆς), and Didymos' διὰ τοῦ ω may refer to the penultimate, not the ultimate, letter, as is pointed out by Schulze in K. Z. XXIX 255, who regards this "Αρεως as a mistaken reading for ἄρεος, genitive of ἄρος Βλάβος ἀκούσιον in Hesychios. This άρος has the same meaning as ἀρή (ἀρὴν ἐτάροιστυ ἀμύνειν Μ 334). It is certainly difficult to see how Aristarchos found a genitive of "Αρης in the passages, ἀρειζε Hippon, 65 is doubtless connected with ἀρειζ, derived from passages. apeias Hippon. 65 is doubtless connected with apeia, derived from this apos, not from apd as L. & S. think.

This appears in Αρηίθους Thasos (L.) 14 B 2, 16 B 7.

Cf. Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX 433.

however, be read in Homer and in Hesiod, Aspis 202, and Hymn to Hermes 521, Apollo 545. [Casaubon wrote Καλλιστόσε for -οῦε in the senarius of Machon preserved in Athen. XIII 583 A (Καλλιστόῦε δὲ τῆε 'Τὸε κεκλημότηε), but it is improbable that Machon should have had any knowledge of a form that has disappeared from literature. Καλλίστισε is a common name for an hetaira]. Cf. 'Αδος (?) Pind. Nom. VI 52. Joh. Gr. 268 B claims that forms in -δος were in use among certain of the Dorians. -οῦν Joh. Gr. 240, 268 B, Greg. K. § 35, Drakon 1163, Birnb. 67731. Gram. Vat. 696 regarded Αστών and Σαπφών as Ionic. These forms are referred to by Hdn. II 75522, who held, according to Choir. 33322, that Σαπφών and Λητοῦν (accusative) were derived from the -ών forms by a change (unheard of in Ionic) of ω to ω. For a correction of this passage, which supplies the missing -ωνν from Choiroboakos, see Ahrens, Kl. Schr. I 40.

519.] Nominative. There are two forms on inscriptions:—

(1) ώ: Ολυτώ Rob. I 188 E

Κλυτώ 190 I F

Μυρώ 190 I B

Γιώ 190 I C, II C

Ξανθώ 190 I H

Νοσσώ Erythrai 206 C 10.

(2) ψ (ώι): these are rare in Ionic.

Ξαν[θ]ψ Rob. I 190 II B, Chalkidian. Διουνσψ C. I. G. 2151, Chalkidian. 'Αρτεμψ C. I. G. 696 late, Milesian. Φιλυτψ C. I. G. 2310, probably not Ionic.

In Ionic literature only the former of these occurs.

520.] Genitive. Πειθοῦς Thasos 70, N]οσσοῦς Erythr. 206 C 11, perhaps Φαινοῦς or Φαεινοῦς on the electrum stater reproduced in Roberts I p. 177=Bechtel 247. Herodotos uses Ἰοῦς, Λητοῦς, Γοργοῦς (with no trace of the ν stem), Σαπφοῦς, &c. Λητοῦς occurs in Theog. 1, Herodas Κλεοῦς 392, Κοριττοῦς 624, Lukian Δερκετοῦς. Ahrens sought to find the form in -ως, which is Aiolic and Doric (in part), in Ionic territory. The inscription of Tenos C. I. G. 2338, whence he cites Φειδῶς l. 92, &c., contains no Ionisms. In Homer the open forms may be read except in a few cases: A 9 (ν. l. Λητοῦς ἀγλαὸς νίος), Ε 327 (spurious).

521.] Dative. 'Αλεκσοί Amorgos, Rob. I 158 B, is a doubtful reading though the Ol is plain; Βαβοί Paros 65, Πεδιοί Chalkidian, Rob. I 183 A B (Fick Πεδίωι). Hdt. has Λητοί, 'Αργοί, εὐεστοί. Hippokr. V 128 λεχοί is better than λεχοίς. Lukian Δερκετοί.

522.] Accusative Singular. In inscriptions we find Λητοῦν Eretria 16 A 48 as in Herodotos II 156, Δημοῦν Smyrna 154,

and Μητροῦν C. I. G. 3241, 'Αρτεμοῦν C. I. G. 3223, both late Smyrnaian documents. From the poets the instances are Κυψοῦν Ηίρροπαχ 87, Λητοῦν Hrd. 298, Μητροῦν 645, πειθοῦν 675. In Herodotos there are two sets of forms: (1) -οῦν¹. 'Ιοῦν I 1, 2, II 41, Βουτοῦν II 59, &c., Τιμοῦν VI 134, 135. In II 156 for Λητοῦν there is the ν. λ. Λητώ. (2) -ώ. Πυθώ I 54, Σαρδώ I 170, &c., Πειθώ VIII 111. Compare the Homeric Πηρώ, Τυρώ, Kretan Λατώ Cauer 11714, the Delphic and Attic Φιλώ, forms showing the retention of the nominative accentuation². Kirchhoff inclines to the view that -οῦν is the only correct form. The -ώ forms may have been inserted through recollection of the Homeric accusative. κακεστοῦν in Hesychios is Ionic, cf. εὐεστοῦν in Demokritos 206.

523.] Varia.

1. Vocative. Kopittol Herodas 6_{12} , &c., M $\eta\tau\rho$ 0l 6_1 , &c. The former has as a by-form Kopittl 6_{46} , with which we may compare No $\sigma\sigma$ 0ls 6_{22} , a parallel form of No $\sigma\sigma$ 0l 5_{22} , a parallel form of No $\sigma\sigma$ 0l 5_{22} .

 Plural. In Hippokr. V 128 λεχοῖ, not λεχοῖς as was read by Galen, is to be adopted. In Hesiod, Theogen. 274 we find Γοργούς. A few forms appear in Attic poetry, but among the Ionians the plural did not exist.

3. Variation with -v stems. The vocative of χελιδών is χελιδοῦ Anakr. 67, as in Aristoph. Birds 1411; cf. ἀηδοῦ ibid. 679. Hippokr. has βληχοῦς with which compare βληχοῦ in Theophrastos, βληχώ Lysistrata 89. εἰκών has in Hdt. the accusative εἰκώ VII 69 (εἰκόνα II 143). Cf. κυκεῶνα Hipponax 434 with κυκεῶ κ 290. On γληχώ, &c., see § 552.

Stems in wv/wF.

524.] This declension has been partly merged with the socalled Attic declension, § 477.

Nominative. Hdt. πάτρως, Μίνως, ήρως.

Genitive. $\tilde{\eta}\rho\omega$ os Hdt. VI 69, Míνωos Hdt. III 122 as in Homer. The Romanus has here Μίνω, which is the only form in I 171, 173. A similar ingression of the 'Attic' declension is found in the Homeric $\tilde{\eta}\rho\omega$ which may be displaced H 453, θ 483 by the daetylic form $\tilde{\eta}\rho\omega$.

Dative. ηρωϊ Hdt. VIII 117.

Accusative. ήρων Hdt. I 167, Homeric ήρωα in II 143,

Hort. Adon. p. 268 B of δè "Ιωνες αὐτὴν els ουν ἐποίουν, Σαπφοῦν καὶ Λητοῦν.
 According to some of the ancients with the perispomenon accent.

VI 69, as in the non-Ionic inscription from Priene (No. 1414). $\pi \Delta \tau \rho \omega \nu$ is found IV 76, IX 78, but $\mu \Delta \tau \rho \omega \alpha$ IV 80 according to Stein. M($\nu \omega \nu$) occurs VII 170, 171, with traces of a form in $-\epsilon \omega$ and $-\epsilon \omega \nu$ due to the supposed fondness of Ionic for $-\epsilon \omega$. In VII 171 the Aldine edition adopted the Homeric M($\nu \omega \alpha$). Lukian Astrol. 20 has M($\nu \omega$). It is evident that such fluctuation was unknown in the original Hdt., though which form is to be adopted is uncertain.

Nominative Plural. ἥρωες Samos 225. Dative Plural. ἥρωσι Hdt. VII 43.

Stems in Sigma.

This declension comprises stems in $-\epsilon s$, with nominative in -os, or $-\eta s$ (525–540); stems in $-\tilde{v}s$ (541); stems in -os (542), -rs (543), and those in $-as/-\epsilon s$, varying with $-a\tau$, nominative -as (544).

Stems in -es.

525.] Terminations:-

ος, ης	ees (eis), ea
eos, eus	€wv
ei -	€σι
€a (ην), €S	€as, €a.

Testimony of the Grammarians.

Genitive: -cos Joh. Gr. 239 B. 242, Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 649, 655, Vat. 695, Et. M. 15213, Hdn. II 69217 (= Choir. 15622). Cf. Schol. Ven. A on O 302, who quotes ξίφεος from Hekataios. -cos. The Homeric δρίβεος is called Ionic or Doric in Hdn. II 67521 (Choir. 21213), II 69236 (Choir. 15771), II 33618, II 77710 (Choir. 39511), cf. II 32818 and Et. Gud. 27320. πάδεος Schol. Nikander Ther. 2. βίλεος and σάκεος are called Doric by Tzetz. on Had. Scatum 334, and δρίβεος is said to be Doric, not Doric and Ionic, by An. Ox. II 34320. On Homeric forms in -cos, see Schol. Ven. A on O 3. Dative: -ci Joh. Gr. 240, 242, Greg. Kor. § 11, 34, Meerm. 655, Birnb. 67720. Accusative: -ca Joh. Gr. 239 B, Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 649, Vat. 695, Schol. Ven. A on B 115 (cf. also on K 281). Δυσκλάα καὶ ἀκλία Ἰωνικῶς, cl δὲ ἸΑττικοὶ ἐκτείνους ν. Nominative Plural: -cos Joh. Gr. 240 B, Greg. Kor. § 40, Meerm. 652, Vat. 697. -ca. Joh. Gr. 240 B, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 67720, An. Bachm. II 3674- Genitive Plural: -cov Joh. Gr. 240 B, cf. Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 67720, An. Bachm. II 3674- Genitive Plural: -cov Joh. Gr. 240 B, cf. Greg. Kor. § 11, Meerm. 652, Aug. 667, Vat. 697, Birnb. 67720, An. Bachm. An. I 9820. Accusative Plural: -cas, see Schol. Ven. A on K 281.

526. Nominative Singular.

Names in -κλέης, -κλής (Dialectal Subdivision) in inscriptions.

In inscriptions we notice a difference in names in $-\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}s$ between the Ionic of Euboia and of its colonies and that of the islands and of the Asiatic mainland. In Euboia we find $-\kappa\lambda\hat{\epsilon}\eta s$, in the other portions of Ionic territory $-\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}s$. A similar variation may be observed in Attic inscriptions, though there the difference is chronological merely. The oldest prose inscriptions have $-\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}s$, while even in the fifth century the longer form comes to light; and the latter appears, though sporadically, in the inscriptional monuments of the fourth century.

A. Euboian Ionic.

'Ιπποκλέης Eretria 16 C 44 (340–278 B.C.); in Styra 19 Θεοκλ < $\lambda >$ έης 45, 'Επικλέης 187, Νικοκλέης 271 all of the fifth century. The single case of -κλης ('Ηρακλης Roberts I 191 B and 192 B on amphorae) may be accounted for by the constant variations in the dialect of vase inscriptions, explained by Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX p. 393 ff.

B. Ionic of the Islands.

Ηιπποκλής Amorg. 31, Ήγησικλής Keos 44 B 15, Αριστοκλής 44 B 18, $[\Phi]$ ιλοκλή[s] 44 B 19, Ύψικλής Delos 55 H 4, Διοκλής, Πολυκλής, Μενεκλής Delos B. C. H. VII 107, lines 6 and 18, Τιμοκλ $(\hat{\eta})[s]$ Thasos 72_2^{-1} , Ίπποκλής Thasos 78 C 10, Μεγακλής Thasos 81 B 2 and in nineteen names in -κλής in the Thasian inscriptions in the Louvre (in Bechtel's collection: Thasische Insch. ionischen Dialekts im Louvre), Τιμοκλής Siphnos 89.

C. Ionic of the Asiatic mainland and of the colonies of Asiatic cities.

Πασικλης Miletos 93, Τερψικλης Mil. 94, both inscriptions of the sixth century, Στρατοκλης Theodosia (?) 127, [Τι]μοκλης Zeleia 1132, 'Ηπειροκλης Smyrna 15314, and Lampsak. 171, 'Αγαθοκλης Smyrna 15319, Πυθοκλης Erythr. 206 A 32, 35, 'Ιατροκλης 206 A 38, 'Αριστοκλης 206 B 48, 206 C 37, Μενεκλης 206 C 19, 'Αγασικλης 206 C 36, 'Αριστοκλ[η]ς Erythr. Zeitschr. f. Num. XIV 152, 'Ηγεκλης, Ξενοκλης, Μεγακλης Ephesos (Head, Num. Chron. 1880, 117 ft.). From island colonies: Εὐκλης Ιασος 10412, 'Ιατροκλης 10432, Φιλοκλης Chios 174 C 19, Φανοκλη[ς] Chios, Zeitschr. f. Num. XIV 153, the Samian Δαμασικλης Bechtel No. 2176, Πυθοκλης 2178, Θεμιστοκλης 2226, Διοκλης Perinth. 234 A 14, 'Αγαθοκλης 234 B 3. Τερψικλης in No. 260 of uncertain provenance, but probably Asiatic Ionic. It may be noticed that Τερψικλης was the name of Archilochos' father.

¹ Τιμοκλέους Choiseul and Koehler, -κλέης Boeckh, -κλής Karsten.

- 2. In the lyric poets: $\Pi\rho\rho\kappa\lambda\epsilon\eta$ s Phokylides I_2 , Demodokos 2_2 , with the open form that is not found in the contemporaneous dialect of Miletos¹. No example of a noun in $-\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}$ s has been discovered in a Lerian inscription. It should be noticed that $\Pi\rho\rho\kappa\lambda\epsilon\rho\nu$ s in Demod. 2_2 and Phokyl. I_2 are non-Ionic, but readily admit the substitution of $\Pi\rho\rho\kappa\lambda\epsilon\rho\nu$ s. The Phokylideian passage might be cured by writing κal de $\Pi\rho\rho\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}$ s (Fick), but neither epigram should be tampered with, as it is not certain that the original form has been preserved.
- 3. In Ionic prose: -κλη̂s is the correct form in Herodotos, though rarely admitted by all MSS., as in 'Ηρακλη̂s II 145, Προκλη̂s III 50, 51, Μανδροκλη̂s IV 87 (P R, but -έης A B C d), Σωσικλη̂s V 93 (A B¹ C d, -έης reliqui). In all these passages Stein and Holder adopt the uncontracted forms; a procedure which is open to grave doubt. Themistokles' name occurs twenty-three times in the uncontracted form in all MSS. In the case of other names the testimony is almost entirely in favour of the open form; which appears in the Arrianic 'Ηρακλέης 513, 86,7, Νικοκλέης 188. All who quote Hekataios have 'Ηρακλῆς (48, 345, 349), and so in the case of Hellanikos 50 (Θεοκλῆς). Ion 1 has of course Σοφοκλῆς.
- 4. The nominative neuter &dos (in Halik. 238₁₉, $\tau \delta$ &dos) affords a remarkable confirmation of the Hesychian glosses &donat &dos $\psi \eta \phi_1 \sigma \mu a$. $\delta \phi_1 \mu a$, with which we may compare &donat Bouly in Hipponax frag. 100. The word is not attested except in Ionic. &dos is connected with the last member of the Ionic names $\Lambda \epsilon ddons$ Styra 19₂₄₂, and $\Lambda \epsilon \omega dons$ Thasos 77 B 7 ($\Lambda \epsilon \omega dons$). The second form is = $\Lambda \eta f \sigma ddons$ (Hom. $\Lambda \eta \omega dons$), the first from $\Lambda \eta (f \sigma) ddons$ as $\Lambda \epsilon \omega a \xi$ from $\Lambda \eta (f \sigma) f \alpha v a \xi$. Cf. &\delta 281, 289.
- 527.] Genitive Singular of Proper Nouns in -ης (Inscriptions). In the following tables are enumerated the occurrences (in Bechtel's collection) of the genitive of the -ες (-ης) declension together with the genitive of nouns of other declensions, whose genitive is made in -εος, &c. (except the patronymics in -δεος, -δευς, and the terminations -γορευς, which have been tabulated above § 427). The Thasian inscriptions of the Louvre I have placed in the third century, though the latest (part of Nos. 15, 16, 20, 21, and all of No. 18) may be referred to the beginning of the second century. It will be remembered that only those inscriptions are cited which contain one or more Ionisms, and that the lists do not attempt to trace out the usage of the inscriptions after the dialect had passed completely under the sway of Attic.

Both Hoenders and Hoendes are Old-Attic.

	•€0 3	•eus	-eous
VICent.	Δεινομένεος Nax. 23 τουρμοκράτεος Prokon. 103		
V Century. VICent	'Αστυκλέος Sam. 215 (epigr.) Θεμιστοκλέος Magnesia, Head, H. N. 501 Κυδιγένεος Κοος 45 Δημοκρίνεος Sam. 214		
	Δεξικλέος Keos 48 'Ηρακλέος Thasos 712 Πατροκλέος Eph. 146, and Maroneia, Head, Η. Ν. 216 Οἰκλέος Chios 183 B 33, cf. No. 190	'Ιατροκλεῦς Iasos 1046, 12, 20, 33, 42	Δαμασικ[λ] έσυς Sam. 220 ₅₀ (346/45 B.C.) Marδροκλέους Chios, Paspates 1 ₄ 'Ορσικλέους, ibid. 1 ₁₁
	Мητροφάνεοs Maroneia 196, 13	Πασιφάνευς Iasos 104 _{9,27} 'Αντιφάνευς Iasos 104 ₂₀ 'Αριστοφάνευς Leros 107	
IV Century.	Καλλικράτεος Maroneia, Head, H. N. 216 'Ερμοκράτεος Pantikap. Lat. II 185 'Ιπποσθένεος Phanag. 166 Αὐτοσθένεος Chios, Pas-	[Κρ]άτευς ΙαβΟΒ 10415 'Ιπποκράτευς ΙαβΟΒ 10418	Εὐρυσθένεους Sam. 217 cf. § 247
	pates 1. Παιρισάδεος Pantikap. 119, Phanag. 166, 168 Εὐπείθεος Eph. 146		
	Πολυχάρεος Pantik., Latyschev II 183; cf. Έπιχάρεος, p. 311	Meyaμήδευs Toos 15720 'Αρταξέρξευs Myl. 248 A B C	
III Century.	'Ονησικλέος Amorg. 38 'Αλεξικλέος Delos 55 I 'Ιατροκλέος Delos 55 II 'Τφοκλέος Thasos 75 A 3 Παν]τακλέος Thas. 78 A 3, 802 Τ(ε)λεσικλέος Thas. 78 B 4 Παγκλέος Thas. (L.) 4 A 2 'Αριστοκλέος Thas. (L.) 4 A 12	Τιμοκλεῦς Thasos 76 ₅ Κρατησικλεῦς Thasos (L.) 14 A 9	** Τhasos 721 (300-250) cf. § 247 Κρατησικλέους Thas. 82 Β II (225-200) 'Ηρακλέους Erythr. 206 Β 37 (after 278 B.C.) 'Ιεροκλέους Ιακοα, J. Η. S. ΙΧ 341, Νο. 3
	'Αγασικλέος Thas. (L.) 8 A 2 'Υψοκλέος Thas. (L.) 10 A 8		

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			(1)
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			5 0
			1 19
			48
			1 7
			Ίπποσθένουs Chios
			Paspates 120
			Haipirdžovs Pan- tik. 120, Phan 165, 167
Α[γα]σικλείους			
Erythr. 206 B 37 Merenhelous Ery.			
206 B 36, 54 Yukhelous Ery. 206 A 26 Iatporhelous Ery.			
206 A 39 Παντακλείους Th. (L.) 15 A 4			
(L.) 16 A 12, 18			
A 7, 19 A 6 Arspondelour Th.			
Arsporteious Th. (L.) 16 A 16 Apartorkeious Th.			

•€0**5** -€US -eous 'Αριστομένευς Thas. 72₁ Κλ] εομένευς Thas. 80₁₀ 'Αλθημένευς Thas. (L.) 4 B 3 Elδομένευς Thas. (L.) 5₆ Καλλιμένευς Thas. (L.) 11 A 2 'Ορθομένευς Thas. (L.) 12 C 3, 13 A 6 Θεογένευς Thas. 78 C 5 Κλεογένευς Thas. (L.) 12 C 4 Λ[εω]σθένευς Th. 78 A 9 Εὐρυσθένευς Th. (L.) 12 B 5 III Century (continued). Τηλεφάνευς Th. 77 A 9, 78 C 2, Th. (L.) 12 B 10, 14 B 10 'Αντιφάνευς Th. 75 B 6 'Ερμοφάνευς Th. 78 B 13 Εεινοφάνευς Th.(L.) 3 A 5 'Αριστοφάνεος Th. (L.)
4 A 8 Εενοφάνεος (?) Th. (L.) Λεωφάνευς Th.(L.)4A12 Απολλοφάνευς Iasos, J. Η. S. IX 341, No. 2 Τιμοκράτεος Th. 82 B 13 Δικηκράτευς Th. 75 A 9 'Ασικράτευς Th. 78 B 2 ' $E[\pi]$ ικράτευς Th. (L.) (225-200) 'Еπикратеоз Th. (L.) 28 — припритеих Th. (L.) 14 B 8, 11 A 4 'Нуекратеих Th. (L.) 12 B 8 (about 300) Αὐτοκ[ρ]dτ[ε]υ[s] Th.
(L.) 13 A 7 'Αριστοκράτευς Th. (L.) 14 A 7

527.]

STEMS IN -es.

-elous	-ou	-69	-003
(L.) 20 A 13, Eryth. 206 B 50			
	'Αριστομένου Ery. 206 C 29, 41, 50, Th. (L.) 20 A 2, 214 'Ορθομένου Th.(L.) 15 C 7 Καλλιμένου Th.		
	(L.) 15 A 10 'Επεγένου Erythr. 206 B 28 Διογένου Th. (L.) 20 C 10 (Μ) οιρηγένου Th. (L.) 15 B 8 'Αθηνογένου Eryth. 206 A 31 'Ιερογένου Eryth.		
	206 A 33, 36 Μητροφάνου Ετγ. 206 C 34 'Αριστοφάνου Th. (L.) 20 A 4 Λεω[φ]άνο[υ] Th. (L.) 15 B 2		
	'Αντιφάνου Th. (L.) 18 B 15 'Επικράτου Th. 81 B 9, Th. (L.) 20 C 3 'Αριστοκράτου Th. 82 B 5	'Автикратен Ery. 206 B 32	
	Κτησικράτου Ery. 206 C 2 Πολυκράτου Th. (L.) 15 B 7 Αντικράτου Th. (L.) 16 A 7, 18 A 11, 20 C 5 Τεισικράτου Th. (L.) 174 Τιμοκράτου Th. (L.) 178 B 1		
	Δεινοκράτου Th. (L.) 19 A 8		

	-605	*evs	2009*
III Century (continued).	Μενάλκεος Th. (L.) 6 C 2 Κλεομήδεος Th. (L.) 1 (about 300 B.C.) Πολυάλθεος Th. (L.) 10 Α 11 Εὐηφένεος Th. (L.) 2 ₁₃ (about 300 B.C.)	Θρασυάλκευς Th. 78 B 14 Δημάλκευς Th. 81 A 13, 82 A 5 Λεωμήδευς Th. (L.) 11 B 3 Παγχάρευς Th. 722 Κλεοκύδευς Th. 77 A 10 Παγγήθευς Th. (L.) 6 C 7 Δημεῦς Th. (L.) 11 A 3 Ἡγησιτέλευς Th. (L.) 6 B 5	
and later.	'Ιατροκλέος Halik. 244 'Αντιφάνεος Samothr. 236 ₅		'Hρακλέους Teos 158 _m

There are numerous occurrences of names in -\(\epsilon\) and -\(\epsilon\) in inscriptions later than 400 B.C., which afford insufficient criteria to permit of their arrangement under the foregoing table. Some of these may here be mentioned.

1. 'Αριστοκλέο[s] Erythr. 198, perhaps of the fifth century; 'Αγασικλέ(ος?) Olbia 131, 7 (after 400 B.C., probably fourth century); 'Αστυκλέος Chios 188 (fourth); Μεγακλέος (or -κλέους?) Chios, C. I. G. 2374 d appendix; 'Ηρακλέος Chios, Paspates 9; Θεοκλέος (or -κλέους?) Halikarn. C. I. G. 2661 b, 'Εκατοκλέος (or -κλέου?) Ephesos 149; Μενεκλέος of Soloi, C. I. G. 900; 'Αριστοκλέθς Perinth. 234 B 19; Μενεκλέθς Halikarn. 245; 'Αγαθοκλέθς Chios 1919, 192; Τιμοκλέθς ibid. 19110, 14 (cf. Ἡρακλέθς read by Paspates (No. 24) as -κλέους); Attic -κλέους appears in Smyrna 15314, 18, 36; -κλέιους (§ 220) 1539 and C. I. G. 3245, both from Smyrna, cf. 32563 where -κλήους is written. This last document is very late.

2. Τηλεφάνεος Thas. 83, 1 and Erythr. 198, but -φάνευς Thas. 74: [Πρω]τοφάνεος Olbia 131, 20; 'Απολλοφάνευς Perinthos 234 B 21, 'Απολλοφάνου Smyrna 1533.

3. Ἐπικράτεος Olbia 131, 6, Ἡροκράτ[ε]ος 131, 8, Ἰφικράτεος 131, 9, Φιλοκράτεος 131, 10 are probable readings; Φιλοκράτευς 131, 22, Μενεκράτευς Perinth. 234 B 7; Καλλικράτου and Ξενοκράτου Samos 222 (pre-Roman).

4. Λεωσέβεο[s] Chios 1773, Δεινέος 17711, Πυθέος 17913.

5. Μεγαμήδευς Teos 15729, [Τηλαύγ]ευς Chios 191.

6. 'Αριστομένου Smyrna 153₁₇, Σωσιμένου Perinth. 234 A 5; 'Ανδροσθένου Smyrna 1536, Καλλισθένους Olbia 131, 11.

-CIOUS	-eu	-EV	-ovs
	Haipiodõov Panti- kap. 122	-	
	Εὐκράτου Τοοε 1592		
	1		

The forms in -cos are probably of the fourth century, though some may date from after 300 B.C.

528.] Remarks on the Chronology of the Genitive Forms. From the foregoing it is apparent that the life of the old termination -cos in the inscriptions was threatened on two sides. First, by -eus which was at least Ionic; secondly, by various Attic forms, notably that in -ov. -evs begins to take the place of -cos about the middle of the fourth century B. C. was the third century that witnessed the rapid and wide extension of -evs, but after 200 B. C. it too has succumbed. In the Roman period the forms in -cos and -cus are practically extinct. The genitive in -105 was more tenacious of life than that in -cos or in -evs. In its inflection of sigmatic stems Ionic was, generally speaking, more conservative than Attic. In the latter dialect proper names gradually yielded to the encroachments of the A declension. In the inscriptions we do not observe a pronounced increase of Attic forms until the third century, and it is worthy of note that of these Attic forms, that in -ous, except in -κλέους, was rarely adopted by Ionic. Doubtless the newer orthography -eus was in itself a sufficient approximation to the Attic, as it left no doubt that the sound was not a dissyllable.

529.] 1. 'Αριστοκλέους Thasos 72, and Εὐρυσθένεους Samos 217, are noticeable forms. In No. 72, which dates from the first half of the third century, the genitive ends regularly in -ευς, except in the form cited; and the -σθενεους form is singular because it is apparently formed in violation of Greek morphology. These forms, as well as Δεουνύς on a coin of Maroneia (Bechtel

p. 114) may be explained by assuming that the engraver began with EO, and then, desiring to adopt the modernized orthography, added Υ after O. See Bechtel, *Ion. Insch.* p. 58, and cf. § 247.

The earliest example of the Attic -κλέους dates from the middle of the fourth century B. c. After this date this form

strives for supremacy with the epichoric - κλέος.

2. The example of -κλέου is not beyond suspicion, not only because of its isolated position, but also from the fact that Letronne's reading is controverted by Le Bas' Έκατοκλέος. If the latter is correct, it is worthy of note that, while -κλέους has been able to drive out the native -κλέος, -κλέου nevertheless, which appears upon Attic inscriptions after 329 B. c., has not been able to effect an entrance into Ionic.

3. The forms in -κλείους represent -κλέους with the intervocalic glide ι, found in εἰάν, ἐννεία, πόλει(ω)ς Zeleia 113 (§ 220), and are paralleled by ᾿Αντικλείους C. I. A. II 580₃ (324 B.C.), Δημοκλείους C. I. A. II 872, III 12 (341 B.C.), &c. In Attic inscriptions I find no form in -κλείους antedating 344 B.C. (of that date Θεμι]στοκλείους C. I. A. II 701, I 24), while upon Ionic soil the entrance of the glide iota into -κλέους does not ensue before 278 B.C. upon the Asiatic mainland, and in fact in an inscription that is all but Attic (No. 206). In Thasos it does not occur before 200 B.C.

4. In an inscription from Pantikapaion (Latyschev II 140), at least as early as the fourth century, we meet with the unique form Λοτοκλῆος (ΚΛΗΟΣ). This genitival form appears in the traditional text of Homer, in Kretan Έμπεδοκλῆος Μοπ. Απτ. I 61, No. 8 (together with -κλεῖος e.g. Μπς. It. III 655, 7, No. 7110), in Argolic Πατροκλῆος Loewy 86 (but cf. 89, 103), and perhaps in Kyprian. The epic -κλῆος reappears in poetry (Tyrtaios 111, Kaibel 949, late Spartan), and was adopted even in Herodotos by Aldus (cf. IX 90). As even the Homeric form is to be impeached (for Ἡρακλῆος read -κλέεος), it having been introduced from the analogy of -ῆος, -έος in -ην- stems, a prose form -κλῆος on Ionic soil must be pronounced indefensible. I suggest that the engraver had in mind the H of the nominative, and failed to correct his mistake after it appeared in the genitive; or H is a downright blunder for E. The latter suggestion is less probable since it is only in late documents that we find the two letters confused, e.g. Ἡράκληα Aiolic, C. D. I. 302, Δημοκλήους Smyrna, C. I. G. 3256 (at the earliest from the second century B. C.).

530.] The tables in § 527 show that, as in Attic, names in -κράτης, -γένης, -φάνης have partially passed under the sway of the declension with which the -ες declension is in closest

touch. In Attic inscriptions the accusative passed out of use before the genitive (from 350 on). In Ionic it is not till the opening of the third century that forms in -κράτου, &c., come to light, though by the year 300 B.C. in Attika the older inflection had been almost completely submerged. This is because in Ionic the hold on the dialect forms in -ευς, after the older -εος had given way, was strong enough to prevent the old declension from being entirely displaced. Nouns in -μένης have -μένου in Ionic by 278 B.C. In Attic these names are genuine -εο- stems until towards the end of the fourth century, but by 300 B.C. they have passed over into the Å declension. Again, it is worthy of note that the Ionic -φάνεος, -φάνευς, -δίκεος, -πείθεος, -άλκευς show that -φάνης, -δίκης, -πείθης, -άλκης are treated as -εο- stems; cf. Attic Εὐφάνους C. I. A. 1269, 'Αξιοπείθους C. I. A. 324 D 4, Δημά[λ]κους 'Αθην. IV 199, Hdt. 'Αριαπείθεος IV 76, -ει IV 78, Σπαργαπείθεος IV 76, 78 (Arrian, Απαδ. VI 2, 2 has Σωπείθου).

The form -evs comes to light in Rhodian and Knidian documents and in the MSS. of Pindar and Theokritos. The inflection -ev and -evs is also Delphic. The former ending occurs in inscriptions from Knidos, Skyros, Skopelos, &c.

- 531.] Genitive Singular (excluding inscriptional forms of proper names).
 - I. Inscriptions.

τεμένεος Oropos 1832, Samos 216, έτεος Zeleia 114 F 43, Chios 183 A 15, 51 B 6, προσεχέος τείχους Teos 1594, a very late inscription. No case of -ευς occurs.

- II. Lyric Poets.
- 1. -εος. ξίφεος Tyrt. 1134, ἄνθεος Xenoph. 16, πολυανθέος Mimn. 21, κράτεος Theog. 46, ούρεος Theog. 881, κέρδεος Theog. 133, ἀεικέος Theog. 811, Καρικευργέος (conj.) Anakr. 91. Cf. also under No. 5. It should be remarked that there is no case of -εος in the iambographic writers.
- 2. -εος. θέρεςς Sim. Am. 739 (thus, and not \circ \circ in the first foot), παλιντριβέος 743. Λυκάμβεος is the form in the MSS. of Archil. 28, and, if correct, is the earliest instance in the Ionic lyric of the influence of the -εσ- stems upon the declension. Bergk followed Elmsley in editing Λυκάμβεω. Παιρισάδευς occurs in an epigram from Pantikapaion in Kaibel 773 = Latyschev II 9.

¹ E.g., Іпопратеия Cauer 178, Венфаненя ibid. 182 A 9, Поликлейя А 18.

Ayasonkeis C. D. I. 3549, 2 ff., 'Aptercyfrees ibid. 21, 'Arbectfrees ibid. 46.
 This form occurs also in C. I. G. 1919, a forged inscription from Tralles.

-ευς. Hipponax 192 ρίγευς, 492 τριήρευς; Herodas 340 τέγευς. In Homer we find a few examples of -ευς:—ἐρέβευς,

θάμβευς, θάρσευς, θέρευς.

4. -ovs (Attic). ψεύδους Theog. 607 (quoted by Stobaios), Γανυμήδους at the verse end, 1345, in a passage perhaps belonging to Evenos of Paros, Κυπρογενοῦς Sol. 261, and Theog. 1304, 1308, 1332, 1383. On Προκλέους Phokyl. 12, Demod. 22, cf. § 526, 2.

5. -ηος in 'Ηρακλήος Tyrt. 11, is the epic form, for which

-κλέεος may be substituted.

6. $-\epsilon\omega$. A mixed form is $\Pi\rho\eta\xi\iota\tau\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$ Hrd. 4_{22} : οἱ $\Pi\rho\eta\xi\iota\tau\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\omega$ $\pi\alpha\iota\ddot{\delta}\epsilon$ s' οἰχ ὁρῆs κείνα, where no other genitival form had suited the verse. Cf. Λυκάμβεοs and Λυκάμβεω under (2) above, and $-\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}\omega$, Eretria, Έφ. ἀρχ. 1887, 83 ff. In Attic inscriptions of the end of the third century we find $-\tau\dot{\epsilon}\lambda$ ου in proper names.

III. Prose.

ξίφεος Hekat. 360 (Schol. Ven. A on O 302), θάρσεος Demokr. 207, ήθεος 127, σκήνεος 6, 127, 128, ἐπιμελέος 70, πλήθεος Diog. Apoll. 6 (Simpl. 15311, a rare instance of the retention of -εος in Simpl.), Hdt. πενταέτεος I 136, ξυνεχέος Philip of Pergamum in B. C. H. II 273. Hdt. I 85 and Hippokrates VI 384 have δέους = Homeric δείους from original *δέεος < δξειεσ-ος. The Homeric form was not misinterpreted out of a contracted *δείευς, but misread out of δέεος which can be restored

K 376, O 4.

Hdt. has usually $-\epsilon os$ in proper names. In V 92 β Έχεκράτενs is found in AB^1Cd . Traces of this ϵv are rare in the MSS. of the historian. In Herodotos $-\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}os$ is the usual form with the variants:—(1) $-\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}ovs$, e. g. I 7 (CR) or (2) $-\kappa\lambda\dot{\eta}os$, e. g. IX 90 Θρασνκλ $\dot{\eta}os$ in Aldus. It is noticeable that the scribes who wrote our MSS. of Hdt. never adopted the form $-\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}ovs$. Ionic $-\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}os$ occurs in the pseudo-Ionists: Lukian, Syr. dea 3, Arrian, Ind. 59, 10, 91, 182, Abydenos 9, ep. Hippokr. 263 (v. l.). On the other hand the Attic form comes to light in Lukian, Syr. dea 26, Arrian, Ind. 512, 13, 88, four times in the letters of Hippokrates. The pseudo-Ionists usually have $-\epsilon os$ in other words, e. g. 'Ιθαγένεος Vita Hom. Arrian has $\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}ovs$ in 366, for which Eberhard reads $\kappa\lambda\dot{\epsilon}eos$.

532.] Dative Singular.

1. -ει in σθένει Erythr. 204₁₈, τ]είχει Halik. 240₁₅, *Αργει 240₄₇, έτει Myl. 248 A B C, ἔπει Chios in B. P. W. 1889 p. 1195. None of these inscriptions is metrical. In Sim. Amorg. 1₁₂ *Αρει occurs, where Brunck corrected *Αρει of the vulgate, and also in Sim. Keos 43₂; in Hipponax 11 ἀγει is the proper reading according to Bergk, ἀγει according to Fix. Cf. § 156. ἐνὰγεῖ is the correct form as conjectured by Meineke, but this form in Archil. 113 has no great probability. Anakr. 107 (eleg.) has $\tau \epsilon \mu \dot{\epsilon} \nu \bar{\epsilon} i$. πλήθεῖ is found in Tyrt. 49, Theog. 699 (-εῖ possible), $\tilde{\epsilon} \lambda \kappa \bar{\epsilon} i$ in Theog. 1134, $\pi \epsilon \lambda \dot{a} \gamma \bar{\epsilon} i$ in Sim. Keos 1352, 1362, 1426, $\delta \rho \bar{\epsilon} i$ 1075.

2. -εί in poetry is very rare; έγχει Tyrt. 11, τροχοειδεί Theog. 7, φιλοκερδεί 199, νήλει 1125. It will be noticed that these forms occur in poets not of Ionic birth. That -εί had ceased to exist in purely Ionic poetry before the year 500 B.C. is highly probable; a conclusion that tells against the assumption

of a prose -εϊ.

In Herodotos it is the custom to use the non-contracted form even when the MSS., either generally or partially, oppose its adoption (cf. I 70 $\mu\epsilon\gamma\delta\theta\epsilon\iota$, III 9 $\mu\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$). The preponderance of $-\epsilon\iota$ over $-\epsilon\iota$ in the MSS. as a whole has blinded editors to the large number of instances of $-\epsilon\iota$ in such MSS. as A B (173 cases). The contracted form appears to have existed in the archetype χ ; and this represents the actual Ionic form of the fifth century, though it is uncertain whether or not it has come down from Herodoteian times to the date of the writing of χ . How keen the pursuit of open forms was, is evident from the Aldine edition's $\sigma r d\sigma \epsilon \bar{\iota}$, $\delta \delta \sigma \epsilon \bar{\iota}$, $\delta \phi \epsilon \bar{\iota}$ (I 68), &c. Authors quoting Hekataios have $-\bar{\epsilon\iota}$, e.g. $\delta \rho \epsilon \iota$ 344, Apyel 357. Forms from Anaxagoras likewise, cf. $\pi \lambda \eta \theta \epsilon \iota$, $\mu \epsilon \gamma d\theta \epsilon \iota$ I, Melissos $\delta \gamma \iota \epsilon \bar{\iota}$.

The open forms occur also in the other Ionic writers, who have been subjected to the same $\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha\chi\alpha\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\delta$ s as Herodotos. Thus Hippokrates regularly has $-\epsilon \bar{\imath}$, and the letters current under his name $-\epsilon \bar{\imath}$ seventeen times, $-\bar{\epsilon} \bar{\imath}$ only twice. The first epistle of Pythagoras has a contracted form. Lukian in the Syr. dea 32 has $a\tau\rho\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\bar{\imath}$, Arrian about twenty examples of $-\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ to three of $-\epsilon\iota$; Abydenos frag. 9 has $\tau\epsilon(\chi\epsilon\iota)$, Euseb. Mynd. § 1 $\epsilon\nu\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\hat{\imath}$, 63 $\gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\iota$ (MSS.) and $\epsilon\nu\tau\nu\chi\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ ($\sigma\nu\nu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ Mullach) and $\kappa\lambda\lambda\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ in the same fragment. Arrian has both 'H $\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ (363) and 'H $\rho\alpha\kappa\lambda\epsilon\hat{\imath}$ (86), $\pi\lambda\eta\theta\epsilon\bar{\imath}$ 119. The Vita Homeri has $\tau\epsilon(\chi\epsilon\iota)$ 26.

533.] Accusative Singular (Masculine and Feminine).

1. -εα. ἀφανέα Τεοs 174 Α 12, Στρατοκλέα Amphip. 102, Τheog. βαθυκήτεα 175, εὐτείχεα 1209, περικαλλέα 1277, Demokr. πολυτελέα, αὐταρκέα 36, ἰσοσθενέα 24, δημωφελέα 57, Hdt. διφνία IV 9, ὑγιέα III 130, 133, 134. -κλέα is common in Hdt. -κλῆα, the Homeric ending, was adopted by Aldus (VII 193, VIII 92). There is no variant -κλῆν. Hippokrates has Περικλέα III 120. Ἡρακλέα οccurs in Ktesias § 21 and six times in Arrian. We find in Herakleitos 16 Εενοφάνεα, in Lukian, Vit. Ανα. 4 ἐμφανέα, 6 ἐμφερέα; ὑγιέα δην. dea 19; Αείν. 2 ψευδέα and ἀληθέα, 3 πολυειδέα, 5 ἀνελέα. In the Vita Homeri the open

forms prevail (twenty-four in all; two contracted forms). On δεσπότεα, Γύγεα and the like, see § 438, 2.

2. -εα. μελιηδέα Anakr. 412, νεοθηλέα Anakr. 511, δυσμενέα

Sim. Am. 7102.

In Hdt. II 108 we find ἐνδεᾶ. For this form that in -έᾶ should be substituted; cf. epist. Hippokr. 22, εὐκλέα. ὑγιᾶ occurs in Hippokr. III 252, and is Attic as well as ὑγιῆ.

4. -η. ἐξώλη Mylasa 248 A 15 (367/66 B.C.), and so on the forged inscription from Tralles, C. I. G. 2919. This ending occurs also in poetry, where it is not different from -εα: ἐξη-κονταέτη Mimn. 6₂ (Sitzler -εα), ὀγδωκονταέτη Solon 20₄, ἀσκηθη Sol. 19₄. In Theognis we observe ἀπειθη 1235 at the end of the verse, and εὐαλδη 830 (Bergk, εὐώδη MSS.) before the caesura of the pentameter. There is no example of -κλη in Ionic. εὐφνη occurs in Aretaios 331, despite -εα in the plural.

In Hdt, VI 57 for θυσίην δημοτελή Stein reads with good MSS. θυσίη δημοτελής.

- 5. $-\eta\nu$. 'Αντιγένην is found in Thasos 72₈ (300–250 B.C.). Forms in $-\eta\nu$ in inscriptions from Smyrna (Μενεκλῆν C. I. G. 3238 as C. I. A. II 305₂₉, Σωκλῆν 3241, and probably Δημοκλῆν 3256₂) are common in the later stages of the life of all dialects. In Attic inscriptions the accusative of names in $-\kappa\lambda$ ῆν ends in $-\kappa\lambda$ ϵα until the year 300 B.C., afterwards in $-\kappa\lambda$ ῆν. But other names in $-\eta$ s have $-\eta\nu$ in the earlier part of the century. On Anakreon's $alvo\pi a\theta$ ῆν 36 (Bergk $-\pi a\theta$ ῆ), see under Aiolic.
- 534.] Vocative. Δημοκλεῖs Theog. 923, though -εες was possible. Uncontracted are Περίκλεες Archil. 91 (eleg.) and Ἡράκλεες 119. Theog. 1323 has Κυπρογένη. Hdt. has Ὑστασπες I 209, since Ὑστάσπης is inflected as an -ες stem (Ὑστάσπεος l. l.), and also Πρήξασπες III 34, &c., ᾿Αρτέμβαρες I 116 and Οἴβαρες III 85.
- 535.] Nominative Plural (Masculine and Feminine). -εες. ἀτελεῖς occurs Teos, Mitth. XVI 292, but the inscription is Hellenistic. κατηρεφέες Anakr. 121, but Λυδοπαθεῖς 155, Demokr. Mor. εὐσταθέες 205, ἀμαθέες 70, θεοφιλέες 107, πολυμαθέες 140, ἀνακηδέες 214; and φιλομεμφέες 146, ξυγγενέες 152, and εὐφνέες 226 (all fragments of Demokrates). Hdt. has ἐπιδεέες (?) IV 130 (v. l. -ενέες), Hippokr. φρικώδεες V 588 (12). In Hippokr. the open far outnumber the contracted forms.

In the Syria dea of Lukian there are twelve, in the Astr. two open forms; Arrian also has twelve cases of -εες; Euseb. Mynd. § 4 προσφιλέες, 42 ἀπειθέες, 63 ἀφανέες for which Mullach reads διφανέας; epist. Thales 1 φρενήρεες; epist. Hippokr. seven open forms. Abydenos 1 has διφυεῖς, Aretaios contracts seven times, and resolves sixty-one times in the first two treatises. Eusebios has ἀδρανέες. On nominative forms in -εις used as accusative, see § 539.

536.] Nominative and Accusative Plural (Neuter).

1. -ea. Upon inscriptions: $\ell \tau \epsilon a$ Olynthos 8 A 5, Teos, Mitth. XVI 293 (an inscription containing $d\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon is$ and $\tau \epsilon \lambda \delta \nu$), $\tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon a$ Olynthos 8 B 8. In Keos No. 437, an inscription of the fifth century written $\sigma \tau o \iota \chi \eta \delta \delta \nu$, Roehl has supplied $\delta \lambda [o] - \sigma \chi \epsilon \rho [\epsilon a]$. In line 17 of the same document $\theta i \eta$ is certain. The difference according to Bechtel between the η and ϵa is here purely graphical; cf. $\epsilon I \rho \eta \tau a \iota$ Oropos 1817 with the usual - $\epsilon a \tau a \iota$ in Ionic poetry.

Open -εα occurs in the poets. In the elegists: Archil. 91 κήδεα, φάρε' Xenoph. 33, νείκεα Anakr. 942, βέλεα Mimn. 146. Theognis has ἄλγεα 1189, αἴσχεα 388, ἄλσεα 1252, κέρδεα 50, 835, ήθεα 970, ψευδέα 713, δήνε' 222. Solon has ἄλγεα 42, 212, ἄνθεα 436, κέρδεα 1374. παναλουργέα Xenoph. 33. In iambic poetry we find ἀεικέα Sol. 3611 at the verse end with ήθη in the

next line.

-εα in Ionic prose: οὕρεα Hekat. 172, ψεύδεα Demokr. 119, εἴδεα Melissos 17, &c., ἀληθέα Hekat. 332, Herakl. 107, Melissos 17, Lukian, de Domo 20, ἀνωφελέα Demokr. 13, διαπρεπέα 18, ἀσφαλέα 58, ἀσθενέα 185; Protag. πένθεα. Hdt. has -εα throughout, e.g. ἔτεα (ἔτη Ι 16 b d z), Philip of Pergamum (B. C. H. II 273) ἔθνεα, Lukian, Vit. auc. 14 δακρνώδεα, Syr. dea ἀεικέα, ἀτρεκέα, θεοπρεπέα 29, Aretaios ἀπάθεα and ὑγιέα 91. Hippokr. III 450 has the latter form by a conjecture adopted by Littré. Hdt. II 92 has κρίνεα, the usual nominative being κρίνον.

- 2. -εa. δήνεα Sim. Am. 778 (first foot), έτεα 32 (end of verse); μέλεα Archil. 121 (end of pentameter); ἄνθεα Mimn. 14 (before the caesura); σκέλεα Herodas 340 (perhaps 🔾 🔾).
- 3. -εâ. Hdt. καταδεâ II 121 (β), ἀκλεâ I I are as incorrect as the same forms in the singular. Fritsch in Curtius' Studies VI 93 proposes to read καταδέα with hyphaeresis. Bredow preferred καταδεέα.
- 4. -η. ἔπη Theog. 1366 and ἀσεβῆ 1180 at the end of the verse, a position occupied by ἔτη in Sol. 27₁₄. ἀεικέα ήθη 36₁₈ (trim.); κράτη 36₁₈ (trim.) according to Blass, where Bergk reads κράτει.

537.] Genitive Plural.

1. -εων: ἐτέων Zeleia 114 F 3, τελέων 114 D 6; Archil. δρέων 115 (dactylic tetrap. + ithyphallicus), Mimn. δχέων 1211, δυσμενέων 148, δυσηλεγέων 73; Tyrt. δρέων 54, βελέων 1121, δυσμενέων 1221; Theog. ἐπέων 755, 1334, δρέων 1292, χαμαιγενέων 870, εὐσεβέων 1141; Solon νεφέων 1324, δυσμενέων 421; μεδέων occurs in Archil. 138, a fragment of uncertain metre.

This form is constant in the prose of Hdt. Ktesias has ἐτέωτ 21, Herakl. ἐπέων 2, ἐτέων 12, ψευδέων 118 (vulgo -ω̄ν), Demokr. κτηνέων 127, Philip of Pergamum (B. C. H. II 273) κερδέων, παθέων, Lukian, Vit. auc. 3 ἐτέων.

- 2. -εων: Archil. στηθέων 1033, Sim. Am. ἐτέων 18; Theog. κερδέων 46 (in Λ O, ceteri κερδών), τειχέων 951, στηθέων 1154 (Λ, Stobaios); Solon ἐπέων 12.
- 3. $-\hat{\omega}\nu$: Archil. $\hat{\epsilon}\nu\acute{a}\delta\epsilon \upsilon$ δυσμ $\epsilon\nu\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ 662 (tetram.), for which we may read $\hat{a}\nu\grave{a}$ δ' έχεο μ $\hat{\epsilon}\nu\omega\upsilon$, Theog. $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ 1321, Anakr. μ $\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\upsilon$ 45 (Blass). $\tau\epsilon\lambda\acute{\omega}\upsilon$, Teos, Mitth. XVI 292, is Hellenistic.
- 538.] Dative Plural. τέλεσι Priene 1444 (φάρεσι in a non-Ionic epigram, Priene 1413). Archil. has δυσμενέσιν 7, πελάγεσσιν 11, κήδεσιν 661; Kallinos δυσμενέσιν 18; Simonides Amorg. ούρεσιν 141 (as Hekat. 172, 173), άλγεσιν 123; Mimnermos ἄνθεσιν 23, Anakr. στήθεσι 39. The dative plural in -εσσι is practically restricted to sigmatic stems in Ionic, only two exceptions being known: λεθύεσσιν Ananios 58 and πτερύγεσσι Anakreon 241. In Xenophanes 35 χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι εὐπρεπέεσσιν is a conjecture of Bergk, to which Schneidewin's ταναήσιν is preferable; especially since in a fragment of Aristeas (Kinkel p. 245) we find χαίτησιν ἀγαλλόμενοι ταναήσιν.

539.] Accusative Plural (Masculine and Feminine).

ἀφανέας Teos 156 B 38, ἀκρατέα[ς] Chios 174 C 8, ἀνωφελέας Xenoph. 31, εἰγενέας Theog. 184, Τρήρεας Kallinos 4; Hdt. τριήρεας VII 158, περιδεέας V 44, ἀνθρωποφυέας I 131, Hippokr. ὑγιέας II 110.

The nominative form -εις is used for the accusative in πρεσβυ-

γενείς Tyrt. 45 (Renner - εas), εὐανθείς Theog. 1200.

540.]

Many proper names in -ηs, inflected in other writers according to the declension, in Hdt. follow the -εs declension. For a full list of such names, see Bredow p. 230 ff. Some are Φαρνάκεος VII 66, Αλάκεος VI 13, "Τδάρνες VIII 118, Φαρανδάτεος ΙΧ 76, "Αρσάμεος VII 224, Πολυδέκτεος VIII 131 (Stein's -εω is a conjecture of Valckenaer). Names in -φρένης are invariably -ες stems in Hdt., in Arrian -ā stems. On Herodoteian names that are usually -ā stems but incline to the -ες declension, chiefly in the accusative, see above § 438, 2, and Bredow pp. 226-230.

541.] Stem in -vs-.

Original forms of the inflection of $\mu \hat{v}s$ are rare, the influence of the type $\partial \phi \rho \hat{v}s$, $-\dot{v}os$ having obliterated the ancient inflection. In Hdt. II 141 we find $\mu \hat{v}v$ for the old * $\mu \hat{v}\sigma a$; in Herodas 3.16 $\mu \hat{v}s$ is the nominative plural, whereas the older form is $\mu \hat{v}s$.

Epicharmos 28 Ahrens; μῦσίν¹ for *μἴσσίν is supported by a reading in Batrachom. 260 (μύσι, the regular form from *μυσσίν in 173, 174, 178), but is a mistaken form, only nouns of more than one syllable in the nominative ending in -voi.

542. Stems in -0σ -.

Here belong aldus and hus. Nominative: Hdt. hus VIII 83, Arrian έως, έφος², έωθεν. Genitive: ἠοῦς <*ἠέος Oropos 1846, Hdt. II 8, VII 167, alδοῦς Tyrt. 1240, Theog. 253, 410, 1266. alδόος and ἠόος are everywhere possible in Homer except v 171, Θ 470, 525, δ 188. Dative: alboi may be read K 238. Accusative: the ground-form *avooo-a yielded *hooa 3 = hoa 4, which may be read in Homer in place of the traditional 36. alos may likewise be displaced in favour of aldóa. aldô appears in the MSS. of Hdt. I 8 and deserves the preference over aldow, an analogue of the -w. declension, which Greg. Korinth. § 35 calls Ionic. ηοῦν in the same grammarian is found only in an elegy in Athen. XI 473 A. In Hdt. IV 40 R has ηω, the other MSS. the Attic εω as Arrian, Ind. § 28. Xenophon adopted ηω according to Photios. Our MSS. have however &.

548.] Stems in -vs-.

μείς in Mylasa 249 is the only inscriptional testimony in Ionic to the authenticity of a form preserved in T 1175, Hymn II 11, Hesiod W. D. 557, Pind. N. V 44, Anakreon 6 and Hdt. e.g. II 82. It also appears in a Korkyraian inscription, C. D. I. 3199, in one from Kalchadon, 3052,7, and is not unknown in Attic (Timaios 39 C, Kratylos 409 C). The preservation of this original form until so late a period (the inscription no. 249 is not older than the first century B.C.) is an interesting case of the retention of dialect forms. μήν 6 is only apparently a see stem, μηνσ-being original. μείς is from *μένς < *μήνς, according to the law that a vowel followed by a nasal and a consonant is shortened; a law that came into existence after vs had become vv (Aiolic

The genitive unvos is found in Oropos 18, Keos 47, nomina-

¹ W. Schulze, Quaest. Hom. 50.

² Eustath. 727₃₁, ₃₄, 1142₃₄, 1504₄₄, holds that here is the Ionic form as compared with hose and eges.

³ G. Meyer and Schmidt (K. Z. XXV 24) regard ⁵hos as the original ablant form which became \$\phi_0\$ is through influence of ⁵hos.

⁴ In Hdn. II 391₁₈ = Et. M. 351₂₉, Et. Gud. 195₄₈, An. Ox. I 158₅, \$\phi_0\$ is attested as Ionic; incorrectly called Aiolic by Et. Gud. 196₁₉, An. Ox. I 137₅.

⁵ μής was read T 117 in the Chian edition of Homer. The Schol. Ven. A as

lic. calls μήν Aiolic. μής appears in the Herakleian Tables, Cauer 40;
* μήν was abstracted from μη(ν)νός. On the declension of this word see Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 61.

tive plural $\mu\eta\nu\epsilon$ s Anakr. 41, dative plural $\mu\eta\sigma\ell\nu$ Halik. 238₁₈; Stein correctly edits this form in Herodotos, though R has $\mu\eta\nu\epsilon\sigma\nu$ in IV 43, VIII 51.

544.] Stems in -aσ- -εσ-, nominative -as.

On the interconnected words κέρας and κάρη (§ 545), and on

κρέας see Schmidt's Neutra.

κέρας is inflected in Hdt. as follows:—κέρεος VI 111, IX 26, κέρει IX 102, κέρεα II 38 and often, κερέων II 132, IV 183. In Hippokr. II 68 we find κέρως and κέρατα. The form with τ was contemporary Attic as we learn from $[\kappa \epsilon \rho] a \tau \epsilon$ C. I. A. IV 185 B 46 (410 B. c.). The difference between Hdt. and Hippokr. is marked. κέρως could not have come into existence in Ionic at the same time and place as κέρεος <*κέρασος. κέρᾶτα is a new formation, which came into existence after *κερᾶ(σ)ατος had been substituted for *κρᾶ(σ)ατος. The former of these is the parent of Attic κέρᾶτος. ὑψικέρητος, which is cited in Hdn. II 68339 without any statement of its provenance, might at first sight appear to be Ionic; but is in fact a heteroclite from ὑψικέρης as ἀμένητος from ἀμένης. Pindar fr. 325 has ὑψικέρᾶτα, but no Ionian used -κέρητα.

κρέας yields κρέως Hdt. II 41, κρέα Hdt. I 119, II 47 and often, Hippokr. VII 196, Hekat. 355, Sim. Am. 241 (end of trimeter), Theog. 293 (ἄ), κρέων Hdt. I 59 and often, Oropos 1831, Hippokr. VIII 238, [κρέασιν oracle in Hdt. I 47, cf. C. I. G. 1724], κρέασιν Hippokr. VIII 54, 138 as Θ 162. Hdn. II 3196=Choirob. 48833 has preserved in κρέοῦν a trace of the form with ε for a before an o sound. This may be either Ionic or Attic¹. That the substitution is preserved in Homer is assumed by Schmidt, who proposes to substitute κρέέων for κρειῶν in Homer; though in Hymn II 130 κρέάων is read by all MSS. (but rejected by Gemoll). I find this plausible, as it

accounts for the es, which is difficult.

The Herodoteian forms of $\tau \epsilon \rho as$ are $\tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon os$ VIII 37, $\tau \epsilon \rho a \tau os$ and $\tau \epsilon \rho a \tau a$ II 82 in all MSS., $\tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon a$ VIII 37. Homer has $\tau \epsilon \rho a \omega v$, $\tau \epsilon \rho a \epsilon \sigma u$, $\tau \epsilon \rho a a$; and $\tau \epsilon \iota \rho \epsilon a \Sigma$ 485, $\tau \epsilon \iota \iota \rho \epsilon \sigma u$ Hymn VII 7 are usually ascribed to the same nominative form. Alkaios 155 used $\tau \epsilon \rho \epsilon \omega v$ (Eust. 115540), not $\tau \epsilon \iota \rho \epsilon \omega v$ (sic) as is reported in the Lexicon of Kyrillos, An. Par. IV 19210. $\tau \epsilon \rho a \tau a$ is good Attic despite the statements of the grammarians to the contrary, and may well be Ionic of the fifth century. Inscriptional Attic has $\kappa \epsilon \rho a \tau a$ but $\kappa \rho \epsilon a$. $\tau \epsilon \iota \rho \epsilon \sigma \iota a s^2$ was introduced into later literature

¹ That Attic did not repudiate the stem in τ is evident from $\kappa\rho\epsilon$ are in A $\theta\eta\nu$. VII 87, 73, the only occurrence upon Attic inscriptions.

² The name can, however, scarcely be derived from the dative plural τείρεσι + αs, as 'Αλκι-δάμαs, &c. I do not know of any certain phonetic change that will explain it as coming from τερατί-αs.

in the form its initial syllable was forced to assume in the epic. Tepela in Kaibel 52 may contain the same root, but the name is too singular to be adduced as evidence without further light from other dialects. $\tau \epsilon l \rho \epsilon a$ in Σ 485, where it is = $\tilde{a} \sigma \tau \rho a$, is not to be separated from $\tau \ell \rho a s$. Cf. $\tau \epsilon \rho a \sigma \kappa \delta \pi o s$ and Eurip. fr. 485: $\tilde{\eta}$ $\pi \rho \hat{\omega} \tau a$ $\mu \ell \nu$ $\tau \hat{\alpha}$ $\theta \epsilon \hat{a} a$ $\pi \rho o \nu \mu a \nu \tau \epsilon \nu \sigma a \tau o$ $\chi \rho \eta \sigma \mu o \hat{a} \sigma s$ $\sigma a \phi \ell \sigma \nu \sigma \sigma \delta \sigma s$, and $\Delta \tau \delta$.

The plural of $\gamma \epsilon \rho as$ occurs frequently in Hdt. in the form $\gamma \epsilon \rho \epsilon a$. This is also found in Miletos 100_7 . In Kos (Paton and Hicks' Inscriptions of Kos, No. 37_{21}) we find $\gamma \epsilon \rho \epsilon a \phi \delta \rho \rho s$, but $\gamma \epsilon \rho \gamma \delta \rho \gamma \delta \rho \delta \rho s$ appears in B. C. H. XII

282, γερηφορία in Dion. Halik.

Epic in colouring is γήραος in Hdt. III 14 (γήραος οὐδῷ), Archil. 116, in Mimn. 26, and in Theog. 527, perhaps a verse of Mimnermos. In 174 Theognis has γήρως which is not Ionic. γήραι, not γήραϊ, is read in Hdt. VI 24. The occurrence of γήραος in Archilochos deserves attention, since it is a case of an Homeric form appearing in a trimeter. Elsewhere the poet

contracts a + o separated by σ (§ 277, 2).

The substitution of ϵ for a before o sounds appears also in $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma\nu s$, in the pseudo-Hippokratic treatise $\pi\epsilon\rho l$ $\tau\hat{\omega}\nu$ $\ell\nu\tau\hat{\sigma}s$ $\pi\alpha\theta\hat{\omega}\nu$ (VII 182). Littré here adopts $\ell\omega s$ $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma\nu s$ (with Attic -ovs), the reading of another hand in H (of the fourteenth century) for ℓs $\tau\hat{\sigma}$ $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma s$. In Luke I 36 we read $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\epsilon s$. The grammarians register $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma s$ under the same category as $\sigma\hat{\nu}\hat{\sigma}\sigma s$, $\kappa\hat{\omega}\sigma s$, $\sigma\kappa\hat{\ell}\pi\sigma s$, $\kappa\nu\hat{\epsilon}\phi\sigma s$, &c., all of which forms appear to be nothing more than figments made out of the forms with ϵ before the case ending. $\Gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma s$ as a proper name is found in an inscription from Pantikapaion (Latyschev II 140) that is peculiar from the presence of a genitive in $-\kappa\lambda\hat{\eta}\sigma s$ (§ 529). If connected with $\gamma\hat{\eta}\rho\sigma s$, it is the only occurrence outside of grammatical literature of a nominative form in -os interchangeable with one in -as.

Homer has ούδεος, ούδει and ούδει; Aischylos βρέτεος, -ει, -εα, -έων.

The genitive -aos is called Ionic in the case of répass, rejacs, rejacs by Hdn. II 301_m = Choirob. 386_{10} , cf. Hdn. II 317_{17} , 773_{0} , 31, cf. 774_4 , rejacs Et. M. 505_{11} ; 84 π aos, rejacs, rejacs, rejacs, rejacs, rejacs, rejacs, rejacs, rejacs Theod. 35_{11} (Hilgard; rejacs Hdn. II 316_{11} , 774_4 = Choirob. 388_8 [rejacs Choirob. 388_m , rejacs Choirob. 388_m], rejacs Choirob. 386_{20} . rejacs is assumed as an Ionic form, An. Ox. I 99_2 (cf. rejacs μ 394).

¹ Hdn. II 281₁₁ = Et. M. 6394, II 220₁₄ = Eust. 1560₁₆ (cf. 600₁₁), II 7736, 16 = Choirob. 386₈, 387₉. Nowhere is the form called Ionic. Of the forms that appear to be analogous, the only instances which are ascribed to definite dialects are δέρος (on which see Schmidt, Neutra, p. 341) and κῶος, which are called Ionic or Doric by Et. M. 257₉; the latter, Aiolic by Tactaes on Hesiod, W. D. 61. ψέφος is Pindaric (frag. 324) according to Et. M. 818₂₄ (cf. Lobeck, Rhem. 315).

545. Stems in Tau.

1. Stems in -vr-. It has been supposed that Hipponax 12 has preserved the original participial inflection of τάλας :-

τί τῷ τάλαντι Βουπάλφ συνψκησας;

With this form we may compare αlνοτάλαντα in Antimachos. The correct explanation is that τάλαντι is a neologism like Σαρπήδουτος, θεράπουτος, δράκουτος. Nominative and vocative were alike in the case of -av and -avT stems. Participles in Ionic are inflected as in Attic, e.g. κατθανοῦσι Archil. 64, φάγουσι Hipponax 82.

Other stems in -ντ are: 'Αλκιδάμᾶς Keos 41 (on ã, see § 161), Δηιδάμαντ- Aigiale 28 A; ['Ay]λωφώντος Thas. 78 A 2, [Ni]κοφώντος 75 A 2 (see § 277, 1, on the contraction of a + o), Λεωμέδουτος Smyrna 15310, Δηιλεόντος Smyrna 15318, Μεγακρέ(ο)ντος Chios 1774, 'Ηγεκρέοντος Samos 2179.

Herodotos has δδών² VI 107 = Attic δδούς. An indirect attestation of Ionic δδών is found by Bechtel in ΚΟΚΟΔΟΝ³, Styra 1953, formed as Χαλκώδων. Hippokrates also has δδών. Plural οδόντες Hippon. 622, Anakr. 432, Hippokr. II 320. οδόντες is the agrist participle of the √ed (or perhaps ed) eat. Its initial o is assimilated from the ε of Aiolic έδοντες. See J. Schmidt in K. Z. XXXII 329.

2. Stems in -τ- δόρυ is inflected as a stem in ρ in the following cases: δουρός Tyrt. 1120, δουρί Anakr. 219, δορί Archil. 21, 2. δουρικλυτοί 35. Elsewhere the τ form: δόρατα Hdt. VII 89, 224, IX 62 in all MSS., but incorrectly, δούρατα I 79 (all MSS.), δούρασι I 172, VII 41 (in P only), Tyrt. 1137. The forms in ou are Ionic, notwithstanding Archil. δορί (§ 253, 1). Δούριδος occurs upon a Samian inscription (C. Curtius' Samische Inschriften, No. 13).

Hdt. has you VI 27, youvaros II 80, youvara I 199, III 103, V 86, γουνάτων Ι 112, ΙΧ 76 (γούνων Lukian Syr. dea 22), γούνασι IV 152, II 132 (γόνασι A B C), VII 88 (γόνασι A B). ουs yields ωτα, ωσί in Hdt., ωτα Herakl. 4, ωτων Herakl. 15. ès is found in a late inscription from Delos (B. C. H. II 322) and in one from Oropos ('Εφημ. άρχ. 1889, p. 3, l. 19). Hippokrates has ἀτός II 78, VI 368 (θ, Littré οὕατος), οὕατα VI 390 (ὧτα in θ), IX 84, οὐάτων VI 126, IX 86; but ἀσίν VI 128, ὧτα II 646, VI 392 as Herakl. οὕατα is found in Theog. 1163, ώσί Anakr. 214. In Homer we have the forms with ού- except μ 200 (ἀσίν, for which οἴασ' has been read). See § 266.

 $^{^1}$ Hdn. II 628_1 = Choir. 280_n = Bekk. An. III 1421; Theokr. 2_4 has τάλας. In Hrd. 3_{86} , 7_{88} we have an hyper-Ionic τάλης, according to Crusius, for the usual reading τὰ λης. I do not think such a slip possible even in the speech of the

 ² Cf. Eust. 854₁₂, where προόδων and χαυλιόδων are cited. Epicharmos has κυνόδων fr. 9₂ (Ahrens).
 ³ Cf. Meister in Jahrb. vol. 125, p. 525.

Hdt. has εν χροί IV 175. The word is rare in Ionic as in Attic prose. Homer generally has χροός, χροί, χρόα which recur in Euripides. χρόα is found in Archil. 100, Tyrt. 1027, Theog. 217, cf. ἀπαλόχροος 1341. χρώτα occurs in Keos 43.00. Hdn. has a nominative xpoûs I 4015, II 9218, &c., from which

he derives χροός. Hdt. has μελάγχροες, Hippokr. -χροιος. σταις Hdt. II 36 (not στφς) yields σταιτός. See Schmidt, Neutra, p. 357. Hdt. I 120 has dveipdrwv (cf. v 87) from rd ονειρον (ονειρος VII 16). έρως Archil. 103, έρωτι Anakr. 192, έρωτα Hdt. V 32. έρως occurs in Homer Γ 442, Z 294, a form with r for the first time in Hymn II 449 (¿pwra). Theognis has the Homeric έρος 1322, έρου 1064. ἐσθήν Mykonos 92₁₄ is a heteroclite (ἐσθῆτος Hdt. IX 80), cf. μύκην in Hekataios (schol. Ven. A on O 302). Both of these words are classed by Bechtel (Ion. Inschr., p. 66) with those which he maintains have pan-Hellenic η stems. The genitive of the latter noun is μύκεω in Archil. 47.

From ϵ îhws we have ϵ îhw ϵ s IX 80, ϵ ih ω ϵ w ν (C, $-\tau$ ϵ ω ν R) in IX 80 and IX 28. In IX 10 είλώτων is read, but in VI 58, 75, 80 είλωτέων is the sole reading of all the MSS. είλωτας VI 81 is indifferent as no stress is to be laid on the accent. The coexistence of the two genitive forms in this and other abundantia such as μέγαρου, μέγαρος may have been in part the cause of such

formations as μυριαδέων, -ων, άλωπεκέων, -ων, &c.

On $\lambda i \delta s$ from $\lambda i s = \lambda \epsilon \omega \nu$, see § 484. Hippokr. VIII 168 has

ἄλειφα for ἄλειφαρ.

κάρη nominative Anakr. 431, accusative Tyrt. 10es, Ionic for κάρα. This nominative in Homer forced an entrance into the genitive and other cases. In carlier prose the word went out of use save in compounds (Hdt. καραδοκείν which has Attic ā, Hippokr. καρηβάρεια, -βαρέω, -βαρικός), but in post-Homeric poetry κάρη was treated as a stem of the first declension. Theognis 1024 (Mimnermos?) has κάρη. κάρην occurs in Kallimachos fr. 35 B, Nikander Ther. 131, &c. κάραν appears in the Anakreontics 500 and is the accusative of the Attic dative κάρα (in tragedy).

546. Stems in Delta.

According to Hdn. I 526, II 18, (cf. Drakon 23, 45, in trisyllabic nouns in -15, the 1 was long in Ionic, short in Attic, c. g. πλοκαμίς, κεραμίς, but dyabis and τρυφαλίς always have -is. Clip-names in -as 1 have -ados 2, rarely -a, in the genitive. -a is

¹ E. q. Mikas Than. (L.) 14 A 7, Exeras Erythr. 206 B 23, Honfas 206 A 8, Θευδάς Samos 225, Πυγμάς Amorg. 28 A, Noσσιτάς Than. 76,.
Hdn. II 657; Βιττάς Βιττάδος, Κυράς Κυράδος.

the original termination, -âδos having worked its way in from the analogy of φυγάs, νομάs, &c., G. Meyer, Gramm. § 345. On the accent of -âδos see Bechtel (Ion. Inschr. p. 60). Examples are: Ἡρᾶδος Thasos 761, 82 B 3, Thas. (L.) 18 A 10, 20 B 6, Μολπᾶ-δος Abdera 163, 10, Διουνο[â]δος Abd. 163, 15¹, ᾿Απολλᾶδος Dittenb. Syll. 34460, 98 (Ephesos), C. I. G. 3253 Smyrna (late), Εἰρηνᾶδος Erythr. 206 B 25, Σωπᾶδος 206 C 27, Βατ(τ)ᾶδος Perinth. 234 B 16, cf. Dittenb. Syll. 1724 (Erythrai?), Κακρᾶδος Halik. 240 A 43, Ταυσᾶδος 240 A 64, ᾿Ολετᾶδος 240 B 47. These genitives in -ᾶδος appear upon Ionic soil as early as the first half of the fourth century. Dative in -ᾶδι: Φιλωνᾶδι Smyrna, C. I. G. 3392 (late). Μαιάς has the genitive Μαιᾶδος Ηἰρροπαχ 21 A.

Διονυτά Smyrna, C. I. G. 3137₃₃, Θευδά Iasos 106 (first century B.C. or later), 'Απολλά Ephesos (Dittenb. Syll. 344₇₂ first century), are the only examples of -â, which never gained a foothold in Ionic. See Dittenberger Sylloge No. 344, note

28.

Names in -vs have -vδos, e.g. Δεονύδος Erythr. 198, and -vos,

e.g. Διονθος Olbia 133, inflected on the lines of lyθθς.

"Αρτεμις³ yields 'Αρτέμιδι Chios 193, Miletos 101, Pantikap. 120, Phanag. 165, Paros 59 (epigr.), and so in Hdt. The accusative is 'Αρτεμιν § 491. On late coins 'Αρτέμιδος Ephesos Head H. N. 498, 'Αρτέμιτος Magnesia, ibid. 502. Μαιῆτις, Φθιῶτις, 'Ιστιαιῶτις, Θεσσαλιῶτις, Τάναϊς have in Hdt. -ιδος, accusative -ιν. New Ionic usually prefers -ιος. Hdt. has κανναβίδα IV 74, but -ιος 74, 75.

Θέτις yields Θέτιδος Erythr. 206 B 27 (also Epic). On Θέτιος see § 481. Theog. 499 has τόριες as Homer. νεήνις has the

dative vývi Anakr. 143.

The Homeric genitive "Aτδοs which occurs in Theog. 917 is from the stem "Ατδ-. 'Aτδηs is elsewhere an stem ('Aτδαο Theog. 244, 427, 906, 'Ατδεω Theog. 703 (in A), Solon 248).

πάλμυς has πάλμυδος Hippon. 154, but πάλμυν 11; vocative πάλμυ 30 A, 30 B. Hdt. has νεήλυδα I 118, ἐπήλυδα I 78.

Hdt. has Μελάμποδα ΙΙ 49, τρίποδα Ι 144 &c., αλγίποδας IV 25

but Οίδιπόδεω IV 149, Οίδίπουν V 60, αρτίπουν ΙΙΙ 130.

A grammarian in Bekk. Anecd. I 104₁ says that Hdt. used the dative form κόμμιὂι⁴; whereas in reality both Hdt. and Hippokr. use κόμμι; cf. § 484.

On the parasitic ε in hyper-Ionic -εων, see §§ 74, 2, and 480.

² Cf. Zeit. f. Gym.-Wesen, 38, p. 110, note 1.

³ Cf. Buck, A. J. P. X 463.

¹ Cf. also Διονυτάδος C. I. G. 3141₃₅, 3242 (both late inscriptions from Smyrna), Διονυσάδος Abdera, in Cat. Brit. Mus. Thrace 74, No. 62, 68, 85.

¹ This form was used by the comic poet Krobylos (Hdn. II 76710).

χρυσαίγιδ $<\epsilon>$ os Keos 41 (epigr.) is due to the error of the stone-cutter.

547.] Stems in Theta.

Hdt. has δρυιθος, δρυιθα IV 131, and δρυίν II 73, δρυιθες and δρυεα, δρυίθων and δρυιθίων in II 77, δρυισι, δρυιθας.

548.] Declension of $\theta \in \mu$ is, $\chi d\rho$ is.

Hdt. has Θέμιος II 50, Theognis θέμιστας 1141 as A 238. Cf. θέμιστος Aiolic and epic, θέμιτος in Pindar, θέμιδος Aischylos. The stem θεμιστ- has been regarded as a compromise between θεμισ- and θεμιτ-. Hdt. uses the adjective θεμιτός V 72, αθέμιστος VII 33 (Δ B C), VIII 143. See Thessalian § 37, 6 ε.

ἄχαρις has the dative ἀχάρῖ I 41, despite χάριτα VI 41, IX 107, ἀχάριτα I 207 (neuter plural), ἀχαριτώτατον VII 156; ἀχαρίστοισι I 90, εὐχαρίστως I 32. Hdt. has χάριν V 99, ἄχαριν III 24. Χάρισιν occurs Thasos 68 B.

549.] Stems in Gutturals.

In the old Chian inscription 174 we find A 16 οὐροφύλακες, A 19 οὐροφύλακας, whereas Hdt. uses both φύλακος and φύλαξ according to Stein: φύλακα I 41, 44, VIII 41, φύλακας VII 95, cf. also χρυσοφύλακας IV 13, 27, and Herakl. 123 φύλακας. In Hdt. I 113 φύλακα is supported by d and Aldus only, and in II 121 (γ) φυλάκους is undisputed.

From $\theta\rho(\xi)$, we have $\tau\rho(\chi\alpha)$ Paros 671; Hippokrates has $\xi\lambda\mu\nu\gamma$, $\gamma\epsilon$, $-\omega\nu$, from $\xi\lambda\mu\nu\xi$ for the ordinary $\xi\lambda\mu\nu\delta$, $\xi\lambda\mu\nu\theta$ (VII

596).

Theog. I uses the Homeric vocative & δνα¹; Hdt. has &ναξ I 159, IV 150 &c. Theog. 949 has the Homeric (E 299) dλκί. Anakreon 24 has in πτερύγεσσι a rare instance of the Aiolic transference of the ending -εσσι to non-sigmatic stems.

βηνιξ Hippokr. VIII 116 (adjective βηνικός) is a noteworthy

form. ρήνις is found in lexicographers. Cf. κέληξ, κέλης.

On hyper-Ionic -εων, see § 480.

550.] Stems in Labials.

In VIII 322 Hippokrates uses λίπα with έλαιον in a preceding clause; in 324 we have έλαίφ χρίων λίπα.

551.] Stems in Rho.

The inflection of $\pi \alpha \tau \eta \rho$, $\theta \nu \gamma \dot{\alpha} \tau \eta \rho$, in Herodotos presents nothing unusual. The tendency of Homeric forms to find a footing in MSS. of Hdt. is seen in $\pi \alpha \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho \iota$, III 34, R and Aldus. $\pi \alpha \tau \rho \dot{\alpha} \dot{\alpha}$ is found in Theodosia (?) 127, $\pi \alpha \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho \dot{\alpha}$ Delos 57, Chios 192. $\mu \eta \tau \dot{\epsilon} \rho \dot{\alpha}$ is read in Keos 4326. $\theta \nu \gamma \alpha \tau \rho \dot{\alpha} \dot{\alpha}$ Pantikap. 120, $\theta \nu \gamma \alpha \tau \dot{\alpha} \rho \dot{\alpha}$

¹ ava is called Ionic, Bekk. An. II 93018-

Keos 43_{27} . The epic and Aiolic¹ θύγατρα is called Ionic by An. Bachm. (Max. Pl.) II 65_3 , but is not met with. Hdt. has $\Delta \eta \mu \eta \tau \rho \sigma s$, $-\tau \rho \iota$, $-\tau \rho a$ ($\Delta \eta \mu \eta \tau \rho \sigma \nu$ II 123 in d and Aldus; cf. Kratylos 404 B where Schanz read $-\tau \rho a$, and Plutarch de Malig. 13 &c.). Hippokr. VII 596 γαστήρσι, v. l. γαστρήσι. In Hdt.

the word presents no peculiarities.

χείρ has the following inflection:—χειρός Hdt., Hippokr., Sim. Keos 1363. χειρί Hdt., Hippokr. χείρα Hdt., Hippokr., Archil. 130, Sim. Keos 1416. χείρε Hippokr. VIII 236 vulgo, χείρας in θ. χειροίν Solon 1350, 62; cf. note 2 below. χείρες Hdt., Hippokr. χειρών Hdt.; Herodas 73 has the hyper-Ionic χειρέων. In 611 χειρέων is a correction for χειρών of the papyrus. The appearance of this form harmonizes with the date of the papyrus (first century A.D., see § 113). χειρέων also occurs Hippokr. II 74, III 462; the correct form V 466. χεροί Hdt., Hippokr., Mimn. 126, Tyrt. 1025, Sim. Keos 1428. χείρας Hdt., Hippokr., Solon 44, Sim. Keos 1151.

In MSS. of Hdt. we occasionally find the forms with ε. Thus χέρας VIII 106 CP, the Venetus δ and Aldus. Steph. Byz. s. v. Αὐτόμολοι cites Hdt. II 30, but in a form that is so Atticized that we need not wonder at χερόs. Aldus alone has χερός II 169, V 77, VII 112, 115, χερί II 106,

III 78, IV 71, VIII 121, IX 72, xépa VII 42, xépas IV 64, 69.

It is interesting to note that in Attic inscriptions we find [χ]ε[s]ροῖν C. I. A. II 742 A 14; χειροῖν C. I. G. II Add. 2811 b 10 (Aphrodisias) and 2942 c 4 (Tralles). In both places Boeckh read χεροῖν. Hdn. II 277ms 74833 denies the existence of this dative form with ει. Hdn. II 74813 says that the form χερός occurred in iambographic poets; but he cites no example in proof.

The difference between the Homeric and Herodoteian inflection consists in the possession by Homer of the following non-Herodoteian forms: — xepi (only

three times), χείρε, χείρεσσι, χείρεσι.

àνήρ has ἀνέρος Xenoph. 64, ἀνέρι Kleobulina I, ἀνέρας Phokyl. 152 (vulgo ἀνέρος), all poetical forms. The iambographic poets use the forms known to prose: ἀνδρός Sim. Amorg. 7110, ἀνδρί 722, ἄνδρα Archil. 124, ἀνδρῶν Hipponax 452 trim., ἀνδράσιν Archil. 64 and 746 tetr., Phokyl. 15, Mimn. 15, Sim. Amorg. 772, 92, 95, ἄνδρας Hippon. 21 B trim.

On Aldus ἀνδρέων Hdt. VII 187, see § 480.

In Hipponax 51₁ Buttmann read correctly μάρτυρσιν (Welcker μάρτυσσιν) for Tzetzes' μάρτυσιν. Theog. 1226 has μάρτυς. The suffix in μαρτυρ-, μάρτυς is a product of dissimilation (Kretschmer, K. Z. XXXI 447) from mṛtru-. A suffix -tur- is unknown. μάρτῦς is found in Pindar and in tragedy, and μάρτῦς occurs upon an Attic epigram Philol. Wochenschr., 1888, p. 3. μαῖτυς

¹ Tzetzes, Ex. II. 7411. This epic form from the shorter stem is due to an objection to the succession of short syllables.

and μαῖτυρε occur in Kretan, μάρτυρος in Homer, Phokian and Delphic, μάρτυρ in Aiolic according to Hdn. I 236₁₄, and certainly in Doric. Hdn. I 47₇ (cf. Eust. 114₂₀) cites μάρτυρες as occurring in the comic poets and in Hipponax. This form is found in Herakl. 4, 15, 118 (-as), and was read by Zenodotos in B 202.

The accusative μάρτυν occurs in Sim. Keos 844, μάρτυρα 1485.

The latter form is found in Archil. 152.

Solon frag. 14 has preserved the older form μάκαρ (Bergk μάκαρς) which occurs also in Diphilos (Clem. Alex. Str. VII 303). Alkman's μάκαρς (frag. 10) is due to analogy.

552.] Stems in nu.

The quasi nu stem Ionic μείs has been discussed above § 543. Under this section are included the stems of comparatives which end now in nu, now in sigma (-ω from -oσa, -ovs from -oσes). The nu stems of Ionic are in general declined as in Attic. Hence only such inscriptional forms as serve to explain the language of the lyric poets, Herodotos, and the later prose writers are adduced.

The omission of ι in the form $\pi\lambda\ell\sigma\nu$, &c. (see § 219, 3), is highly probable, at least in Herodotos, notwithstanding that the MSS. sometimes preserve it. It is difficult to see how the form $\pi\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}\nu$ could coexist with $\pi\lambda\epsilon\hat{\iota}\sigma\nu$. The forms with $\epsilon\nu$ are less frequent in other Ionic prosaists.

Nominative Singular: πλέων Hdt. II 60, Herakl. 112 (Cobet for πλείων); neuter πλέον or πλεῦν often in Hdt. (all MSS. πλεῖον in I 192). πλεῦν occurs II 52, IX 41.

Genitive Singular: $\pi\lambda \ell o \nu o s$ Keos 43_5 , as Demokr. 21, Hdt. $\pi\lambda \epsilon \hat{\nu} r o s$ I 97, II 89, III 40, IV 43. V 34 with no case of $\pi\lambda \ell o \nu o s$, though this form appears in AB^1 in IV 43. It is to be noticed that $\pi\lambda \epsilon \ell o \nu o s$, which does not appear on Attic inscriptions till the second century B.C., is found in no Ionic document. For $\gamma\lambda \eta \chi o \nu s$ in Hippokr. VII 160 it is to be noted that θ has $\gamma\lambda \eta \chi \omega \nu o s$.

Dative Singular: $A\pi\delta\lambda(\lambda)\omega\nu$! Naxos 24, Milet. 93 &c. In VII 49 Hdt. has $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ ov! $(\pi\lambda\epsilon$ iov! d, $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ ûr! Stob.) side by side with $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ ûra; in II 25 for $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ ov! Rd have $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ iov!.

Accusative Singular: ξλαττον Orop. 18_5 , 22 (cf. Hippokr. ξλασσον II 36) and πλέον 18_4 are neuter. In Hdt. we find ελάσσω often, e.g. VII 8 (a), where is also the sole occurrence of ελάσσονα; καλλίω; ἀμείνω seven times, but IV 158 ἀμείνονα; μέζω; ἔσσω; κακίω; πλέω but πλεῦνα IV 114, VII 49, 51, IX 111; κρέσσω but κρέσσονα IX 41; αλσχίονα IV 144. In

¹ An. Par. III 135₁₄, Schol. Apoll. Rhod. I 132, Greg. Kor. p. 591 (Aiolie).
F f

Hippokr. we find ἀμείνω II 24, 30, 146, πλείω 270, 292, 318, 326, ἐλάσσω VII 228 (cf. Vita Hom. 16), πλέονα II 112, ῆσσονα 316. ἀμείνω occurs in Theog. 409, 1161, πλείω Theog. 907 (0

has πλείον), κακίω in Archil. 64 (cf. κάκιον 13).

κυκεῶνα Hipponax 434, as in Hippokrates II 306, Lukian V. A. 14, Aret., Aristoph., Plato. Homer has κυκεῶ, -ειῶ. Τυφῶνα in Hdt. II 144, but also Τυφῶ in III 5. For γλήχωνα of the vulgate in Hippokr. VI 248, θ has γληχω (sic; see under genitive). Hdt. has εἰκόνα II 143 (cf. § 523).

The accusative singular of nouns in -ων, -ωνος is not -ω as in Attic inscriptions of the classical period: 'Απόλλω C. I. A. I 915 (464/57 B.C.), Hdt. 'Απόλλωνα Ι 87; Ποσειδῶ C. I. A. II add. 66

C 14 (356 B.C.), Hdt. Ποσειδέωνα VII 129, VIII 55.

Vocative Singular. In certain Milesian inscriptions from Naukratis (Roberts 132 A, B, F) Mr. E. A. Gardner has thought to discover a vocative ${}^{i}A\pi\delta\lambda\lambda\omega$, a form hitherto unknown. That Mr. Gardner's conclusions rest upon incorrect reading of the inscriptions has been shown by Merriam, Am. Journ. Archaeol. III 304, and by Bechtel Ion. Inschr. p. 153. For ' $A\pi\delta\lambda\lambda\omega$, $\sigma o \hat{v} \in l\mu\iota$ read ' $A\pi\delta\lambda\lambda\omega v \delta(s) \in l\mu\iota$. On $\chi \in l \delta \hat{v}$ see § 523.

Nominative Plural.

(1) Masculine and feminine. In Chios 174 B 24 we find λάσσονες. In Hdt. ἀμείνονες (but ἀμείνους V 78), πλεῦνες (πλέους II 8, where R d z have πλείους, and II 120, where all MSS. have πλείους), κρέσσονες, ἐλάσσονες, μέζους, κακίονες, ἔσσονες. Ηippokrates has πλείουες II 58, 84, πλείους II 642, 668 (bis), μείους II 628, βελτίους II 24, ἐλάσσους II 646, μέζους II 628, ήσσους II 646 (ήσσου Α C II). Demokritos 115 has πλέονες, Xenophanes 34 μείους, Theognis κρέσσονες 618, 996.

The nominative plural in -ovs was also carried over into the

accusative.

(2) Neuter (nominative and accusative). In inscriptions we find μέζονα Oropos 18₁₀, πλέω Miletos 100₂. Hdt. has ελάσσω (ελάσσονα III 102 accusative), κρέσσω, ἀμείνω, πλέω (πλέονα II 145, where A B C read πλείονα), μέζω (μέζονα nom. VIII 37, accusative I 26, II 68 where P R d z have μέζω, II 148, III 102). In Hippokrates we find πλείω II 650 nominative and III 482 accusative, πλέονα VI 368, ἀμείνω II 30, μείζονα II 52, μείζω II 624, μέζω 324, III 450, ελάσσονα VIII 36 (θ), ελάσσω II 24, 306, χείρω II 702, μείω III 534, κακίω II 306, κρέσσω VI 14; Demokritos 92, Anaxag. 14 (bis) have πλέω, a form adopted by Mullach in Melissos 3, where Simplicius read πλείω; Protagoras has κρείσσω (sic), Anaxagoras 6, 14 ελάσσω, 6 μείζω (Simpl.). In Theognis 702 we find πλείονα, in Herodas 385 πλέω.

Genitive Plural. Hdt. πλεόνων and πλεύνων; πλειόνων Demokr. 20. On hyper-Ionic -εων, see § 480.

Dative Plural. The regular termination is $-\sigma\iota$, e.g. in Μακεδόσιν Olynthos 8 B 9, ελάσ $[\sigma]$ οσ $[\iota]$ Keos 434, μνήμ $[\sigma\sigma]$ ιν Halik. 23810. Theognis has νήφοσι 481, 627, Xenophanes 27 ἀγῶσιν, Archil. 747 δελφῖσι. Hdt. has πλέοσι II 53, VIII 69 (πλείοσι R), IX 122 (πλείοσι A B C), and so in Hippokr. III 450 in many MSS. (Littré πλείοσι); μέζοσι I 194, εὐδαίμοσι II 78.

An irregular $-\epsilon \sigma i$, recalling the ending of theore, Ψ 191, &c., occurs in dairumóneoi Hdt. VI 57 ($-\epsilon \sigma \sigma i$ AB), $\pi \lambda \epsilon \delta \nu \epsilon \sigma i \nu$ VII 224 in Rd. Neither of these forms is to be adopted. mine σi (§ 543) reminds one of Aiolic mine σi C. D. I. 213₁₂₋₁₃, though in that form one σi does duty for two. $\sigma \pi \lambda i \nu \epsilon \sigma i$, found in Hippokrates III 432, 450, 452, 496, IV 120, 148, 156, 160, 218, 220, is

a noteworthy form for σπλησί.

ήγεμόνεσσιν Solon 16 is not to be expelled though not Ionic, because of the existence of Homeric forms in his diction. The conjectures of Fick (B. B. XIV 254) ἡγεμονοῦσι οτ ἡγεμονεῦσι are improbable on other grounds. πλεόνεσσι in Theog. 800 is Homeric.

Accusative Plural (masculine and feminine). In Hdt. the Attic πλείους occurs I 167 for which Stein has substituted πλείστους, Bredow πλέους or πλεῦνας; in II 120, II 121 (δ) Stein reads πλέους where all MSS. have πλείους. πλεῦνας is the common form. On πλεῦνας or πλέουας see § 287. Other forms are alσχίουας, μέζουας, ξσσουας, ξλάσσουας, ἀμείνους (ἀμείνους V 92 (α) in C). Hippokrates adopts ἀμείνους II 92, πλείους 20, 308, βελτίονας II 64, πλείουας 278, Vita Hom. 34 πλείους. Theog. 605 has πλέονας.

Ionic uses the longer forms more frequently in nominative and accusative plural (masculine and feminine), the shorter more frequently in accusative singular, in nominative, accusative, and

vocative plural (neuter).

If we compare the Ionic comparatives (nn stems) as attested by inscriptions with their Attic kindred, it is clear that the older forms were retained for some time by the Ionians, and that at a comparatively early date those derived from sigmatic stems came into use. But in Attika we find in the epigraphic monuments down to the opening of the first century B. C., only such forms as $\mu \epsilon l \langle \omega, \pi \lambda \epsilon l \omega, \ell \lambda \delta t \tau \omega; \delta \mu \epsilon l \nu \sigma \nu \sigma, \ell \lambda \delta \tau \tau \sigma \nu \sigma$. Forms in $-\sigma \nu a$, $-\sigma \nu \epsilon s$, $-\sigma \nu a s$ appear in Athens with Sulla.

Later Ionic does not use πλίες, πλίες *πλε-ισ-ες, <*πλε-ισ-ας. Cf. Hom. πλίες, Kretan πλίες, Hom. πλίας, Kret. πλίες.

Adjectives.

553.] Varying case forms have been discussed under Declension of Nouns. On πολλός, πουλύς see §§ 254, 479. On πλέος, πλέη, πλέου full, see § 478. In the following are mentioned some words whose structure is of interest, and others not recorded in L. S.

Hdt. has $\sigma \hat{\omega}s$ I 24, III 124, IV 76. A feminine $\sigma \hat{\omega} \eta$ is found in Babrios 94s ($\sigma \hat{\omega} \eta \nu$). For $\sigma \hat{\omega} o \nu$, occurring in Hdt. II 181, $\sigma \hat{\omega} o \nu$ (CP) may be substituted. This form has come to light on an Attic inscription C. I. A. I 369. $\sigma \hat{\omega} o \iota$ should be read V 96, VIII 39, cf. $\sigma \hat{\omega} a \iota$ I 66, $\sigma \hat{\omega} a$ IV 124, VI 86 (a), $\sigma \hat{\omega} \omega \nu$ II 121-(3). In these passages Stein wrongly adopts $\sigma \hat{\omega} o s$. $[\sigma] \hat{\omega} a \iota$? Hrd. $\hat{\delta} o s \iota$

In I 194 $\zeta \omega \delta s$ is found ($\zeta \omega s R d$) and so in II 122 ($\zeta \omega \iota \delta r A B C P$); and in Archil. $63_2 \zeta \omega o v$ is the MS. reading for which Porson substituted $\zeta o v v$. In 63_3 [Archil.] has $\zeta \omega o \iota$.

πίειρα is found in Hippokr. II 90, VII 516 (vulgo), II 76 (πίερα). πιαρός in VII 512, 514 (and 516 according to Littré) has been emended to τὸ πῖαρ, because πιαρός appears only in later Greek. Anakreon's πέπειρα (87) recalls πίειρα, which in Homer exists alongside of ἡ πίων. αὶ πέπειροι Hippokr. VI 562; πέπειρον II 306, 308, πέπειρος VIII 228 (θ) have been attacked

in favour of the feminine forms.

Hdt. has -ετις for -ετης, e.g. τριηκοντοέτιδας σπονδάς VII 149 (-αέτιδας B d z). Noteworthy is ἐπήλυδα ἔθνεα VIII 73.

àòańs in Abdera 162 (epigram), is a word known to Hdt.

IX 46, but not to Homer, who has ἀδαήμων.

åνηρίθευτοι Chios 174 B 25-26 is from ἔριθος with the initial vowel lengthened in composition. In ἀνερίθευτος the lengthening has not taken place.

άλοργ- and άλουργ-: see § 295, III.

σινδών λίε Samos 220₁₉. ΛΙΣ is all that is preserved. Since there appears to be no break after the word, it must not be filled out by $\lambda \iota \sigma(\dot{\eta})$. Cf. Odyssey 12. 79: πέτρη γὰρ λίε ἐστι, and $\lambda \iota \tau \iota$, $\lambda \iota \tau \dot{\sigma}$ ε occurs in this Samian inscription (l. 23).

With τεσ(σ)ερακαιεβδο μη βουτούτης Paros 58, cf. πεντηκουτόγυος Iliad IX 579, έξηκονταέτη Mimn. 62, δγδωκουταέτη Solon 204. πρωτότμητος, found only Paros 67 (period of the empire), is applied to the hair of an ephebos.

айтогкоз Zeleia 114 E 6.

Adjectives of two or three endings. ἔρημος (§ 123) in Hdt. has usually two, rarely three, endings. ἔτοιμος has sometimes three endings. Hippokr. has ἡ ἄρτιος, Hdt. ἡ ἡλίθιος. αὐλειος has usually no feminine in early Greek except in Hom. and Hdt.,

80 δούλειος (δουληίη Hdt. III 14). In Hdt. εδώδιμος has three. lππάσιμος three, but two in IX 13, λόγιμος three, but two in VI 106, παραθαλάσσιος varies (but two VI 48; VII 110, VIII 23 three); altios and μετάρσιοs have three, ἐπέτειοs three, but two in II 92; αὐτομάτη is found in Hippokr. VI 326.

Apollon. Adv. 602 = Schn. 1898 states that Ionic adopts the -n forms in compounds instead of the -o of the stem, and cites

inter alia δρκιητόμος, αίμηπότης.

554.] Comparison of Adjectives (Regular). Forms which do not differ from those in use in Attic or not noteworthy for other reasons are not adduced.

-τερος, -τατος.

Hdt. has πρηύτερος (Plato πραότερος), βραχύτερος, ταχύτερος, ταχύτερου and θασσου as adverbs. Hippokr. and Arrian have ταχύτερον. οlκτρότερος is Herodoteian. New Ionic is κεινότερος and στεινότερος = Attic κενο- and στενο-. Melissos 14 has κενεώτερος. κυδρότερος is found in Xenoph. 26, Ion 210, κύδιστος Theog. 904. From adjectives in -oos we have αθροώτερος, εὐπνοώτερος, δυσπνοώτερος (-πνουστέρος Hippokr. II 154), εὐροώτερος, εύχροώτερος, λευκοχροώτερος in Hippokrates. ύβριστότερος Hdt. III 81 and not -10TEPOS.

à εδρηιότερος Hdt. I 79 (-ειω- d, -ειο- ceteri), -ηιότατος IV 93 (-ειο- MSS.), IX 37 (-εω- Venetus 8, -ειο- ceteri). In I 123 Stein reads ανδρειωτάτω, in all the other passages -ηιο-. -ηο- is

correct.

ίρωτάτας is read by Stein V 82 (cf. Attic lepw-), where lpo- of P(pr.) r is better.

In VII 99 we have $\epsilon i \delta o \xi o \tau d \tau a s$ (- $\omega \tau - d$).

IIdt. has ολκηιότατος III 65 (-ηο- R, -ηϊω- P d z, -ειο- Prisc.), V 5 (-ειο- r) according to Stein. Since ηι cannot here be regarded as two sounds, we must write -nóraros with Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 252. ἐπιτηδεότερος and -ότατος are read by Stein. I would adopt -ειο-1 which occurs as follows: I 110 -εω- in CPz, - ϵ 10- $\overrightarrow{A}Bd$; I 126 - ϵ 60- CP, - ϵ 0- $\overrightarrow{A}B$, - ϵ 10- $\overrightarrow{R}dz$; IV 72 - $\epsilon\omega$ - CPz, - $\epsilon\omega$ - ABd, - $\epsilon\sigma$ - R; VI 102 - $\epsilon\omega$ - A, - $\epsilon\sigma$ - R, - $\epsilon\omega$ - reliqui, except B which has - $\iota\sigma$ -; IX 2 - $\epsilon\sigma$ - ABR; IX 25 - $\epsilon\sigma$ - ABR. In I 115 Stein cites only A B with -εο-, II 133 -εω- B corr. Pdz. How ἐπιτήδεος, even if correct (§ 219, 5), can yield -εότερος, -εύτατος, I do not see. Hippokrates II 334 has the correct form ανεπιτηδειότερος.

2. -εστερος, -εστατος ².

Hdt. has σπουδαιέστερος I 8, -έστατος I 133, as Hekataios

έπιτηδειέστατος (Eust. 1441:a).

2 Et. M. 317 αίδοιέστατον, άφθονέστατον ποιητικά, κατ' έθος 'Ιάνων γινόμενα; cf. 394s, 420p

Fritsch, V. H. D. 43, prefers -ye-, which is nowhere found. Demokr. has

αρυά Eust. 1441₁₇ (Hdt. -ότατος II 86), αμορφέστατος I 196, αγνωμονέστερος IX 41, ύγιηρέστατος II 77 but ύγιηρότατος IV 187, ερρωμενέστερος IX 70, εὐνοέστερος V 24; ἡσυχέστερος Hippokr. VI 76, 80 (-αίτερον Α C), II 154 (some MSS. -αίτερος which Littré adopts), ακρητέστερος II 496, VI 74, 80, 82, 84 (-έστατος VI 82), εὐδιέστατος II 54, αφιληκέστερος VI 186.

3. -aitepos, -aitatos.

μεσαίτατος Hdt. IV 17 is not an analogue of παλαίτερος, which occurs in Homer and in Hdt. I 60, but formed from *μέσαι (cf. μεσαιπόλιος Hom.) as παλαίτερος from πάλαι 1. μέσσατος is found in Theog. 998. Hippokr. has γεραίτερος II 162, 334, VI 186, IX 50, the Homeric form; πλησιαιτέρω occurs in Hdt. IV 112, but παραπλησιωτάτην V 87. These forms are sporadic; as is clear from Hippokratic ὀψίτερος, Platonic ὀψιαίτερον. ὀδυναίτερον Hippokr. III 478 (v. l. -ώτερον) is a noteworthy form from ὀδυνηρός.

555.] Irregular Comparison of Adjectives. ἀγαθός: ἀμεινότερος Mimn. 149; on κρέσσων see § 142; ἀρείων Ηippokr. VIII 58, ἀρειότερος Theog. 548; βέλτερος Theog. 92, 181, 866, βέλτιον Mimn. 210. κακίων Archil. § 196. χεῖρον Ηippokr. II 680. χειροτέρη IX 240 is to be read χειρίστη. Οn ἔσσων see § 139. ἐλάσσων § 163. ὀλίγος (notice the use Hdt. IX 70), ὀλιγώτερος Hippokr., ὀλίζων § 377. On μέζων see § 142. πλέων, πλέον § 552. In Hippokr. VIII 36 θ has πλέα for πλέονα of C and πλείονα of the vulgate. On πλέα and connected forms, see Collitz, B. B. X 306.

ρηίδιος or ρήδιος yields ρηίτερος or ρήτερος. ρηιτέρως Hippokr. VIII 10, but ράιον in θ VIII 124, 274 for ρήιον. In the first case Littré adopts ράιον, in the second ράιον. Hippokr. VII 196 ρήιον according to Littré (v. l. ρήον, ράιον, &c.). ρήδιον Theog. 577 (ρήιον conj.). ράιον is found in Theog. 429, ρήτερον 1370.

ονήιος yields ονήιστος in Phoinix of Kolophon ap. Athen. XI 495 D, Herakl. 114, Anaxag. 10, Pythag. apud Diog. L. VIII 49, Aretaios 331. The comparative exists in Nikander Alex. 627

(δυήιου). Of πέο

Of πέπων the comparative is πεπειρότερος in Hippokr. VI 554 (θ). πιότερος Hippokr. VII 512, 516, πιότατος VII 512. βίγιον Mimn. 42. φίλος requires the aid of μᾶλλον and μάλιστα in Hdt. ἀκύτερος Theog. 715, 986, 1306, ἄκιστα 427 (cf. O 238). Heightened superlatives are rare in Ionie prose. Hippokr. VI 522 has ἐγγιστότατα.

From adverbs or prepositions are formed ἀνώτερος Hippokr. III 528, ἀνώτατος Hdt. II 125; κατώτερος Hippokr. III 528;

άγχότερος Hdt. VII 175.

¹ With the adverbs in -as, cf. those in -as in Lithuanic.

δοῦλος is an adjective Hdt. VII 7 (δουλοτέρην); cf. ανεμοι ύετώτατοι ΙΙ 25, βασιλεύτερος Tyrt. 127.

556. Comparison of Adverbs. Some noteworthy forms are ήσσόνως Hippokr. VI 14 (in A according to Gomperz), θειστέρως Hdt. I 122, Ισχυροτέρως III 129, εὐπετεστέρως III 143; Ικανωτάτως Hippokr. VI 24, έσχάτως VI 14, έλαχίστως IX 254. Hdt. has κατωτάτω, ασσον (Sim. Am. 726, 33), αγχοτάτω (σ. l. -τα in $A~B~C~d~{
m VII}$ 64), ἄγχιστα, πλησιαιτέρω, προσωτέρω, προσωτάτω ${f and}$ -ωτατα, ταχύτερον and θασσον. Hippokr. has εξωτάτω, τηλοτέρω, ξγγιου VI 568, εγγιστότατα, πελαστάτω (VI 298, 340, VIII 140, 292), ταχύτερον.

μάλιον, a specifically Ionic form according to Choiroboskos (An. Ox. II 240₂), is found Tyrt. 12₆. Cf. § 163. μάλλον occurs in Archil. tetr. 63₂, Theog. 598, &c. μαλιώτερα is

suggested by Bergk for the μαλκώτερα of Solon 27,8.

Personal Pronouns.

In his treatment of the Ionic pronouns Apollonios Dyskolos draws upon Homer with but few exceptions. On the Herodoteian forms, see Ekedahl, De usu pron. pers. et refl. Herodoteo, 1885. Dual forms do not occur in post-Homeric Ionic.

557. First Person.

1. eyá Hippon. 63, Anan. 42, Anakr. 81, 741, Solon 21, Xenoph. 74, Theog. 878, 1226, &c., Hdt., &c. eyér occurs in Theognis in only three places (253, 527, 968) though possible elsewhere, except in 27. This form is found in all dialects except New Ionic and Attic. In Theognis eyour occurs only before vowels as in Homer, and with the second syllable in the arsis of the second foot.

2. ἐμέο² in Homer (K 124), in Demokritos, and Pherekydes according to Apoll. 82 C, Hdt., epist. Hippokr. 2730-

έμεῦ³ Hom., Archil. epod. 92, Mimn. 14., Theog. 957, 1101, 1235, Pherekydes, and Demokritos (Apoll. 82 C), Hdt., and also in late Doric texts.

έμειο 4 is found in Homeric Ionic, not in prose.

Cf. Heavehios' μάλιου' μάλλου, and μαλιωτίρα' προσφιλεστέρα.
 An. Par. III 317, Et. Gud. 436, cf. 169, An. Ox. I 143, 322, An. Bachm. Max. Plan. II 66, 4μ6 is called Attic An. Ox. I 156, Bachm. I 474, II 330, John Alex. 23, An. Ox. I 399, Ionic and Doric, Apoll. 82 C and Adv. 1856 (Schn.); Doric, An. Ox. I 156, and An. Par. III

31719-An. Ox. I 1314, 15621, weigtunds Choireb. Orthogr. in An. Ox. II 20249-

The Attic $\hat{\epsilon}\mu o\hat{v}^{-1}$ appears sometimes in the MSS., e.g. Archil. ep. 111, Theog. 100, 262, 697, 1203, 1240, 1340, 1342, in Hdt. occasionally, and in Herakl. 1. In the spurious portions of Theognis $\hat{\epsilon}\mu o\hat{v}$ is probably correct, as -ov in other words ('Atōov).

μευ2 Hipponax 62 (tr.), Anakr. 76, 81, Homer, Hdt., Herodas

(about ten times).

μου is incorrect in Hippon. 83 tetr. It is found in Theognis'

second book (1366).

ἐμοί Mimn, 82, Theog. 14, Hippon. 191, 201, Sim. Amorg.
 122 (vulgo δέ μοι), Anakr. 24 (ἔμοιγε 7), Hdt., &c.

μοι Mimn. 12, Theog. 787, &c., Hippon. 194, Anakr. 50,

Hdt., &c.

- ἐμέ Anakr. 45, Sol. 193, Hdt., &c. με Hipponax 78,
 Anakr. 25, 47, Solon 431, Naxos 23, 24, Theog. 88, Hdt., &c.
- ἡμέων ⁵ Hdt., Hippokr. (in II 316 A has ἡμῶν), Herakl.
 114, Philip of Pergamum (B.C.H. II 273), &c.

ήμέων Theog. 353 (thus A, ήμων reliqui), Solon 1372, Herodas

1, and often, Phoinix of Kolophon II 20 (Schneid.).

 $\mathring{\eta}\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ Theog. 228, a verse of Solon (1372). In the MSS, of the latter we find $\mathring{\eta}\mu\acute{\epsilon}\omega\nu$, not $\mathring{\eta}\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu$, as we might expect. In the MSS, of Hdt. $\mathring{\eta}\mu\tilde{\omega}\nu$ is unusual (d in I I 12), as it is in Hrd. (1.11).

MSS. of Hdt. ἡμῶν is unusual (d in I 112), as it is in Hrd. (148). ἡμείων 6, a molossus, Hrd. 146. In the same line we have ἡμέων. Crusius gives the form a place in his edition, though even in Homer it occurs but four times.

7. $\dot{\eta}\mu\hat{u}^{\gamma}$ Theog. 345, 467, 833, 1213, 1215, Archil. 39₁ (trim.), Sim. Amorg. 3₁, 13₁, Anakr. 2₇, Herodas 2₄₄. $\dot{\eta}\mu\hat{u}\nu$ is both Old and New Ionic, and is the only form in Ionic prose.

3 Apoll. Pronom. 118 B.

5 Apoll. Pronom. 120 C, Joh. Gramm. 242.

6 Joh. Gramm. 242 B.

Called Ionic by Tzetzes Ex. Il. 9323, and on Hsd. W. D. 225 (Gaisf.). In the first passage μεῦ and ἐμοῦ are called Doric and Aiolic.
An. Ox. I 14329.

⁴ In some MSS. of Hdt. we find the open form, II 6 (P), IV 139 (s), VI 11 (CP), VIII 29 (R), 144 (R) &c. Aldus regarded this form as a mark of lonism, and adopted it when it was without MS. authority (VIII 143, IX 87).

⁷ An. Ox. I 54, ἡμῶν (ἡμῶν?) II 21613 (Choir.), Apollonios 123 A.

ημιν 1 occurs in Homer and Attic 2, but does not occur in post-Homeric poetry or prose composed by an Ionian. Whether υμιν or υμιν should be read in Theognis 235 with cod. O is Most of the MSS. have huiv. Among them is A, doubtful. which alone presents the correct reading of the following verse.

ήμω Anakr. 431, 631, Hrd. 775. Why Bergk should adopt this

form in Anakr. 62, in preference to ημίν, is not clear.

Aiolic (epic) δμμω occurs in Theog. 418.

8. ἡμέας 3 is the inscriptional form (Miletos 96, of the fifth century, where the smooth breathing is correct), and that adopted by Hdt., who is followed by Lukian, Abydenos, Euseb. Mynd., Arrian 3410, 12 (but cf. $\sigma\phi\hat{a}s$). The letters of Hippokrates have fourteen cases of ημέας, one (X) of ημᾶς, Aretaios fifteen cases of ημέας to one (267) of ημᾶς. Philip of Pergamum has ημέας, B. C. H. II 273.

ήμέας Arch. 97, at the end of the pentameter, Herodas 1., 2.,

766. In Homer ημέας may always be read.

ήμας Theog. 1215 and in Herodas frag. (6), Class. Rev. V 481. Aiolic (epic) ἄμμε occurs in Theog. 1273.

558. Second Person.

1. σύ Archil. 88₂, Hipponax 32, Anakr. 2₆, Hrd. 4₁₈, Theog. 696, 781, though the Doric form is τύ. Herodotos and the other Ionic prosaists have σύ.

2. σέο in Herodotos; and twenty-three times in Homer.

 $\sigma \epsilon \hat{v}^5$ Sol. 202, Theog. 253, 516 (thirty-four times in Homer). The Solonian form shows that the poet did not write in his native dialect.

σεν Theog. 377 Hrd. 128, 281, 521, 39, 783

σοῦ⁶, the Attic form, Theog. 414, 1239, Hrd. 185.

σου in Hippon. tr. 76 cannot be Ionic. It occurs also in Theog. 969.

σείο in Theog. 1 and σέθεν 1232 are epic.

1 Apoll. 123 A says to dynautheror rap "Inter overtakes to it equesibles, nate al έγκλινόμεναι τον αυτον χρόνον φυλάττουσι ται δρθοτονουμέναιs, and then cites Doric ἀμίν and ἄμιν. The Et. M. 841 wrongly calls ἡμίν Doric, but is correct about an Ionic ἡμίν. Cf. also Hdn. II 5172, An. Ox. II 21613 (ἦμίν), Eust. 1112-1-17, cf. 16113, 16704, 169013; Bekk. An. III 115016; An. Ox. I 1882, states that the t is found in Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic. In An. Ox. I 1881, 6 the Homeric forms \$\mu\nu A 147 (where a long ultima had to be assumed on account of the following enderyor) and hur P 415 are referred to.

2 hur is almost a characteristic of Sophokles' style in contrast with that of

Aischylos and Euripides.

Apoll. 126 C, Schol. Ven. A on @ 352.

4 hμας if enclitic, Apoll. 127 A citing π 372, the only example in Homer. In Sophocles some prefer to write fuds.

An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 6622; Doric and Ionic ibid. II 36722 (= Gram. Par. 678 .

⁴ Tzetz. on Hed. W. D. 225 (Gaisf.).

3. σοί 1 Mimn. 82, Theog. 14, 27, Archil. 883, Theog. 655 (see

below on Tol), Paros 60 (epigr.), and in Ionic prose.

τοι Kall. 22, Sim. Amorg. 7_{108} , Hippon. 16_2 tr., Archil. 79, Anakr. 75_3 , 95 (eleg.), Theog. 95, 465 τοι in A, vulgo σοι, 633 (?), 634, 655 in A (Bergk σοί), 656, 1319. Doric τοί < τΓοι appears nowhere in Theognis. Renner holds that for enclitic σοι in Theognis τοι (= Skt. $t\bar{\epsilon}$) should be substituted (88, 407 (here Bergk reads τοι for A's σοι), 695, 776); and also for σοι in 1238, 1283.

Sitzler opines that $\sigma o \iota$ as an enclitic should be retained in Theognis. The older elegy differentiated $\sigma o \iota$ and $\tau o \iota$ after the Homeric fashion. $\sigma o \iota$ in Hipponax 20₃ is correct according to Bergk. The MSS, have $\tau o \iota$, which I would adopt. Herodotos

has τοι (unemphatic).

Herodoteian usage is (with but very little opposition in the MSS.) in agreement with that of Homer in its differentiation of σoi and τoi . Both Homer and Herodotos agree in differing herein from Attic and the other dialects,

4. $\sigma \epsilon$ Mimn. 7_4 , Hippon. 28, 31 (σ' and $\sigma \epsilon$), 64_2 , Anan. 4_1 , Anakr. 2_6 , 40 ($\sigma \epsilon$), 72 B, 95, Theog. 5, 93, 103, 559, 873, &c. (Theognis does not use $\sigma \epsilon$), Herodas 4_3 ; and in Ionic prose.

5. $\dot{v}\mu\epsilon\hat{\imath}$ s Theog. 493 (Theognis does not use the Doric form $\dot{v}\mu\dot{\epsilon}s$), Herodas 2_{85} , 7_{21} . The proper form in Ionic prose is $\dot{v}\mu\epsilon\hat{\imath}s$, never $\dot{v}\mu\dot{\epsilon}\epsilon s$, though the latter form appears in PRz, in Hdt. VIII 22, and in Lukian's Vit. auct. § 13, where it is adopted in Sommerbrodt's critical edition (Ω Γ have $\dot{v}\mu\epsilon\hat{\imath}s$). Apollonios Pronom. 118 B expressly warns against the adoption of the open form².

6. $\dot{\nu}\mu\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu^3$ Herodotos, Hippokrates, and other Ionic prosaists, e.g. Lukian Vit. auct. § 13. Herodas has one (22) distinct case of $\dot{\nu}\mu\dot{\epsilon}\omega\nu$ (- \sim -), the only occurrence of such an open genitive in poetry.

ύμέων Solon 115 according to Diogenes Laert., while Plutarch, Clemens, and Diodoros have the Attic ὑμῶν. ὑμέων appears

1 Apoll. 104 C.

² Apoll. 122 A, who also cites the form from a Doric source (Sophron 79), though ὑμῶν is the genitive in that dialect. Apoll, also mentions the Homeric

δμείων (ν 7). Joh. Gramm. 241 B, 242 B refers to both as Ionic.

² ἡμεῖς, ὑμεῖς, σφεῖς. ἔστι πιστώσασθαι καὶ τὸ ἀδιαίρετον τῆς εὐθείας παρ' Ἰωσιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ Δημόκριτον, Φερεκύδην, Ἐκαταῖον. τὸ γὰρ ἐν Εἰδωλοφανεῖ· "ὑμέες Αἰόλιον περιχεύετε" παρὰ Παρθενίω ὑπὸ ποιητικῆς ἀδείας παραληφθὲν οὐ καταψεύσεται διαλέκτου πιστουμένης ἐλλογίμοις συγγραφεῦσιν. The mention of Parthenios' innovation may be regarded as evidencing a desire on the part of Apollonios to counteract current views as to the nature of Ionic in respect of vowelopenness. Cf. § 113 ff. The appearance of such an hyper-Ionic form in a poet who was a teacher of Vergil is specially noteworthy. Tzetzes, περὶ μέτρων An. Ox. III 3337, has ὁμέςς in an hexameter.

often in Herodas. In Homer the form occurs four times; in O 494 we find υμεων.

ύμῶν in Archil. tetram. 746 I would emend to ὑμέων.

The epic vijetwo (four times) is not employed in post-Homeric Ionic.

- 7. $i\mu \hat{u}^1$ Archil. 89₁, Sol. 11₈, Theog. 825, Hrd. 1₁₉, 2₁₀₀, and in Ionic prose. ὑμίν occurs in Hrd. 479. On ὑμιν, Bergk's reading of Theog. 235, see under ημιν.
- 8. vµéas Herodotos, Hippokrates, &c. The fictitious letters of the latter have this form seven times, vuas in 2739 (in 2739 the MSS. vary). υμας is found in the Vita Homeri & 19, Hrd. 7,118.

ύμξας is everywhere possible in Homer, and is so read in Hrd.

2₆₀, 7₆₅; in 7₁₁₈ read ὑμέας. ˇνμμ' (epic) Theog. 1104 in A, other MSS. ὑμᾶς or ὕμμας. Bergk conjectures vuas or vuas. But the latter form occurs only once in Homer (π 372), and the former is quite unknown to the epos.

559. Third Person.

The original usage of this pronoun has not been restricted in Ionic as in Attic.

- 1. $\epsilon \tilde{v}^2$ in Herodotos occurs only in the enclitic form (III 135); Ion 'Επιδ. 1 (Frag. Hist. Gr. II 46).
- 2. ol3 always appears in the enclitic form in the lyric poets: Xenoph. 1₂₀, 2₃, Theog. 178, 186, 391, 405, 519, 1256, 1376, Solon 42, (melos), Archil. 29₂, 97, Sim. Amorg. 7₇₉, Hrd. 4₆₀.

 For Rhegion 5, according to Bechtel, is Doric. In Mimn. 12₉

Tra of θοόν is to be rejected for Tva δη θ. In Hdt. IV 34, VI 119 we find of used of things neuter in gender. Here as elsewhere in Hdt. the form is enclitic and = αὐτῷ, αὐτῷ. See also Lukian de domo § 20. I do not find the orthotone of.

- 3. $\tilde{\epsilon} < \sigma f \epsilon$ as an enclitic occurs in Solon 13₅₇ by a conjecture of Hermann.
 - 4. σφεῖς in Hdt. (indirect reflexive IV 43, VII 168).
- 5. σφέων 5 in Hdt. (enclitic, neuter V 58) and Hippokrates II 312 but σφών αὐτέων II 58 in the vulgate (σφέων adopted by Littré), III 194 (σφῶν Littré).

¹ An. Bachm. (Max. Plan.) II 66_m; Apoll. 136 B calls & Ionic.

¹ Apoll. Pronom, 105 C.

³ Joh. Gr. 242, Greg. Kor. 70 opiuv.

¹ Apoll. Pronom. 124 B, who notices that Sur is the enclitic form. This is confined to Homer and Attic, unless we admit it in Theognis.

⁴ Greg. Korinth. § 70; τὸ σφεῖς καὶ σφᾶς καὶ σφῶν διαιροῦσε καὶ οδτια προφέρουστ' σφέες, σφέες, σφέες, σφέες. This does not apply in the case of σφεῖς, and is flatly contradicted by Apoll. Pronom. 118 B, who expressly attests σφεῖς as Ionic. See on ὑμεῖς. In no case do the MSS. of Hdt. support Gregory's statement, nor is there any such epic form. Even Aldus refrains from σφέες.

 σφί (= αὐτοῖς, αὐταῖς) in Herodotos is enclitic. This form is rare in Attic (O. K. 421, where Elmsley read σφιν: see on Medea 398).

 $\sigma\phi(\nu^1)$, enclitic, occurs in Archil. 74s (tetr.), 125, Sim. Keos 845, Theog. 66, 422, 732, 772. This form is also Doric and

Homeric, and is used in tragedy (*Prom.* 252, 457).

σφίσι (= ἐωυτοῖς, ἐωυταῖς) Hdt. In V 103, VI 105, VIII 68 (β), the pronoun is not reflexive. Stein here reads σφι. The MSS. vary constantly between oplot, opt, and opiv. When the pronoun is reflexive, read σφίσι, otherwise σφι (not σφιν). Aldus confuses σφι with of in III 14. σφίσι appears in Sim. Keos 1033, Prom. 481, O. K. 59 (indirect reflexive).

7. σφέας² (=αὐτούς, αὐτάς), enclitic in Hdt. but σφᾶς αὐτούς Hippokr. II 78, where Littre's autéous is not to be preferred to the vulgate αὐτούς. Aretaios has σφέας five, σφάς seven times. The Vita Hom, has σφέας § 17, and so Lukian V. A. 14. In Archil. 27₂ (tr.) σφέας, and so the Homeric σφέας may be read as a monosyllable (see Menrad de contractionis usu p. 111 for σφας in place of σφέας).

8. σφέα (=αὐτά), enclitic, Hdt. I 46, &c., also in Attic poets.

Cf. the Attic (poetical) nominative σφέα.

The epic and Doric³ $\sigma\phi\dot{\epsilon}$ (enclitic) appears in Theog. 552. In Hdt. VII 170 it is found in most of the MSS., and here, if at all, it is to be accepted. Bekker and Abicht adopt the σφεαs of the Cambridge (36, Askew) MS. In I 71 R confuses σφε with σφεας. Stein has no better authority for his σφι than the Aldine edition; but finds for the construction of the dative after ἐποτρύνω a parallel in O 258. All the MSS, in III 53 have σφε for σφεα, which is due to Valckenaer. In III 52 Bredow emended $\sigma\phi\epsilon$ to $\sigma\phi\epsilon a$. R confuses the two in I 89, but here we have the guidance of other MSS. to show the correctness of the latter form.

10. $\mu i \nu^4$ (enclitic) in the lyric poets is generally = $a \dot{\nu} \tau \dot{o} \nu$, sometimes = αὐτήν: Hippon. 52 (trim.), Sim. Amorg. 78, 16, 29, Kall. 120, Mimn. 17, 142, 15, Xenoph. 62, Tyrt. 1237, Solon 1341, Theog. 195, 293, 310 in MSS., 1127, 1173, 1347, Hrd. 331, 7102. In Hdt. μιν is anaphoric in all genders and also an equivalent of ἐωυτόν -τήν (ind. reflex.)6. It occurs in Ion's Ἐπιδ. I, in

² Apoll. 128 A σφέας (M 43) and σφας (θ 315), Greg. Kor. 70, Hdn. II 155₁₈ (N 276) opeas enclitic.

Apoll. 125 A, B; Greg. Kor. 61 (τὸ σφίσι σφίν λέγουσιν) cannot refer to Herodoteian usage.

Apoll. 128 A, 131 A; cf. Aiolic ἄσφε.
 Apoll. 108 A, schol. Ven. A on A 201, interlinear schol. on A 399.
 μιν = αὐτό, e.g. in I 93, 178 (cf. II 138); in μιν αὐτήν I 205 μιν is Kyros. 6 μιν in Homer is not reflexive unless accompanied by αὐτόν.

Protagoras, Lukian Syr. dea 4. $\mu\nu$ has been expelled from Eumenides 631, Choeph. 622, 791, Septem 453, Track. 388 in favour of $\nu\nu$. The MSS. of Pindar have the Ionic (Homeric) $\mu\nu$ as well as the Doric $\nu\nu$.

11. viv Theog. 364 (eum) is called a Doric strong form of the accusative, but was used by the Attic tragic poets in trimeter for eum, eam, id, eos, eas, ea. The above case is the sole instance where Theognis seems to have adopted a Doric form in the declension of the pronouns not differentiated by gender. viv is plural in Bakkylides 8. In Herodas viv is used more frequently than μiv (333, 51, 90, 96, 621), and seems to be preferred after words ending in 5 or v.

560.] Possessive Pronouns. εμός Homer, Hdt., Anakr. 12 A 146, &c., Theog. 530, 540, &c. σός Homer, Hdt., Theog. 360, 518, 598, 738, 1091, &c. τεός (Epic, Aiolic, Doric³), Hdt. σς Homer (who has also εός), Sim. Amorg. 7112, Tyrt. 102, Theog. 920, Hdt. I 205 (the only occurrence). & was used by Demokritos for ίδια according to Photios. ἡμέτερος Homer, Hdt., Tyrt. 51.6, Solon 196, Theog. ten times, ἡμετέρειος Anakr. 71. ὑμέτερος Homer, Hdt., Solon 111, 192. σφός Hom., of one person Theog. 712 (σφῆσι πολυφροσύναις); cf. Hsd. Theogony 398. In Homer σφός is always used with reference to more than one. σφέτερος Theog. 142, Euseb. 1, Hdt. (plur.). In Homer it is used of more than one person.

The Demonstrative Pronouns.

561. The Article and 88e.

1. The Article.

The lyric poets hold fast to a considerable extent the Homeric use of the article as a demonstrative, e.g. Mimn. 23, 128, 148, Tyrt. 410, 1026, Xenoph. 123, 73, Theog. 51, 104, 349, 392, 397, 398, 883, Solon 1358, 375, Archil. 745, 895, Sim. Amorg. 723. In Theognis we observe traces of the Homeric and Doric 701: 305 in A, 936 (Theog.?), 1062 (Mimn.). This 701 even appears in the Aldine edition of Herodotos⁴. Ionic, Attic, Aiolic, Thes-

¹ Tycho Mommsen, in Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher 83, p. 44 ff., pronounces in favour of rec.

² The horizon of Apollonios (108 A) is limited in that he restricts pur to Doric. It was doubtless Old Attic too.

It is noteworthy that Theognis does not use a form that Apoll. 135 A calls Doric, though it occurs in Homer. In tragedy 7465 is restricted to the melic parts.

[·] See Struve, Quaest. I 10.

On the feminine των, not τέων, see § 444, on ταις, § 450, τοις,

\$ 473, 2, 475.

2. New Ionic has ὅδϵ, ἥδϵ, τόδϵ: plural οἴδϵ, &c. The Homeric τοῖσδϵσι, τοῖσδϵσι have their parallels in later Ionic. In Demokr. 13 we find τοῖσδϵσι, a form that is put into the mouth of Pythagoras by Lukian V. A. 5 (perhaps -δϵσσι in Ψ). In Hippokrates in certain adverbial phrases: πρὸς τοῖσδϵσσιν VIII 358 (τοιισδϵσσιν in θ, τοῖσδϵ νulgo), σὺν τοῖσδϵσσιν VIII 268 (θ), 372 (τοῖς δϵσσι θ, τοῖς δϵσιν some other MSS.), 308 ἐν τοῖσδϵσσιν (θ, Littré τοίσδϵσιν). All these forms occur in the treatise on the Diseases of Women.

Like forms occur in Aiolic and in Thessalian.

562.] οὖτος. Hdt. has τοιοῦτο, τοσοῦτο, rarely the -ν forms, e g. III 27, 85, VII 103 τοιοῦτον; I 107, 178, 207, IV 45, V 50, VII 153 τοσοῦτον, but they are frequently found in Hippokrates. The difference between Old and New Ionic is noteworthy; for Homer uniformly adopts the -ν forms. The feminine τούτων in Ionic and Attic is due to the analogy of the masculine. The Dorians said ταντᾶν, the Aiolians ταύταν. So too οὖτοι, αὖται are made on the lines of οὖτος, αὖτα(η). Even Theognis (638, 1057) does not adopt the Doric τοῦτοι, ταῦται. On a very late inscription from Teos (B. C. H. IV 182) we find τοῦτα for ταῦτα¹.

In the inflection of οὖτος hyper-Ionic ε has obtained an entrance into the MSS. of Herodotos and Hippokrates, of the authors quoting the early Ionic prosaists, into Aretaios, Lukian, and later pseudo-Ionists. In Hdt. masculine and neuter τουτέων (and αὐτέων) are not supported by a consensus of MS. authority. In the case of Hippokrates the depravation has advanced far beyond the point reached in Herodotos. It has yielded such forms as τουτέου, τοιουτέου, τοιουτέων, τοι

τουτέοισι, τοιουτέοισι, τοιουτέους, τουτέους.

¹ Joh. Gram. 243 B, Meerm. 659 called τούτας Doric for ταύτας. This statement is rejected by Ahrens.

In Herakleitos are read τοιουτέων (2), τουτέοισι 1 (126), Lukian Vit. auct. 4 τουτέοισιν, where Ψ has τούτοισιν. Most of these monstrous forms owe their existence to the perverse attitude of the editors towards the Ionic dialect. The MSS. have again and again the correct form τούτων, not τουτέων, e.g. Anaxag. 4, 9, 11, 14, Diog. Apoll. 2, Demokr. 204 (τουτέφ). See §§ 113–116. On the feminine gender see § 447, 3.

563.] αὐτός (Pronoun of Identity). The oblique cases of aὐτός are used generally for the reflexive; though the MSS. of the lyric poets often have aὐτοῦ, &c., e.g. Theog. 480, 539, 895,

955, 1009 (Mimn.?), 1218, Tyrt. 103.

In the neuter Hdt. never has the -ν form (always τώντό). τώντόν appears in Parmenides 117, 118, Hippokr. III 212 (τωὐτό in C), but τώντό II 12, and so usually in Hippokrates. Diog. Apoll. 2 has τώντό (Simpl. ταὐτό), Arrian the same form in 25, but the Attic form six times. Lukian Fit. auct. 14 τῶντό

 $(-\nu \text{ in } \Omega\Gamma\Phi)$. On the crasis forms, see § 316.

The MSS. of Herodotos give only a feeble support to a masculine and neuter αὐτέων; but in I 133 αὐτέφ, though well attested, is to be rejected. In Hippokrates, Aretaios, Lukian and other pseudo-Ionists, we encounter such forms as αὐτέη, αὐτέης, αὐτέης, αὐτέης, αὐτέης, αὐτέος (masculine and neuter), αὐτέοισι, αὐτέους. All these are hyper-Ionic figments (§ 108). Though often well supported in the MSS. of the pseudo-Ionists, there are numerous instances where the parasitic ε has been foisted on the early prosaists (e. g. Demokr. 12, 71) without good evidence. This hyper-Ionism has not attacked the MSS. of the lyric poets. On feminine αὐτέων see § 447, 3.

The dialect has no example of compounds of aὐτός other than those found in the reflexive ἐμεωυτοῦ, &c.; that is, Ionic has not ἀσατῷ. αὕταυτου, αὐτούτα. αὐτός is never petrified. The αὐτοσαυτοῦ of a Vienna papyrus of the fourth century B.C. (Pkilol. XLI 746) is Doric, despite the fact that the document is chiefly Ionic.

564.] retros. This form is stated by the grammarians to be Ionic on the principle by which $\chi\theta\ell s$ is declared to be Ionic for $\ell\chi\theta\ell s$, and $\delta\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$ for $\ell\rho\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$.

1 Gram, Paris, 681 (An. Bachm, II 3704), Eust, 1026, attest τουτδείσι as Ionic, and regard it as an example of προσχηματισμός. This is the only case that I recall of the mention of such a form in grammatical literature. The analogy of δεδοισμε in part misled the grammarians.

analogy of briotir in part misled the grammarians.

J Apoll. 73 B, Joh. Gr. 241, Greg. Kor. pp. 447, 456, Meerm. 654, Aug. 669, Vat. 699, Birib. 678₃₆, An. Bachm. II 365₁₁ (Ionie and Attie), Schol. Ven. A on 0 94 (olos nelisou), where A C D E, &c., have teclose, Aristarchos nelisou. Arist. often adopted forms which the scholiast takes pains to call Ionie. Cf. La Roche, H. T. K. p. 247.

 $\chi\theta\dot{\epsilon}s$ occurs in Hdt. in but one passage (H 53 πρώην τε καὶ $\chi\theta\dot{\epsilon}s$). In Attic comedy this form appears in the phrase $\chi\theta\dot{\epsilon}s$ τε καὶ πρώην, and occasionally, according to Rutherford (*Phryn.* p. 372), in cases where it lends itself to the aid of the metre (*Clouds* 353, *Wasps* 242). $\dot{\epsilon}\chi\theta\dot{\epsilon}s$ was the regular Attic form $\dot{\epsilon}o\rho\tau\dot{\eta}$ occurs upon an Oropian inscription 18_{24} (see § 287, I, note). On $\dot{\epsilon}\theta\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$ in relation to $\theta\dot{\epsilon}\lambda\omega$, see § 588. In Hipponax 63 (Hdn. I 116_{25} , H 924_{17}) we find $\dot{\rho}\omega\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\epsilon}s$, of which the common form was $\dot{\epsilon}\rho\omega\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\epsilon}s$, occurring in Hipponax 76 and Sim. Am. 9. The spelling with iota subscript seems to be due to the supposed connexion with $\dot{\rho}oid\dot{\epsilon}\omega$. Hrd. 8_{25} (Grus.) has $\dot{\epsilon}\rho\omega\dot{\epsilon}\dot{\epsilon}[\tilde{\omega}\nu]$.

 $\hat{\epsilon}$ - $\kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath} vos$ may be compared with the Oskan e-tanto=tanta. The loss of the ϵ in other words may be due to the parallelism of $\hat{\epsilon} \kappa \epsilon \hat{\imath} vos$; and at the same time furthered by the laws of sentence phonetics.

Homer has $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}ivos$ and $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}ivos$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}i\sigma\tilde{\epsilon}$ and $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}i\sigma\tilde{\epsilon}$, $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}i\theta\tilde{\epsilon}v$, $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}i\theta$ and $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}iv\eta$. For $\tilde{\delta}\phi\rho$ ar $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}i\theta$ ρ 10 (the only occurrence of $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}i\theta$), we may read $\tilde{\delta}\phi\rho\alpha$ $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}$ $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}i\theta$: cf. $\tilde{\delta}\phi\rho\alpha$ $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}$ $\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}lv\eta$ β 124. In Parmenides 118 $\kappa\tilde{\alpha}\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}ivo$ is read. The Aiolic form is $\kappa\tilde{\eta}vos$, Doric $\kappa\tilde{\eta}vos$ ($\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}ivos$) with $\tau\tilde{\eta}vos$ as a by-form from a different stem.

1. κείνος is found in all inscriptions (§ 224, 15) free from the suspicion of containing an admixture of Atticism.

2. Of the Ionic poets, the elegists use κείνος more frequently than ἐκείνος. The shorter form is found in Archil. 34, 121, Mimn. 141, 9, Theog. 47, 223, 308, 479 (Athen., ἐκείνος Stob.); cf. κείθεν Mimn. 95, Theog. 711 (sic Bekker, κἀκείθεν libri). The longer form appears in Archil. 63, Theog. 787, 1205. In the iambographic poets κείνος is the correct form: Archil. tetr. 51, Sim. Amorg. 751, 84; ἐστ' ἐκείνος Archil. 87 (epode) may easily be read ἔστιν κείνος (ἔστιν has MS. authority); in 92, also an epode, ἐμεῦ δ' ἐκείνος οὐ καταπροίξεται, Schneidewin emended δὲ κείνος, correctly, as I think, though Hdt. III 36 has Καμβύσης. ἐφη ἐκείνος οὐ καταπροίξεσθαι. Archil. 170 has κεί (An. Ox. I 24927), of which the Aiolic equivalent is κή, and 132 κείθι. Solon 383 has the latter form. κείνος is found in Anakr. 86 (iambic tetr.). Herodas has κείνος in 142, 423, 27, 30, 73, 522, 61, 620, 764, 797; ἐκείνος in 476 bis, 478, 642, 7111.

3. Prose. In the MSS of Herodotos $\tilde{\epsilon}\kappa\tilde{\epsilon}\tilde{\iota}\nu\sigma s$ is so decidedly preferred to $\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\sigma s^1$ that Bredow² and Dindorf ³ proposed to expel the latter form altogether. Kirchhoff, on the other hand, would follow the testimony of the iambic poets and the inscriptions and admit only $\kappa\epsilon\tilde{\iota}\nu\sigma s$. Stein steers a middle course in adopting

¹ ἐκεῖνος is found about 230 times without v.l. κεῖνος is not often the sole reading, e. g. l 11, 207, III 74, 140, IV 9, V 15, 87, VI 13, 69, VII 136, VIII 61, IX 90 (AB). In V 23 one inferior MS. has ἐκ·, in V 82 ἐκ· AB, in VII 103 ἐκ· only B, in VIII 58 κεῖνα in C (?) B, in IX 52, 53 ἐκ· in R. Demokr. 205, Herakl. 67 have ἐκεῖνος with no case of κεῖνος.

2 Pp. 118–120.

2 De dial, Herod, xxxvi.

κείνος only when the MSS. pronounce in its favour. This procedure necessitates the adoption of both forms in one and the same chapter, e.g. I 207 κείνοι but ἐκειν- three times, III 74, VI 69, VII 136, 239 (ἐκεῖσε, but κεῖνον). κείθεν is found I 122 and καὶ κείθι II 122 according to Stein (v. l. κάκείθι, &c.), κείνως I 120 (no v. l.), ἐκείσε VII 239, ἐκεί IX 109.

In the case of Hdt. the ker-forms are not to be abandoned. Both forms coexisted, as they did in Homer and in Attic. the distinction which has been set up (that excisor is less em-

phatic than keîvos) is valueless.

In the MSS. of Hippokrates excives is the preferred form, e.g. II 60, 78, 128, 226 (κείνοι in A), VI 368 (bie, in one case θ has κείνο), ἐκεί II 80, 90; κείνος IX 34, 50, κείθι and κείθεν VII 586, κείθι VIII 22. In the pseudo-Hippokratic letters the proportion is twenty to three in favour of excisos. Lukian adopts the longer form almost everywhere, and Arrian and Eusebios Myndios always avoid keivos.

Reflexive Pronouns.

565.] In the oldest phase of the dialect represented by the Homeric poems the compounded reflexive pronoun does not exist. Thus Homer says έμοι αὐτῷ, ἔμ' αὐτόν, ἐ αὐτήν¹, ἐμέθεν αὐτῆς and the like. So in Archil. 63 αὐτόν μ' ἐξεσάωσα was a reading for αὐτὸς δ' ἐξέφυγον. In the elegists of Ionic birth there occur two passages which would seem to show that the compound form had become a part of the apparatus of the dialect in the early post-Homeric period. These are Mimn. 7.= Theog. 795 (την σαυτοῦ φρένα τέρπε) and Xenoph., Bergk p. 116 (ἐμαυτόν). The objections brought forward to these forms are less valid on the ground of the presence of the compound than on that of their failure to display the proper Ionic vocalization. If in Herakleitos, Herodotos, and other prose writers the com-pounded forms have obtained sole possession, it is not incredible that by the time of Xenophanes they should have gained an entrance into the dialect. ¿avrŷ is as old as Hesiod3. Alkaios

Such spellings as tourfy in some MSS, may be referred to Ionic editions. dμωυτόν also occurs ; La Roche, Hom. Terthritik, 252 ff.

^{*} In Minnermos Ahrens read sirsû or σωντοῦ. Bekker σ' sirsû, Renner σ'ψ sirsû as Hymn to Hermes 565). The last named reading was once suggested by Hergk, who in his latest edition clings to σωντοῦ.

* Theogony 126. ἐωντῆι appears upon a papyrus MS. according to Wileken, Berichte d. Berl. Akad. 1887 p. 812. Most of the MSS. have ἐωντῷ (for al sirţî titt.). Ισον ἐόντα Κöchly). If ἐωντ- is as old as Hesiod, which I doubt, the as of σωντοῦ and ἐμωντόν is more difficult to defend.

has ἐμαύτφ 72, ἐαύτω 78, σαύτω 87, σαύτω 101, Sappho ἐμαύτα 15¹. ἑωντῷ in Parmen. 117 is a conjecture for ἐαντῷ. Recent editors of Pindar reject the traces of the reflexive (Gildersleeve on 0l. XIII 53)². The suspicion that attaches to Anakreon's χθόνιον δ' ἐμαντὸν ἦρεν (frag. 64) extends to the Xenophanic fragment containing the same form. In Anakreon δέ μ' αὖτ' may be conjectured, in Xenophanes any conjecture is otiose, since it is not even certain that the first part of the fragment is genuine. Bergk once made trimeters out of what Meineke thought pure prose. Trimeters were probably not written by the Kolophonian poet.

If the existence of the compound form may not be disputed, objection might however be raised on the score of the character of the diphthong. Apollonios (De Pron. 94 B) reports as Ionic the pronoun under the form εμωυτοῦ; and in the monuments of the prose literature which are stamped with the die of the dialect, the diphthong av has given way to εων (ων). Now it is possible that at the time of the first beginnings of the compound forms, the points of departure for their formation were έμ' αὐτόν, σ' αὐτόν, &c.; whence it follows that ἐμαντόν and σαντοῦ were correct, at least in poetry, up to the time when the Herodoteian system of composition came into vogue. was then formed from ἐοῖ αὐτῷ, and ἐωυτοῦ, ἐμεωυτοῦ followed in its wake. The forms with av in later Ionic poetry recall the Homeric & αὐτήν (or ε δ αὐτήν) in Ξ 162, δ αὐτήν P 551. Of the epigraphical examples with av, none is old enough to avoid the suspicion of being due to Attic influence. In inscriptions we find (1) ἐουτῶν 144 from Priene, and (2) forms with av: ξαυτοι (dative) Oropos 1828, the oldest example (either between 411-402 or between 387-377 B.C.), ξαοτών (=av § 243) Samos 22120 (after 322 B. C.), Asiatic Ionic No. 2632, čautov Zeleia 11313 (after 334 B.C.), and in other inscriptions after 350 B.C. when Attic influence cannot be gainsaid : ¿auroù Theodosia (?) 1271, έαυτής Pantikap. 123, Chios 192, αὐτοῦ Ephesos 14718 (300 B.C.), Smyrna 15316, ξαυτών Olbia 12914 (period of the empire).

Two sets of forms have been handed down as peculiar to the

Ionic dialect.

ἐμωντοῦ Apoll. 94 B C³. This form occurs nowhere in literature (ἐμωντόν Zenodotos A 271), and is the only instance of a pronoun reported by Apollonios which is unattested in the monuments. It owes its rise to the influence of ἐμο(ὶ) αὐτῷ= ἐμωντῷ, where elision has been at work.

³ σαντῷ fr. 97 in one MS.
³ τὸ ἐμωντοῦ παρ' Ἰωσι καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν is certainly wrong as it stands.

¹ Apollonios attests σαύτω, Γαύτω. Between σ' αύτω with elision (Ahrens) and σαύτω the difference is trifling. On the passage in Apoll. 103 Å, see Dyroff, K. Z. XXXII 103 ff.

2. ἐμεωντοῦ, σεωντοῦ, ἐωντοῦ, &c. These forms are not due to the contraction of ἐμέο αὐτοῦ, σέο αὐτοῦ, ἔο αὐτοῦ; the ων does not stand in any shifting relation to αν, and is to be kept apart from the ων which varies with αν in θωῦμα θαῦμα (§§ 205, 258). In Ionic the force of analogy carried εων from the dative, where ἐωντῷ was the direct result of the fusion of ἐοῖ αὐτῷ (as οἱ αὐτοἱ became ὡντοἱ § 316), into the genitive and accusative, where ἐμεαντοῦ and ἐμαντόν would have been in place. In Attic ἐμαντοῦ owes its αν, by a similar process, to the influence of the accusative ἐμ(ὲ) αὐτόν. So σαντοῦ arose from the analogy of σ' αὐτόν. σεαντοῦ is to be explained as arising from σέ(ο) αὐτοῦ¹.

Of this second type of form there is no example on any inscriptional monument. Boeckh's ε(ω)υτών in Bechtel's No. 144, a decree of the Κοινὸν τῶν Ἰώνων from the Πανιώνιον in the neighbourhood of Priene, cannot hold ground against tours, on which see § 256. Nor is there any example in Ionic poetry of the form with ωυ, except in Herodas. In Ionic prose we find the following forms: ἐμεωυτοῦ Hdt. IV 97 (Λ B R), Euseb. Myndios, ep. Pythag., ep. Hippokr. ἐμεωυτῷ Hdt. III 142. ἐμεωυτόν Herakl. 80 (Plutarch), Euseb. Myndios, ep. Hippokr. XXVI 2 in A. σεωυτοῦ Hdt. 1 45, III 155, ep. Hippokr. XVII 22. In Herodas 7, we find σεωτοῦ added in the margin, but at the top of the column (No. 40) σεωυτοῦ is written. The word forms the first foot of the trimeter. σεωυτόν Lukian Syr. dea 25, Vit. auct. 5, Euseb. Myndios; σεωυτήν Hrd. 266. εωυτοῦ Hdt. I 45 bis, Herakl. 17, Hippokr. III 200, 204, 208, 210, VI 114 (with lenis? M has here μετεωϋτοῦ, Α μεθ' ἐωυτοῦ), Demokr. 92, 100, 188, Lukian Syr. dea 12, 18, 19 bis, 20, 55 ter, Astr. 14, Arrian Ind. 47, 810, 92, and 206 (tau- MSS.), 423, Abyd. 1, Euseb. Mynd., ep. Hippokr. often, Arctaios nine times, ωυτοῦ twice, Vita Hom. thirteen times; ξωυτής Hdt. V 28, Hippokr. III 208, Syr. dea 14, Arrian Ind. 106. Hrd. 684 has ωυτής. ἐωυτῷ Hdt. III 142, Hippokr. III 188, Demokr. 205, Herakl. 45, Arrian Ind. 98 (MSS. ἐαυ-), 204, Eusebios; εωντή Hdt. I 11, Lukian Astr. 2. εωντόν Hdt. I 45, Hrd. 578, Hippokr. I 630 (ἐωυτό Α), Demokr. 2022, 30, 100, Lukian Syr. dea 20, 25, 29, 51, 53, 57, Arrian Ind. 43, 78, 94 (MSS. αὐτόν and αὐτόν), Euseb. Mynd.; ἐωυτήν Syr. dea 22 bie, 27, 39 ter; ἐωυτό Hippokr. VI 178, 180. ἐωυτῶν Hdt. IV 11, Hippokr. III 210 vulgo (-τέων B M N), II 12, Herakl. 114, Demokr. 213, Lukian Syr. dea 49, 58, Astr. 12. tworoio: Hdt. VI 138, Hippokr. VI 354 (see below), Herakl. 5, Lukian Astr. 20. tworois Hdt.

¹ So Brugmann, Gram. § 96. This is preferable to Wackernagel's explanation (K. Z. XXVII 279) whereby σεσυτοῦ was formed from the analogy of σεσυτόν, from τεξ' εὐτόν. W.'s theory presupposes that, through remembrance of σουτόν, τεσυτόν became σεσυτόν.

IV 148 (see below), Herakl. 106 in Stobaios, Gaisford following B man. sec., Bywater έαυ-, Lukian Syr. dea 26, 35, Arrian Ind. 247.

In authors quoting the Ionic prosaists the Attic forms occur very often, ε.g. ἐαυτό Anax. 15, Melissos 5. ἐαυτοῦ Anax. 6 ter, 16, Demokr. 20π, 84, Melissos 5, Vita Hom. twice, Ion Ἐπιδ. Ι. ἐαυτῷ Parm. 117. ἐαυτῶν Demokr. 46, although Stobaios has preserved the ων forms very often. σεαυτόν Demokr. 98. Herodas has the Attic forms ἐμαυτόν 2πη ἐμαυτήν 3πη σαυτοῦ 2πη σαυτῆς 64, σαυτόν 1ε3, <ἐ>αυτόν 2μη. The MSS. rarely have ὡυτ- for ἐωυτ-, a form comparable, as it were, to Attic αὐτ- (Hrd. 6μι ὡυτῆς).

In the MSS. of Hippokrates and of the pseudo-Ionists we often find the illegitimate parasitic ε in ξωντέον (Hippokr. III 214 B M N), ξωντέφ (Hippokr. III 214 B M N), ξωντέης, ξωντέην, ξωντέφ (Hippokr. II 188, 214), ξωντέων (Hippokr. II 76, Lukian Astr. 1, Euseb.), ξωντέοισι (Hippokr. II 90), ξωντέησιν (Hippokr.

II 90).

Hdt. rarely uses the uncompounded forms, e.g. $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{\phi}$ $\dot{\tau}$ $\dot{\tau}$ $\dot{\nu}$ μol III 142, σol $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{\phi}$ I 108 Stein with P (A B σol $\dot{\epsilon}\omega v\tau\dot{\omega}\iota$). $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{v}v$ - μv I 24 (cf. μv - - $\dot{\epsilon}\omega v\tau\dot{o}v$ ibid.) is perhaps an error; $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{\eta}v$ μv II 100 is an unusual (Homeric) use as direct reflexive. Herodas has $\mu\epsilon$ $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{\eta}v$ 6_{23} , μv $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{\eta}v$ 7_{12} , not as Hdt. I 205. The strengthening of the reflexive by $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{o}s$ occurs in Hippokrates VI 600 $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{a}$ (omis. vulg.) $a\dot{v}\tauo\hat{i}\sigma v$, 178, 188 $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{a}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\omega v\tau\dot{o}\hat{v}$, 180 $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{a}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\omega v\tau\dot{\phi}$, $a\dot{v}\tau\dot{a}$ $\dot{a}\dot{\phi}$ $\dot{\epsilon}\omega v\tau\dot{o}\hat{v}$.

In the plural we find both ἐωυτῶν, &c., and σφέων αὐτῶν, &c., e.g. Hdt. I 73. αὐτοῖσι ἡμῖν V 91 is an unusual turn for ἡμῖν

αὐτοῖσι.

In Hdt. the pronoun of the third person is not used in the singular for the second or for the first, though the MSS. here and there support such a usage. Cf. I 124 ($\epsilon\omega v\tau$ - R d ϵ), III 36 ($\epsilon\omega v\tau$ - R), and IV 97 ($\epsilon\mu\epsilon\omega v\tau$ 0 \hat{v} d d d others $\epsilon\omega v\tau$ 0 \hat{v}). In V 92 (a) αὐτοὶ πρῶτοι τύραννον καταστησάμενοι παρὰ σφίσι αὐτοῖσι . . . δίζησθε κατιστάναι is the only case in Hdt. Usually the plural of the first person is $\hbar\mu\epsilon\omega v$ αὐτῶν, of the second $\hbar\mu\epsilon\omega v$ αὐτῶν. $\sigma\phi\epsilon ds$ $\epsilon\omega v\tau$ 0 ϵ 0 ϵ 1 in IV 148 is a reading long abandoned for $\sigma\phi\epsilon ds$ αὐτούς; $\sigma\phi\epsilon ds$ 1 $\epsilon\omega v\tau$ 0 ϵ 1 Hippokr. VI 354 is the vulgate reading for $\sigma\phi\epsilon ds$ 1 $\epsilon\omega v\tau$ 0 ϵ 2 in $\epsilon\omega v\tau$ 0 ϵ 3 in $\epsilon\omega v\tau$ 0 ϵ 4 is the vulgate reading

Relative Pronouns.

566.] In the Homeric dialect, besides $\tilde{o}s$, $\tilde{\eta}$, \tilde{o} , we find the demonstrative \tilde{o} , $\tilde{\eta}$, $\tau \acute{o}$ used as relatives 1 . $\tilde{o}s$ is also used as a demonstrative in the epic dialect, which also uses \tilde{o} for $\tau \acute{o}$. In the language of the elegy we find occasionally the relative used

 $^{^{1}}$ See Joh, Gr. 240, Gram. Aug. 668, Birnb. 678₁₄ (τον θέλω). The relative use of τον in A 36 is called Ionic by An. Par. III 3176.

for the demonstrative:—Phokyl. I₁ (cf. Demod. 2₁), 3₈, Tyrt. 2₈,

Solon 35, Theog. 169, 800 (MSS. vary in both cases).

In the iambographic poets and elegists we find some few survivals of the use of the demonstrative as a relative. The aspirated relative has, however, evidently gained upon the reforms from the year 700 B.C.

A. Iambographic Poets.

Demonstrative as Relative. τό Sim. Am. 132; τῆs Sol. 362,
 Hrd. 264; τῷ Archil. epod. 873, Anakr. 86 (Elmsley); τῆ Hrd. 321,
 Sim. Am. 73; τάs Hrd. 417; τῶν Hrd. 528; ταῖσι Hrd. 621.

- 2. Pure Relative. δ_s Anan. τ_1 , Hrd. 4_1 ; $\tilde{\eta}$ Sim. Amorg. 7_{12} , 4_1 , 5_2 ; δ_s ; δ_s Sim. Amorg. 7_{117} (δ_s) Hrd. δ_{42} ; $\tilde{\eta}$ s Hrd. 4_4 ($\tilde{\eta}$ s $\tau\epsilon$), 5_{30} ; $\tilde{\phi}$ Hippon. 32, Hrd. 3_{39} ; $\tilde{\delta}\nu$ Sim. Amorg. 23_2 , Hippon. 45; $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ Hippon. 37_2 (conj.), Hrd. 5_{82} ; $\tilde{\delta}$ Sim. Amorg. 1_4 (where old is the usual Attic construction), Hrd. 5_{37} ; $\tilde{\delta}\nu$ Hrd. 5_{50} , 7_{61} , ϵ_s ; $\tilde{\eta}$ s Archil. 94_3 ; δ_s Archil. tetr. 59_1 , Hrd. 2_{67} ; $\tilde{\delta}$ s Hrd. 3_{67} ; $\tilde{\delta}$ Solon 37_2 , 3^2
 - B. The Elegiac Poets.
- 1. Demonstrative as Relative. τό Xenoph. 217, Theog. 17, cf. 18. Mimn. 115 τόθι; τοῦ Theog. 256, 451, Xenoph. 53; τῆ Theog. 216; τόν Theog. 501, 879; τήν Xenoph. 65; τοί Theog. 383; τά Theog. 481, 583-584, 1185; τῶν Theog. 462, 716; 1096, 1175; τοῖς Theog. 132 (but A has οῖς, Bergk ὅτοις), τοῖσιν Sol. 1346; τάς Theog. 880; τά Theog. 591.
- 2. Pure Relative (including ὅστε). ὅς Theog. 91, Hipponax hex. 852, Anakr. 941; ὅστε Theog. 703, 1124, and Anakr. 512 (ionics); ῆτε Theog. 196, 386, 410, 705, 827, 1198; ὅ Mimn. 42; ὅ τε Mimn. 57, Theog. 466; οῦ Theog. 152; οῦ τε Theog. 395; ῷ Theog. 412, Mimn. 216; ὅν Tyrt. 52; ῆν Archil. eleg. 61; ῆντε Theog. 336, Sol. 278; οῖ Theog. 598; οῖτε Theog. 737, 1069; αῖτε Theog. 709; τ Sol. 262; ῶν Tyrt. 1019, Theog. 34; ὧντε Mimn. 213; οῖς Theog. 1312; οῦς Theog. 84, Tyrt. 107.
- 567.] The Relative Pronoun in Prose. If we compare the use of the iambographic poets with that of Hdt., we observe this difference: Hdt.² uses the forms beginning with τ in by far the greater number of oblique cases when no preposition precedes 3; also when the oblique cases are preceded by prepositions which cannot suffer elision 4. The exceptions are now generally brought

¹ Gaisford of ye. But cf. the use of re in Theog. 1049, Mimn. 2, 2, 11p.

Greg. Kor. p. 385, Struve, Quass. 7 ff.
Exceptions are off II 81, of ot V 6, & II 118, & and \$ I 109, \$ II 39, \$ III

<sup>140.

&#</sup>x27;Exceptions are $\pi\rho\delta s$ at IV 200, δr at V 16, 49, VI 97, and always when δr $\delta = \kappa h i \ell_c$, ϵs 0. I 164, δs 05s II 95, δs at V 91, VIII 60 and always when δs $\delta = until$, and δs does as IV 56, 71, VII 50. δs 05 generally has the v. δs δs , which is read by Struve and Stein. $\delta \omega s$ 05 II 143 has also been changed

into line except in the case of certain formulae, such as ès ő. In case the relative follows upon a preposition whose final vowel may be elided 1, the aspirated forms are in place in the oblique cases 2; and in the nominative os, n, o are invariably employed. What has been said above holds good in the case of ὅσπερ.

It is doubtful whether so artificial a system can have found a place in the ordinary language of Herodotos' day. language of the inscriptions as well as that of the Ionic philosophers records a usage different from that of Herodotos, and similar to that in vogue in Attika. While the speech of the iambic writers still preserves both the τ- and the aspirated forms. it is not so complicated as that of Hdt. It is more likely that the preservation of the old forms in Hdt. should have beer upheld by syntactical requirements than by so purely external a canon as that adopted with considerable uniformity in the Herodoteian MSS.

The prose inscriptions have only the pure relative, not the τ- forms, e.g. ős Thasos J. H. S., VIII 4020, ὄν Miletos 100, ὧν Thasos 720, ἄπερ Miletos 1007, ηισιν Teos 156 B 36. ηιούν Teos 1588 deserves attention as ὁσοῦν is not found in Attic, nor indeed in any other dialect except Ionic; ὁτεωιοῦν Amphip. 1021. demonstrative relative appears in $\tau(o\hat{v})$ Amorg. 34 (epigram).

The fragments of the philosophers usually have the pure relative forms: Anax. 6 ην, 5 οἶσι, 10 ων, Diogen. 6 ω, ἄτε, Herakleitos 11, 112 οὖ, 93 ὧ, 115 ὄν, Demokr. 73 ἄ, 168 οἶσιν,

but 188 τῶν ἃν δέη, 60 τόν, 47 τοῖσι.
In Hippokrates traces of the demonstrative form are exceedingly rare 3: τά occurs in VI 476 (twice in θ), 486 (τά pro a vulg.), $\tau \hat{\eta} \pi \epsilon \rho$ VI 480 (sic θ, Littré $\tau \hat{\eta}$ $\pi \epsilon \rho \hat{\iota}$), $\tau \hat{o} \hat{\iota} \sigma \iota \nu$ VII 478, IX 84, $\tau \hat{\omega} \nu$ I 586 (A), II 74 (Zwinger à ϕ $\hat{\omega} \nu$, perhaps $\tilde{o} \tau \omega \nu$). Elsewhere we find the aspirated forms, e.g. ης II 12, 14; φ II 644, φπερ III 196; ηπερ II 24; ἄ II 18, III 84; ὧν II 256, 618, 660, 668, 676 (περί), as III 84; οἶσι II 250, 334, 372, 608, 612 bis, 626, 642, 662, III 74, VI 610; ήσιν III 196 (v. l. δσησιν), II 648, 658 bis; οῦς II 372 bis, 664; ἀς II 648. ἄτε occurs often in Hdt., in Hippokr. II 26, 78, III 226, Diogen. 6, οίον τε Hippokr. II 38, Diogen. 6, &c.

Of the pseudo-Ionists Lukian follows in general the lead of Herodotos. In a few passages (Syr. dea 18, 24, 31, 48) A E have

with a relative.

Exceptions are ἐπὶ τήν ΙΧ 11 (v. l. ἐπὶ ἥν), ὁπὸ τῶν VII 217 (v. l. ὑπ' ὧν).

⁵ Gomperz' Apologie der Heilkunst p. 78 ff.

1 Lindemann p. 86.

to és δ (cf. Greg. Kor. p. 472). $\ell \xi$ oð, &c., is found nine times, but $\ell \kappa$ $\tau o \hat{v}$, &c., eighteen times. $\mu \dot{\epsilon} \chi \rho i$ and $\delta \rho \chi i$ oð are uniformly used. $\pi \epsilon \rho i$ with $\tau o \hat{v}$ is always in position to suffer anastrophe.

1 $\delta v i$, $\delta \pi \delta_i$, $\delta i d$, $\ell \pi i$, $\kappa \alpha \tau d$, $\mu \epsilon \tau d$, $\pi \alpha \rho d$, $\delta \pi \delta$. $\delta \mu \rho i$ and $\delta \nu d$ chance not to occur with σ_i described.

the aspirate forms, the other MSS. those with τ -. In 25 only A has δ . When a preposition precedes there is considerable variation in the MSS. We find $\delta \nu$ of σ : Astr. 10, $\delta \nu$ τ of σ : Astr. 24, Syr. dea 2, 10, 21, 47; $\delta \pi$! τ of Syr. 12; $\delta \pi$! τ δ : 30; $\delta \nu$ of σ : Astr. 24, $\delta \pi$! τ (so Jacobitz) Astr. 7, 12. The examples that are Attic rather than Ionic may safely be corrected. Eusebios has τ δ , τ $\delta \pi$, τ $\delta \nu$, $\delta \pi$; $\delta \nu$, but $\delta \nu$ τ $\hat{\phi}$. The other imitators of Ionic proseuse the aspirated relative. Arrian has a fondness for $\delta \sigma \tau$ is.

568.] Interrogative and Indefinite Pronoun. Nominative τ(s, τ(s, τιs, τι Hom., Hdt., Hippokr., &c. Genitive: τ(s) Homer, Hrd. 81; τεο in Homer only π 305, Hdt. I 58; τεῦ Homer, Hdt. V 106, Kall. 11, Hrd. 298; τεῦ Homer, Hdt. I 19, Archil. 110, Theog. 749, 750; τέου Archil. 95 (MSS. τεοῦ); του Hippokr. II 34; τίνος Theog. 1299, Hippokr. III 214; τινος Hippokr. V 726. Dative: τέφ Hymn I 170, Hdt. I 11, IV 155; τεφ in Homer four times, Hdt. II 48, 124, IV 47, Anax. 6 bie; τφ the most common form in Homer, Theog. 139; τίνα in Homer only ξ 96, P 68; τινι Homer, Hippokr. III 82. Accusative: τίνα Homer, Hippokr. III 214; τινα Homer, Hdt., Hippokr. Nominative: τίνες Homer, τίνα (?) Χ 450; τινες Homer, Hdt., Hippokr., τινα Homer, &c. Genitive: τέων Homer; τεῶν Hdt. V 57 (sic A B, τέων C P); τίνων, τινων. Dative: τέοισι Hdt. I 37, VIII 113, IX 27; τοῦσι in Homer (κ 110) accord. to Aristarchos, Hdt.; τισι Hippokr., τινα Homer.

Note on the interrelation of the stems of this pronoun.

569.] The Compound Relative forus.

Nominative. δστις Hom., Tyrt. 1216, Theog. 221, 744, 1173,
 Anakr. 943 (eleg.), Sim. Am. 770, &c., Herakl. 35, Teog 156 A 1,

¹ An. Ox. I 403, (cf. I 400,) vie Ionic, vel Dorie.

Herodotos, Hippokrates; Arrian is fond of ooris, &c., in preference to the simple relative forms, oris1 Hom., Theog. 676; ήτις2 Hom., Sim. Am. 7108, Hdt., Hippokr. e.g. II 12. ὅτι Hom., Theog. 160, 690, Hdt., Herakl. 105, Hippokr. II 358. 5771 Hom., Theog. 17, 818 (not Ionic).

2. Genitive. οὖτινος, ὅττεο, ὅττεν Homer; ὅτεν Hom., Hdt. The form orwos might have been Ionic if analogy had had its way, as was the case in Doric. Herodas 440 has the non-Ionic

ότου; but cf. ότεύνεκ' 520 despite ότούνεκεν 7103.

3. Dative. ὅτεω³ Hom., Hdt., Demokr. 166, 188, Herakl. 127, Herodas 7_{112} , but $5\tau \omega$ 2_{26} (cf. 7_{27}). $5\tau \varepsilon \omega \iota 0 \widehat{\nu} \nu$ is found in Amphip. 10_{21} . $5\tau \omega$ is found M 428 where Zenodotos read $5\tau \varepsilon \omega$; οτω occurs in Theog. 154, 416, 6094, and in Anaxag. 6 ad fin. according to Simplicius (Diels 1574 for ὅτω, Preller and Mullach adopt ὅτεων). In Solon el. 241=Theog. 719, Bergk adopts ὅτω (Renner ὅτεω), where Plutarch has ϣτε, Stobaios ὅσοις. ὅτω is found also in Hippokr. III 238, 252, Lukian's Syria dea and in Arrian. & τινι Hsd., Theog. 631 (in A), 807 (& τινι A). In both passages this form should have been adopted by Bergk (cf. Hom. ού τινι); ώ τινι Hippokr. II 664.

4. Accusative. ὅντινα Hom., Tyrt. 12,3, Theog. 403, Hrd. 412, Hdt.; ὁντινῶν Sim. Am. 740; ὅτινα Hom.; ἤντινα Hom., Hdt. (not τήντινα as all MSS. I 90); ὅτι Hom., Hdt., Hippokr. II 12,

III 228; отть Hom.

5. Nominative. ofteres Hom., Hdt., Herakl. 114, 126, Hippokr. II 240 (οἱ δέ τινες); αἵτινες Hom., Hdt.

6. Genitive. ὅτεων Hom., Hdt.; ὅτων Hippokr. II 64, 74 (? see § 567), a rare form in Attic (see on Xen. Anab. VII 6, 24).

7. Dative. ὁτέοισι Hom., Hdt. See Eustathios quoted under отеф.

ούστινας Hom., Hdt.; ότινας Hom.; άστινας 8. Accusative.

Hom., Hdt.; ὅτω' Hom. X 450 (?). ἄσσα⁵ < ἄ+τμα Hom., Phokyl. 6₂, Theog. 1048, Solon 38₄ (?), Hdt. I 47, 138, 197, Herakl. 122, Melissos 17; in Anax. 6 aooa is a conjecture (Simpl. őσα).

570.] Other Pronominal Forms. On the form of the pronouns κοΐος, κόσος, κότερος, &c., see § 342. αμός is not found in Ionic literature, but occurs in the Herodoteian οὐδαμοί, μηδαμοί.

¹ This form is totally distinct from δστις (from ya-s). δτις contains the neuter * $\sigma f \circ \delta$ of the reflexive $\sigma f \circ \cdot$, which appears in Lokrian $f \circ \tau_1$ (C. D. I. 1479 A 6) and in the Homeric $f \circ s$. The $\tau \tau$ forms in Homer are due to the assimilation of \$7, and are Aiolic.

Tzetz. Ex. Il. 631.

 Eust. 230₆, 1026₄₃, 1036₂₃.
 This form is neither Doric nor epic. Homer prefers ὅτεψ with synizesis. ⁵ Bekk. An. I 461₂ (= Bachm. An. I 161₁₁).

The former is also Homeric. Demokritos, who gave to several of the letters of the alphabet names different from those in ordinary use, followed Alkaios 76, who divided orders into or + delse (neuter $\delta\ell\nu$). Plutarch $\pi\rho\delta s$ Koláthy 4 (Mor. 1109 A) quotes a saying of Demokritos: $\mu \hat{\eta}$ $\mu \hat{a} \lambda \lambda \delta v$ $\tau \hat{d}$ $\delta \hat{c} v$ $\hat{\eta}$ $\tau \hat{d}$ $\mu \eta \delta \hat{c} v$ elval. No grammarian assigns $\delta \epsilon i s$, $\delta \hat{c} v$ for $\tau i s$, τi to any special dialect. Dr. Jackson (Journ. of Philol. XXI 73) ventures to find $\delta a \mu \hat{d} \epsilon v$ ($\mu \hat{\eta} + \delta a \mu \hat{d}$) in Parmenides. $\delta \delta \epsilon \hat{i} v a$ is unknown to Hdt.

Numerals.

571.] A special Ionic termination is -φασιος; -ξος in διξός, τριξός (§ 380) is specifically Ionic. 1. els, &c., Hdt., &r and ένα Samos 22032, έν Miletos 1001, ένός Chios 174 D 19, cf. Keos 43, and Iasos 104, μas Olynthos 8 B 13. μίαν Miletos 100, disposes of Aldus' μίη in Hdt. e.g. II 100, and R d's μίην in II 111, and show that such forms in Anaxagoras, Hippokrates (e.g. VIII 274 in C), and later Ionic writers are hyper-Ionisms. See above, § 419. πρώτου Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 8, Keos 4316 and Hdt., cf. Πρωτήs Styra 1947. Hdt. has ovoeves III 26, 2. Homer, Hesiod δύω, δύο: δύο Paros 62, Samos 220₂₁, 26, 29, 31, Ananios 32, &c., with the noun in the plural as often in Attic. δυῶν is found in Chios 174 D 9. It occurs in the Herakleian tables and in Gortyna 140. In the Chian document it occurs in conjunction with the Aiolic πεντηκόντων. Hdt. has δύο but not δύω, though the latter occurs as a v. l. in C, e.g. VI 57, VII 24, 28. The indeclinable ovo is often used in Hdt. as in Attic. δύω is found only in composition (see under 12). Hdt. has also δυῶν 2 VI 57, &c., but not δυοῖν, despite I 11, 91, where there is no v. l. dvoiv is Hippokratic (VI 216, 286, 472, VII 138) cf. § 412; δυοίσι Hdt. I 32, VII 104; δυσί is not Herodoteian. Hippokrates has δυσί (II 522 v.l. δύο, VII 368) as perhaps Thukydides VIII 101 (but see Phrynichos, p. 289 R) and certainly post-Aristotelian literature and inscriptions (e.g. C. I. A. II 467.7, 47148) of the Roman period. Hdt. IV 66 has σύνδυο, cf. σύντρεις ι 429. δεύτερος Hdt., Hippokr.; δευτεραίος Hdt.; δίς Archil. 163, Sim. Am. 764, Hippokr. II 78; διξός § 380; διφάσιος (Greg. K. p. 527); αμφοίν Hippokr. II 686 (αμφοτέρων A, (ialen), VII 120 (αμφοτέροισι in θ), VIII 238, 240; cf. § 412, where δυοίν is adduced from Lukian and Arrian. Chios 174 A 3, Iasos 10453, Zeleia 11350, Paros 63, Oropos 184

Cf. Zenobios in Et. Mag. 639.
 δυών Ειμεί. 802₂₀₋₆ (cf. 26₂₁; An. Par. III 88₂ on τῶν δόο II. K 253: 'Αττικόν ή κοινόν, 'Ιωνικόν γὰρ δυῶν.

(accusative). The accusative has usually been displaced by the nominative in Ionic, e.g. Anakr. 42, 83, Ananios 32. original form is τρίνς (cf. τρίινς Gortyna 554), from which descended τρίς, the reading of θ in Hippokr. VI 482, VIII 184, 260, 304. τριών Oropos 1815, Keos 439, Hippokr. II 636. [τρι]σί Keos 43₂₋₃; τριοΐσι in Hipponax tr. 51₁ (σὺν τριοΐσι μάρτυρσιν) is formed on the model of τριῶν, from a stem τρι-. It is doubtful whether this form is due to the satirist's residence at Klazomenai, the Aiolic city which was late in joining the Ionic league (Paus. VII 3, 5); τρίτος Hdt., Hippokr. II 688, Erythr. 206 A 38; τρίς Sim. Am. 7₆₄, Sam. 215 (epigr.), Hdt., Hippokr. II 78; τριξός § 380; τριακάδι Erythr. 206 C 47; ἡμιτριταῖος Hippokr. II 608. 4. τέσσερες, τέσσερα. Το the forms adduced, § 134, we may add τέσσερσι Hippokr. VI 198, VII 368, the reading of θ which ought to have been adopted by Littré. In VIII 200 θ has τέρσεσι. Hdt. has τεσσέρων, τέσσερσι, τέσσερας. Dorie τετόρων in Phokyl. 31 is borrowed from the Hesiodic epos (τέτορα W. D. 698), cf. τέττορες Kinkel p. 178 (No. 248), a fragment rejected by Flach. τέταρτος Hdt., Hippokr. II 682, 690, Zeleia 114 F 3, Kyzik, 108 B C. Homer has also τέτρατος (Joh. Gr. 241 B). 5. πέντε Anakr. 42, Keos 43m; τεταρταίος Hippokr. II 680. πέμπτος Mylasa 248 B I, Halik. 2385; Πένπτις Styra 19282; πεμπταίοι Hippokr. II 682; πεντάκις Hrd. 323. 6. Egs Chios 174 A 5 is a unique form (§ 378); έξ in δεκαέξ below. έκτος Thas. 7111 < έκστ-, or from a form without the sibilant. έκταίος Hippokr. II 646. 7. έπτά Samos 22021; ἔβδομος; έβδομαίος Hippokr, II 682, Epidaurian έβδεμ-. 8. ὀκτώ; ὄγδοος, Eryth. 206 A 46; δγδοηκοστός Hippokr. II 626. 9. èvvéa No. 137 (Chalkidian), ἐννεία Zeleia 11330 (on the ι cf. § 220), ἐννεοβολοῦ Orop. 1822. Ionic εἴνατος in Hdt. as in Homer is=Kretan ηνατος < ενf-; Attic ένατος Hippokr. II 704, Myl. 248 A 1; έναταῖοι Hippokr. II 682. 10. δέκα Eretria 1513; δέκων Chios 174 D 14 is a loan form from Aiolic1. δέκατος Keos 476, Milet. 93, Halik. 241, Phokaia 170, ἐπιδέκατος Amphip. 1013, Eretr. 1514. 11. ενδεκα Zeleia 11328, ενδέκατος Hdt., Hippokr.; ενδεκαταίος Hip-12. The later Ionic has δυώδεκα, Hdt. II 145 and pokr. II 654. in some thirty other passages without any variant; so also Thasos (L.) 8 A 5. In VIII 121 Stein reads δυώδεκα in opposition to δυωκαίδεκα of ABC, and also in VI 108, where all MSS. have δώδεκα. The latter form occurs in Hippokr. II 520 (A), where the Homeric δυοκαίδεκα is adopted by Littré. Arrian Ind. 195 has δώδεκα. This Attic form is to be expelled from the text of

¹ This form, like πεντηκόντων, ἐνενηκόντων in the same inscription, arose from the fact that the final α of δέκα, &c., was regarded as a neuter plural termination. That the dative plural of like formation does not occur is a matter of chance.

Herodotos. δωδέκατος and δυοκαιδέκατος occur in Hippokrates; δυωδέκατος Hdt. I 19, III 92 (δω- A B C d). In III 91 for δυοκαίδεκα (A B), δυωκαίδεκα (C P d), Stein reads δύο καί δέκα (μυριάδας). δεκαδύο is found in Issos 10432, a document containing few traces of Ionic. It appears in C. I. A. II 476₃₁ (100 B.C.). 13. τρία καὶ δέκα Hdt., τρίτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., τρισκαιδέκατος 14. теоберетка века Hdt. VII 36, 1 86 Hippokr. II 712. (-aρ- in all MSS.), Hippokr. VI 216 is indeclinable; τέταρτος και δέκατος Hdt. III 93, τεσσερεσκαιδέκατος I 84 (-ap- in all MSS. as Hippokr. II 668); τεσσαρεσκαιδεκαταίος Hippokr. II 148. 15. πεντεκαίδεκα Chios 174 A 19, Hdt.; πέμπτος καί 16. δεκαέξ Iasos 10445, εκκαιδέκατον Hdt., δέκατος Hdt. έξκαίδεκα Hippokr.; έκτος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., έξκαιδέκατος Hippokr. 17. έπτακαίδεκα, έβδομος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., έπτακαιδέκατος Hippokr. 18. δκτωκα[ίδ] εκα Halik. 238₁₈, δγδοος καὶ δέκατος Hdt., δκτωκαιδέκατος Hippokr., εν δυοίν δεούσαιν είκοσι Hippokr. VI 216 (30 θ, other MSS. δεούσαις), δυοίν δεόντοιν είκοσι VI 286. έννεακαίδεκα, είνατος καὶ δέκατος Hdt. 20. είκοσι(ν) Paros 62, Anakr. 18, Hrd. 391, είκοσταῖος Hippokr. II 654. εἴκοστί $[v \ \epsilon]$ νός Iasos 10440, εἰκοστὴ πρώτη Hippokr. II 680. 22. δύο τε καὶ εἴκοστ Hdt. 30. τριήκοντα Thasos, J. H. S.VIII 402, 10, Erythr. 202₁₇, τριηκοστός Myl. 248 A 1, Hippokr. II 680 (with Attic a), τριηκοσταίος Hippokr. II 150, τριηκόστ[ια] 35. τριήκοντα πέντε Hdt. but ένλ καλ τριηκοστώ. Keos 4320. 38. δυών δέοντα τεσσεράκοντα Hdt. I 15. 40. The Herodoteian and Homeric τεσσεράκοντα Iasos 10452, Kyzikos 11111; τεσσ[ερα]κ[ό]ντων Chios 174 C 16 as in Aiolic1; τετρωκοστώι καὶ πέμπτωι Myl. 248 B 1 as in Archimedes II 282, 23=Attic τεσσαρακοστώι, &c. Doric is τετρώκοντα (Herakl. Tablets). On the objections to referring this to the type δγδώκοντα (K. Z. XXV 235) see Schmidt Neutra, p. 192, τεσσαρακοστός Hippokr. II 678, 698 (with Attic a). 49. ένδς δέοντα πεντήκοντα Hdt. I 16. 50. πεντήκουτα Olynth. 8 A 5, Iasos 10447, πεντηκόντων Chios 174 D 7 as in Aiolic. It is to be noticed that this form, δέκων, τεσσ[ερ]ακόιτων, and εν[εν]ηκόντων stand in close proximity to inflected numbers in this inscription. 60. εξήκοντα Thasos (L.) 95, ξξηκοστός Hippokr. II 678. 70. ἐβδομήκοντα Chios 174 A 7, Delphic and Herakleian έβδεμήκοντα, έβδομηκοστός Hippokr. Η 700; εβδομήκουτα τριών Iasos 10438; τεσ(σ)ερακαι-εβδο[μη] ορυτούτης Paros 58. 80. δγδώκουτα Hom. and Hdt. < δγδοηκ-; δγδοηκοστός Hippokr. II 678. 90. ἐν[ε]νηκόντων Chios 174 C 26, inflected as in Aiolic. See under 40. Hom. ευνήκοιτα τ 174, ενενήκοντα B 602. In Dittenb. Syll. 170 from Miletos (234 B.C.) we find ἐνενήκοντα. 100. ékatós Anakr.

¹ Cf. тріппостия Had. W. D. 696 (Stobalos, Eust.).

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83, Keos 436, Chios 174 A 13, εκατοστός Hippokr. II 680; cf. έκατοστύν Samos 22130. 200. διηκοσίων Zeleia 114 D 5, 300. τριηκόσιοι Thasos (L.) 96, Chios 174 Chios 174 D 19. B 23, C 16. 400. τετράκοσίων Kyzikos 111,1. πεντάκοσίων Mykonos 9222, Chios 174 D 7. In γ 7 Aristarchos and Herodian read πεντάκόσιοι, and so Ludwich. La Roche has 700. ἐπτακοσίων Chios 174 C 18, 21. δκτακοσίων Chios 174 C 23, Aiolic δκτωκόσιοι. 900. Elva K 0σίων Chios 174 D 2, είνακόσια Hdt. II 145 (cf. Hom. είνατος). Here R has $\ell \nu \nu \alpha$ - and so Rd in II 13. 1000, &c. χιλίους 1 Thas. 7214, χΕΙλίων Chios 174 D 2, 12, C 17, 23, δισχΕΙλίων Chios 174 C 20, τρισχΕλίων Chios 174 C 25, τρισχίλια Hdt. I 50, πεντακισχΕΙλίων Chios 174 C 15, Hdt. πεντακισχίλια ΙΙ 145, &c. In Homer Aristarchos wrote ἐννεάχειλοι, δεκάχειλοι which would seem to be more in harmony with Ionic than ἐννεάχιλοι, δεκαχίλιοι². With χιλιαστύν Ephes. 147₂₀, Samos 221₃₀, cf. Methymian χέλληστυς. χιλιάδων in Hdt. II 28 is correct, not χιλιαδέων as Cdz in VII 29. 10,000. μυριάδες Hdt. VII 29.

Hdt. uses μηδαμός, οὐδαμός in the plural only (e.g. VI 103 οὐδαμαί). These stems are used in Attic for the construction of adverbs only. The neuter plural is used adverbially in Hdt. (as Halik. 23840) and the feminine is rare. μηδαμέας IV 114 in good MSS. (A B C) is an instance of the tendency of the scribes to inflect according to the -eo- or -nv- declensions. See above § 454

In composition with nouns the form of the cardinal is not preserved, Hdt. herein agreeing with Homer, e.g. διέτης, τριπάλαιστα, but τετραέτεα χρόνου

I 199. πέντε, έξ and είκοσι appear as πέντα-, έξα-, and είκοσα-.

The conjunction in Hdt. of smaller and larger numbers may be illustrated by the following: I 32 πεντήκοντα και διηκοσίων και έξακισχιλίων και δισμυρίων: 111 95 τάλαντα μύρια καὶ τετρακισχίλια καὶ πεντακόσια καὶ ἐξήκοντα. Ηἰρροκτ. VII 138 has τῆ πέμπτη καὶ ἔκτη ἐπὶ δέκα.

Patronymics.

572. The grammarians called -ιάδης an Ionic by-form of -ίδης, e.g. Gram. Par. p. 677 'Αμφιτρυωνιάδης, Greg. Kor. p. 487 Πηληϊάδου και Λαερτιάδου (sic). -ίδης is also recognized as Ionic, e.g. Greg. Kor. p. 460. Hdn. II 85825, An. Ox. IV 32627, Bekk. Anecd. II 850, call the patronymics in -ων Ionic. It is of

¹ The only attempt to explain the divergence between the ea and a forms sufficiently plausible to warrant mention, is that of Kretschmer, K. Z. XXIX 422. The forms in χίλοι are derived from *χισλοί, χείλιοι from *χέσλιοι. Aiolic is χέλλιοι, Lakon. χηλίοι.

2 Cf. Schol, Ven. A on Ξ 148, Schulze K. Z. XXIX 242.

Here -abios is called Aiolic (see under that dialect), -bys Common.

course not restricted to Ionic. The same dialect sometimes has both -ίδης and -ίων. Euboian Ἱππώνδης recalls the Boiotian -ωνδας. A unique patronymic is that in -αδευς occurring nowhere outside of Hipponax, who has Ἑρμῆ Μαιαδεῦ (frag. 16) = Μαιάδος Ἑρμῆ (21 A). Εὐρυμεδοντιάδες (accusative) appears in hexameters (85). It may be observed that the ending -κλίδης may be derived from clip-names in -κλος, e.g. ᾿Αριστοκλίδης Styra 1912; Παρμενίδης owes its -ίδης to the analogy of Παρμονίδης. Παρμενείδης occurs (but not on Ionic inscriptions). For the heavier -είδης we not unfrequently find the lighter -ίδης substituted. In masculines derived from ηνstems we expect to find -ηίδης, -είδης, in feminines -ηις (-ης). On Σελληίδεω and Βασιληίδεω see §§ 233, 235, on Νηιρείδων § 233.

THE VERB.

573.] The Dual.

Conjecture as to whether the dual in Homer is Ionic rather than Aiolic must be barren of result. In the most ancient period of the cultivation of the epos the dual was alive in both dialects; but in early post-Homeric times in Ionic it had passed out of ordinary use. It occurs but once (No. 265) in an inscription dating from about 460 B. C.: Κριτίος και Νησιώτης εποιησάτην. Though the dedicator of the memorial, Hegelochos, was either an Euboian or an Ionian of one of the Kyklades, there is nothing to compel us to assume that the artists were also Ionians. The inscription was found near the Parthenon and the alphabet is Old Attic, though the dialect is Ionic. An indubitable example of the Ionic usage in the fifth century is the Parian inscription No. 59, in which there are two dedicators (εὐχσάμενοι στῆσαν). In post-Homeric Ionic literature there does not occur a single example of the occurrence of the dual of a verbal form.

The Syllabic Augment.

574.] This augment may be omitted in such Ionic poetry as has an epic colouring², but not in iambic verse. To the rule

¹ On the accent, see Göttling in Arch. Zeil., 1845, p. 96. The conjunction of Kritics and Nesiotes is attested in two other inscriptions in which δυσερσάτην occurs. See Brunn, Geschichts der gr. Künstler, p. 74.

sarms occurs. See Brunn, Geschichte der gr. Künstler, p. 74.

The examples in the grammarians of the so-called omission of the syllable augment are either drawn from Homer outright and usually called Ionic and poetic at least in the later grammarians), or tacitly regarded as epic. Cf.

that in prose only pluperfects and iteratives may omit the augment $\chi\rho\hat{\eta}\nu$ is but an apparent exception. It is derived from $\chi\rho\hat{\eta}+\hat{\eta}\nu=\chi\rho\epsilon\hat{\omega}$ $\hat{\eta}\nu^1$ and $\hat{\epsilon}\chi\rho\hat{\eta}\nu$ is an analogical formation.

The omission of the augment in Homer, notwithstanding the treatises by Grashof, Poehlmann, M. Schmidt, La Roche, Koch, Skerlo, and Molhem, has been generally regarded as practically subject to no rule. Latterly Mr. Arthur Platt has shown (Journal of Philology XIX 211) that, when the aorist is employed to denote the immediate past or in its gnomic use, the forms with the augment are much more frequent. The imperfects in narration are often devoid of the augment. M. Schmidt (Philologus IX 426 ff.) endeavoured to establish the procedure of Aristarchos, who, he maintains, omitted the augment of verbs beginning with λ and $\tau \rho$; when $\tau \epsilon \hat{v} \xi \epsilon$, $\tau l \kappa \tau \epsilon$, $\delta \hat{\omega} \kappa \epsilon$ stand after the second foot; when a noun precedes whose ending is a (except neut pl in $-\epsilon a$, and $-\epsilon a$ usually); and when the verb is preceded by a preposition with anastrophe.

1. In prose inscriptions this augment is never omitted.

2. In the following metrical inscriptions this augment is omitted: κίχε Amorgos 34 (but ἔθηκε in l. 2), [ἔ]τευξε Erythrai 200, στῆσαν Paros 59. These inscriptions are epigrams. In Halik. 241, after a dedication in prose, we read ποίησεν Μακεδών Διονυσίου Ἡρακλεώτης. Boeckh read ἐ]ποίησεν, but, apart from the objection to this conjecture because of the unusual position of the verb in a prose inscription, the omission of the augment in artists' signatures is not unknown, even when it does not constitute a part of an hexameter. Μαχάτας πόησε in C. I. G. 1794α (cf. δ) precedes an epigram. We find ἐποίησεν in an hexametrical inscription containing the signature of Alxenor (no. 26).

575.] The syllabic augment is omitted in the lyric poets as follows: A. Elegiac (by imitation of epic models).

Kall. 1,5 μοῦρα κίχεν, Tyrt. 58 φεῦγον (in the first foot), Mimn.

Apollonios de Pronom. 113 C, Ptolemy cited by Hdn. II 28₁ = schol. Ven. A on A 464, II 34₁₂ = schol. Ven. A on B 427, Hdn. II 1251₃ (from περl παθῶν) where the omission of the augment is referred to the Ionians and not merely to the poets. That Herodian maintained the view (different from that of Apollonios) that the omission of the augment was poetic, not Ionic, cannot be proved. It is quite true however that he does not call the phenomenon in question either Ionic or poetic, and that most of the passages in Lentz edition ascribing it to the Ionians do not mention Herodian's name outright. Joh. Gr. 241, 242, Greg. Kor. p. 404, Gram. Meerm. 654, Aug. 669, Vat. 699, Paris. 675 (An. Bachm. II 365₉), An. Ox. I 310₂₁, 334₁₅, 374₂₃, 433₄, II 359₁₃, 412₂₄, IV 176₁₃, 185₂₃; An. Par. III 120₃, 134₁₆, 137₁₉, 138₂, 183₂₄, 304₂₁, 441₂, IV 219₂₃, 223₁; Choirob. 513₁₀π, 556₂₆, 595₂₃, 609₂₂, 633₂₃ (=An. Ox. IV 418₂₃), 637₂₃, 701₁₇, 909₁₀; Et. M. 338₄₇; in the scholiast Ven. A we find the remark 'Apiσταρχοs' 'Ιακῶν or its equivalent on A 160, 374, 464, B 35, 427 (cf. A 464), 682, 751, Γ 415, Δ 109, 517, Z 155, 157, 186, K 540, E 285, O 601, Π 120, 207, 290, 379, Σ 549, T 156, Φ 84, Ψ 455, Ω 648; in the following passages no mention is made of Aristarchos: H 428, A 28, M 420, E 114, Ψ 440 = Hdn. II 122₂₃, schol. P, Q on η 239 = Hdn. II 147₁, &c. Cf. also Eust. 72₄₆, 1759₇, and Tzetzes Ex. II. 73₂, 74₁₄, 88₂, cf. 103₁₉, Drakon 160₂₃, cf. 155₂₂.

Cf. Ahrens Kleine Schriften I 24.

1411 αὐγῆσιν φέρετ', Sol. 429 ὑπέρθορεν, Phok. 31 τῶνδε γένοντο (where Stobaios' B has ἐγένοντο), Theog. 5 θεὰ τέκε, 10 γήθησεν (first foot), 196 τλήμονα θῆκε, 123 ποίησε, 206 ὑπερκρέμασεν (80 Bergk, ὑπεκρέμασεν Ο, ἐπεκρέμασεν other MSS.), 266 φθέγγετ', 463 θεοὶ δόσαν, 1101 δστις σοι βούλευσεν . . . καί σ' ἐκέλευσεν, 1108 γενόμην, 1319 τοι δῶκε; and in Archil. κάλλιπον 62.

B. Iambographic 1 (including all of Archilochos).
 κάλλιπον Archil. 62. λίπε is not objectionable in Archil. epod.
 114:

πεντήκοντ' ἀνδρῶν λίπε Κοίρανον ήπιος Ποσειδῶν since the verse is an ἐξάμετρον περιττοσυλλαβές. Frag. 186 consists merely of the words δξύη ποτᾶτο, which may be written δξύη 'ποτᾶτο as ἄτη 'κιχήσατο (731 tetr.) for the unaugmented form². Even in prose inscriptions we find 's, 'λάσσονες. Archilochos elsewhere retains the augment (291, 293, 33, 34, 35, 52). καὶ πονήσατο in Sim. Am. 745 was cured by Ahrens' κάπονήσατο. In a fragment ascribed by some to Xenophanes, Bergk (F. L. G. II, p. 116) writes βληστριζόμην contrary to the MSS. The word seems confined to Ionic (Hippokrates and Aretaios use it), but the verse is suspected; cf. § 565.

φύγον in Anakr. 29 is nothing but a conjecture for φείγω in order to harmonize the metre of 29 with 28, i.e. choriambic dimeter + first pherecratic.

On iteratives in poetry, see § 576, 2.

576.] In prose the syllabic augment is omitted only in the case of pluperfects and iteratives³. As stated in § 574 $\chi\rho\bar{\eta}\nu$ is not an exception. It is more frequent in literature from the time of Herodotos, and in that author occurs oftener than $\epsilon\chi\rho\bar{\eta}\nu$. The latter form should have been adopted by Stein in II 173, where it is supported by ABR. In III 52 $\epsilon\chi\rho\bar{\eta}\nu$ is found in all MSS.

Lukian is the only pseudo-Ionist who might be thought to have attempted to omit the syllabic augment under other circumstances. In Syris des 19 and 22 Jacobitz adopts Alggero (in both cases after a vowel). In § 19 E has the correct form & Alggero. In § 25 we find obligate, in § 45 dranters in AE, dranters in Vatic. 90, the reading adopted by Jacobitz, in the other MSS, the correct dranters. Even the pluperfects in Lukian retain the augment, and in no case may the augmentless forms be accepted as representing older Ionic prose usage, or in fact anything more than vicious theorizing on the part of a copyist.

 $^{^1}$ Cf. Hdn. II 497₁₁: παρὰ τοῖς laμβσγράφοις . . . οὐ δεῖ διὰ τοῦ <math>ε γράφειν αὐτό (εlδον), ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ει διφθ. μόνον.

² The form dτη is here the shorter form of adτη, which should not in § 261 have been mentioned as possible. Cf. Aesch. Suppl. 106, Agam. 730. Hesychica has κατέβασκε κατέβλαψεν. The initial a of af dτη is prosthetic.

Other cases of omitted syllabic augment are errors, even when supported by all the MSS., e.g. Hdt. I 208 dfarsgapes.

 Pluperfect. In Herodotos according to Lhardy's count¹ there are 162 cases of the presence of the augment, 31 where it is omitted. From the latter number, Stein deducts all but the following seven, which are found in all MSS.: ἀναβεβήκεε I 84, ἀναβεβήκεσαν VII 6, τετελευτήκεε I 165, καταλελοίπεε III 61. καταλέλειπτο VII 170, δέδοκτο IX 74, παρατετάχατο VIII 95. Whether even these are correct may well be doubted. Other editors are not so rigorous as Stein in excluding the unaugmented forms,

The repugnance of the Kown to augmented pluperfects may explain some of the omissions in the MSS, of Attic prose literature. There is not a single example of the loss of the syllabic augment in the pluperfect in any Attic inscription.

2. Iteratives2. In the case of iteratives no augment was necessary. They were preterites differing from other verbal forms in having no present with a distinct iterative force and no mood form other than the (past) indicative. In the post-Homeric poetry which was composed by Ionians we find two cases of the preservation of the iterative: ἔσκεν in Mimn. 1410 (also Homeric) and θύεσκε in Hipponax 372. The presence of the latter form in trimeter is proof that the Ionians did not cast aside this peculiar formation which all the other dialects found too cumbersome, and that the forms in Ionic prose are not mere reproductions of epic diction. Doubtless the fondness of the epic dialect for the iterative aided in part its revival in the fifth century, but the forms had not died out at that period. The post-Homeric prose iterative is a strongly marked Ionism. While New Ionic did not utterly abandon the iteratives formed from the second aorist active stem, it avoided those of the sigmatic aorist and second agrist passive. The iterative in post-Homeric Ionic is confined to Ω verbs.

Examples from Herodotos, &c. (1) Imperfects: ἔσκον, ἔχεσκε (so IV 200 for ήχεσκε), and in about twenty other verbs. χρηίσκοντο (by conjecture in III 117 for -ται) and δουρέσκετο III 119 are the only middle forms. Lukian Syr. dea 22 has κλαίεσκε. (2) Aorists: λάβεσκου IV 78 and 130. καταλίπεσκε is preferable to καταλείπεσκε in IV 78.

In some MSS, the augment occurs, e.g. I 100 (C P είσεπέμπεσκον), IV 78 (R έποιεσκε), IV 78 (R καταλείπεσκε, A B κατελίπεσκε); in IV 130 all the MSS. have €λάβεσκον.

¹ Quaestionum de dialecto Herod., chapter II.

² The grammarians regard the iterative forms as Ionic only. Cf. Hdn. I 535₂₆ = II 38₁₂ = II 792₁₆ (Schol. Ven. A on B 832), ετασκεν II 49₂₄ = 210₁₃ (Schol. Ven. A on E 256), cf. 496₂₆; Choirob. 632₂₆ (cf. An. Ox. IV 418₂₂), An. Ox. I 309₁₈, 376₁₄, 385₁, where it is stated that δίπτασκεν and ξχεσκει are not Ionic but poetic; An. Par. IV 219₂₆, Et. M. 284₂₅, 295₁₂, 381₂₆, 624₂₁, Et. Gud. 428₂₆. Drakon 43s.

577. The augment with η .

The forms ηβουλόμην, ηδυνάμην, ήθελον are called Ionic in An. Ox. II 37422. Of these forms ήθελον occurs in Homer, where it is from εθέλω², θέλω being found in o 317, possibly in A 277, and occasionally in the hymns 3. Hippokr. III 90 has ήθελες, cf. § 588. Homer has εμελλον. In M 34 Zenodotos wrote cf. § 588. Homer has ἔμελλου. In M 34 Zenodotos wrote ημελλου. In an elegy attributed to Theognis we find (v. 906) ημελλ', and in another probably not composed by the Megarian poet occurs (v. 259) ημέλλησα (so A, ημέλησα O, and δη μέλλησα in most of the MSS., a form that may be adopted). Perhaps the η -forms are an echo of those appearing in Hesiod's Theogony, as Renner suggests, though it is doubtful whether they are a part of the older epic dialect. Fick (Hesiod's Gedicate. p. 21) endeavours to displace ημελλου by transposition and other means4. In a very late hexametrical poem on the death of a child, found at Smyrna (C. I. G. 32727), we read ημελλεν. ημελλον is certainly fifth century Attic, as it appears twice in Aristophanes where the metre (anapaestic) calls for the i-form. η- Hippokr. In Herodotos we find ξμελλον, ξβουλόμην. In the case of divapar there is some evidence for the 3- forms. Stein and Holder adopt houvearo IV 185, IX 70, but couvearo IV 110 (MSS. $\vec{\eta}$ -) and the $\vec{\epsilon}$ - forms elsewhere. In at least thirteen passages there is no variant $\vec{\eta}$ - form, which is elsewhere supported by some MSS., e.g. in I 10 (R b d). ηδυνάμην is however Hippokratic: II 686, 712, III 36, 38, 58, 120, IV 256, V 430, &c., and ἠδυνήθην appears in Prometh. 206; Herodotos has ἐδυνάσθην, never ήδ-, despite R in VII 106. In Attic inscriptions ήδυνάμην and ήβουλόμην are posterior to 284 B.C.

In no Attic inscription do we find an example of ημελλον, and in Attic poetry there is no certain case of ήβουλόμην.

On the augment of verbs which once had f, see § 582.

The Temporal Augment.

The omission of this augment is regarded as Ionic by the grammarians 5, who cite only Homeric forms.

But of. East. 1523a.
The η of ηδυνάμην, ηβουλόμην, ημελλον is merely an analogue of that of ηθολον. Of this verb there were three forms θέλω, δθέλω, ηθέλω, in which the η is a preposition (cf. δφελος, ώφελέω). The η form was cast off except in the

Bee Eberhard's Die Sprache der homerischen Hymnen, I 12.

¹ In 478 Fick reads walker referred fueble for walker fueble rentered; 888 3) δρ' Γμέλλε for 34 ρ' ήμελλε; but 898, where the verse begins ήμελλεν τέξοσθα, is difficult to correct. The last verse is certainly later than the genuine Hesind.

Joh. Gr. 240 B, 242, Greg. Kor. § 23, Hdn. II 28,=3454 (on A 464), 3418 (on B 427) in Schol. Ven. A; cf. also schol. on A 213 and N 383 (Deco),

578.] Inscriptions.

In prose inscriptions the temporal augment is preserved except in ἐργάσατο Ephesos 146, an inscription of the fourth century, and ἐργάσαντο No. 263, an Ionic inscription found in Lykia¹. In Rhegion 54, where we find ΕΥξάμην, which may be either ηὐσο εὖσ, the Herodoteian form with εὖσ (I 48, IV 76) may be adopted. In Attic inscriptions ηὖσ is the preferable form before 300 B.C. In the same document from Rhegion, Ελθον is ἡλθον. In Teos 1594, an inscription that has lost almost all traces of Ionic, we find ἐπωκοδομήθη. Is this an error of the stone-cutter or are we to read ἐποικσ as in Hdt. and occasionally in Attic in the perfect participle (at least in Makedonian times)? An Ephesian inscription (Brit. Mus. III 2, 449) has συνδιοίκησεν.

In metrical inscriptions the augment is preserved (Amorg. 35).

 $\epsilon \pi \eta \nu \omega \rho \theta \omega \theta \eta$ in an inscription from Mykonos of the Makedonian period (Ditt. Syll. 3734) is an interesting form since no certain example of the double augment in $\partial \nu \rho \rho \theta \delta \omega$ occurs on Attic inscriptions. Whether this form is Ionic or Attic must be left undecided. Latyschev, B. C. H. XII 460, calls for $\epsilon \pi \eta \nu \rho \rho \theta \omega \theta \eta$.

ἀνάλωσα (Hellenistic) is found in Amorgos, B. C. H. VIII 45016 (third century B. c.). Cf. ἀνάλωμα Thasos 7211.

Verbs that have lost an initial σ have el—e.g. ΕΙχον Halik. 23820, ΕΙχεν 24020

579.] Lyric Poets.

The temporal augment is omitted in the lyric põets as follows:

A. Elegiac (in imitation of Homer). Tyrt. 4_1 οἴκαδ' ἔνεικαν by conj. (Hdt. has ἤνεικαν &c.); Mimn. 9_4 ἐζόμεθ' as always in the form with no preposition, 11_4 καλὸν ἄκοντο, 14_2 οἴ μιν ἴδον (Α εἶδον); Solon 4_{29} εὖρε; Theog. 16 καλὸν ἄείσατ', 208 ἔζετο, 226 ἄδον, 542 ὅλεσεν, 831 ὅλεσσα (O ὥλεσ'), 1115 μοι ὀνείδισας Bergk (vulgo μ' ἀνείδισας with a double accus. after the verb or an elided μοι), 606 ἔθελον from ἐθέλω (see on ἐθέλω, § 588). In 951 ἀλάπαξα is the preferable form because of Λ 750, ρ 424, but ἐλάπαξα the reading of O is not impossible, as λαπάσσω was used by Aischylos and Hippokr. V 176, 628, Aret. 281.

Δ 329, 367, K 252, 359, T 259, Ψ 691, Aristarchos adopting the unaugmented forms; An. Ox. I 316₁₀, 3954 (Ἰωνικῶs ἡ ποιητικῶs), III 260₁₉ (Hdn.), 266₁₈ (Hdn.), IV 176₁₀, 178₂₀, 185₂₈; An. Par. III 258₃, IV 219₂₃, 222₄; Choirob, 513₂₂ Ἰων. ἡ ποιητικῶs as 519₆, 591₂₉, 593₉, 556₂₆, 633₃₃ = An. Ox. IV 418₂₀ (cf. Choirob.909₁₀), 701₁₇; Et. M. 12₄₀, 23₄₅ (Ἰων. καὶ ποιητ.), 332₃₁ (ἔλκε), 617₄₈; Eust. 42₄₆, 72₄₇, 380₂₃, 646₈, 922₄₈, 1522₄₃, 1759₇; Tzetz. Ex. II. 73₄, 83₂₅, 105₁₈, 117₆ and on Hsd. Theog. 555, W. D. 79; Max. Plan. in An. Bachm. II 56₁₈.

¹ In Attic inscriptions of the classical period ἡργαζόμην, ἡργασάμην are the correct forms (κατειργάσθησαν C. I. A. II 809 b, 117 from 325 B.C. and ἐπειργάσαντο in Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1884, 169–170, l. 21 from the second century A. D. are

In Attie inscriptions of the classical period ηργαζόμην, ηργασάμην are the correct forms (κατειργάσθησαν C. I. A. II 809 b, 117 from 325 B.C. and ἐπειργάσωντο in Ἐρημ. ἀρχ. 1884, 169-170, l. 21 from the second century A. D. are the only exceptions). This shows that the augment was η not ε. The perfect είργασμαι is correct in the classical period of Attic. In Oropos Ἐρημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 71 ff. l. 17 we find ἐξείργασμαι; Hdt. ἔργασμαι.

Elsewhere we find the augment retained: ψχετο Mimn. 11, Theog. 1137, 1292.

B. Iambographic. Though we find evoc in Hipponax 51, the support for Bergk's συνοίκησας in 12 and οίκει in 47 is very weak. Codex Marc. has συνοικήσας (sic), the vulgate being συνψκησας, and there is no authority for ofker whatever. I should have no hesitation in adopting the augmented forms. In Herodas 42 we have $\psi \kappa \eta \kappa \alpha s$, but $\epsilon \tilde{\nu} \rho \epsilon \delta_{85}$, $\delta \tilde{\iota} \chi \omega \kappa \epsilon \nu 2_{87}$. In Sim. Am. 24 for Bergk's ἄφευσα (in the text) read ἀφεῦσα.

Where two consonants follow: Archil. tetr. 67 σὰ γὰρ δὴ παρὰ φίλων ἀπάγχεο from Arist. Pol. VII 6, 3. Here P4 has άπάγχετο, P_b άπήγχεο, $Sb\ Vb$ άπέγχεο, and P_1 άπάγχεαι which we may adopt though the quotation is too fragmentary to permit a certain restoration 1. In Sim. Am. 1,8 dwarro is Bergk's reading though Stobaios' B has ήψαντο, cf. Hdt. I 19. Solon tetr. 35₂ has έρδον (ξερδον in Arist. 'Αθ. πολ. 11).

The augmented forms appear in Sim. Amorg. 17 ηλσάμην, Archil. ep. 104, ήθροίζετο, tetr. 73 ήμβλακου, Hippon. 42, απηνα- $\rho l\sigma\theta\eta$, &c. Not even in Hdt. do all verbs with two consonants omit the temporal augment. The poets claim an equal licence. Renner thinks that Solon in his καθηψάμην tetr. 323 follows the lines of his native Attic. But it is not certain that Herodotos rejects the augment in $\delta \pi \tau \omega$ (cf. I 176). Where a long syllable is necessary (παρήγαγεν Archil. tetr. 784, ἀφείλετο Sim. Amorg. 92, ἀνείλου Solon tr. 364, είχου Hippon. tetr. 81, ωπασεν Sim. Amorg. 77.) the temporal augment is not omitted. On karnuli- $\sigma\theta\eta\nu$ Hipponax tr. 63_2 , Renner remarks that the augment $\eta\nu$ is an indication of the Ionic fondness for η . But in Herodotos many opportunities for no- from av- verbs are neglected, and evis the almost universal form in the MSS. in the case of verbs beginning with ev.

580. Herodotos.

In the majority of verbs the augment is preserved, but (1) in certain cases it is never found, (2) in certain others it is omitted in isolated forms only, and (3) in others it is at times present, at times omitted. The other dialects evidence the fact that the demonstrative particle utilized to give expression to past time was recognized more and more as an integral part of the verbal form. Even in the domain of the poetry which succeeded to the epos the licence to omit the augment was restricted, and only upon certain definite occasions was its absence permissible. The latitude to be discerned in the MSS. of Herodotos is quite exceptional. A minimum variation is no doubt supported by the

¹ Bergk himself suggests that the imperative drayges is correct. H h 2

analogy of other dialects, e.g. Attic in its treatment of verbs beginning with a diphthong, but such laxity as the presence or absence of the augment in such verbs as ἄγω is exceedingly

strange.

Various causes may have contributed to this laxity: the view that Herodoteian Ionic was not radically dissimilar to Homeric Ionic, the growth of the historical present in the fifth century, which, by causing the imperfect to be assimilated in form to the present, may have fostered such forms as $\partial \mu \epsilon i \beta \epsilon \tau o$, and the objection to diphthongs whose first member was a long vowel. Thus ai, av, ϵv , &c., in Hdt. may be normal developments of primitive ai, av, ϵv , and not augmentless forms at all. But the repugnance to these initial diphthongs, it must be confessed, is more strongly marked in non-Ionic dialects, notably North-West Greek.

For the considerable diversity of opinion between scholars 1 as to the freedom in the treatment of the augment by Herodotos, the confusion of his MSS. is responsible. So great is this confusion, which must have existed in the archetypal MS., that the following summary can make no pretence to reproduce the usage of fifth century Ionic, or in fact claim to do more than record the testimony of the MSS.

All verbs except iteratives ($\delta \gamma \epsilon \sigma \kappa \sigma \nu$) and those mentioned below accept the temporal augment, e.g. $\epsilon i \chi \sigma \nu$, $\eta \sigma a \nu$, $\eta \lambda a \sigma a$, $\eta \rho \eta \mu \omega \tau \sigma$. On the augment of verbs once beginning with F, see

\$ 582.

Verbs beginning with A. (1) Unaugmented are αγινέω, ἀεθλέω, ἀλυκτάζω, άμαυρόω, άμείβομαι (but ἡμείψατο in all MSS. IV 97, cf. v. l. VI 68, VII 109, &c.). ἀνώγω, (κατ)αργυρόω, ἀρρωδέω. With but two exceptions these verbs have a liquid or a nasal after the initial vowel. (2) Variable are dydaloua, dyyela, άλίζω, άλλάσσω, άνδρουμαι, άντιάζω, άπειλέω, άπτω, άρμόζω, άρτέομαι, άσπάζομαι (3) Unaugmented only in certain forms are αγορεύω (προαγόρευε), άγω (άχθη). άγωνίζω (άγωνίδαται), άνδραποδίζω (άνδραποδισμένους), άριθμέω (άριθμέοντο), άρτη-E. (1) Unaugmented are forder, μαι (ἀρτέαται), ἄρχω (ἀργμένος, κατάρχοντο). έσθέω, έζομαι, έω, έθελοκακέω, έρδω, έτεροιόω, έτοιμάζω, έλινόω, έξεμπολέω and the pluperfect of ἴστημι. ἐργάζομαι may belong here though there is evidence in favour of the augmented form, see § 582. Hdt. has έωθα, not είωθα. (2) Variable are έλευθερόω, επείγομαι, επίσταμαι, έργω, ανέχομαι (ήνεσχόμην and ανεσχόμην). (3) Unaugmented only in certain forms are έλκω (ἀνελκυσμένας), έπω (περιέφθησαν), έψω (ἀπεψημένος) 2. Ο. (I) Unaugmented are δδοιπορέω, δρμέω, δρμίζω, δρτάζω, and δφελον (but cf. the v. l. I 111, III 65). (2) Unaugmented only in certain forms is δρμάω (δρμημένος, δρμέαται, δρμέατο). Al. Unaug-

Abicht in Philologus XI 275 ff. held that in verbs beginning with as, es, as, ev, or omission is the rule. With this Curtius (Verbum I 139 Germ. ed.) agreed; while Dindorf combatted the neglect of the augment even before diphthongs.
In Hippokrates II 254 A has ἡψῆσθαι; in VIII 192 ἐψημένος is correct.

mented are διαιτώμαι, αlvéω (but παρήνει IX 122), alpéω (but έξηρέθησαν in VII 106), αλτίω, δναισιμόω, προαιδέσμαι. The second agrist of αλσθάνομαι appears once (VII 220), and with the augmented form which is not in harmony with the above. exate or rather exque, has expec IX 93. AY. (I) Unaugmented is évalu. (2) Variable are étavaire 1, abrepodée (abide is augmented). (3) Without the augment only in certain forms are ablaw (aftero, aftern). El. Unaugmented are eladio, elpou, elpordo, elponas. Only in the case of the genuine diphthong would nl- have been possible. EY. Unaugmented all verbs except esse which has notor I 211 (A B, 40- R with es written above, eblor(C), ηble III 69 in all MSS. Homer uses only the unaugmented form. ev does not appear as in Attic as the augment of av verbs. we is rare in Attic, a fact that at least in part may be ascribed to the ever-growing objection to OY. obpice contains a spurious diphthong and obvention is this diphthong. Ol. is always unaugmented. incorrect.

581.] The temporal augment in other Ionic proce writers. On verbs beginning with F, see § 582.

Hippokrates follows the Attic norm, e.g. hofaro II 604, 684, 708, ήρξαυτο ΙΙ 642, ΙΙΙ 80, παρήνεου ΙΙ 226, ήμορράγησε ΙΙ 644 (ήμ- in AC, alμ- vulgo), ηνδρώθη V 356, ήπτετο III 98, παρωξύνθη II 686 (r. l. -oξ-), III 24, 34, 62, ήλγει (-εε) II 708, III 52, ωνόμασεν III 232. On ηδυνάμην, see § 577. For ελύτρωται IV 190 of many MSS., the vulgate is ελλ-, which we may correct to $\epsilon l\lambda$. The unaugmented form appears to be due to association with the following ελύτροισι. Demokritos 12 has εὐρέθη. A noteworthy form is ηκηκόει Hippokr. VII 490. From αναλόω we find in the same writer ἀνήλωμαι VII 514, 588, ἦναλώθην V 122, 126, but ἀνάλωμαι VII 574, ἀνάλωτο I 594.

Of the pseudo-Ionists Lukian alone (except Aretaios who has έλε 43, -αιωρηται 111) neglects the temporal augment. In the Syria dea we find διαιτέοντο 26 (Dindorf -ητ-), αὐλίζοντο, έλπετο, άπτετο, αναίνετο 22 (which contains ήδέετο and ώμολόγεεν), αμείβετο 18, οἰκοδόμεον 21, αρχετο 21, 24, αρξατο 17, έχε 17, 24 (είχε 45), έχετο 17, δρρώδεε 19, 21, συνενείχθη 2**7 (ήνεικε** 22, 25), έσαν 3, αἴτεε 25. Arrian 28, has εἴων.

582.] The Augment and Reduplication of verbs once beginning with Digamma.

Excluded from this list are verbs whose presents have beyond doubt accepted a fixed adulterine ει, ε. g. εἰρύω, εἰρωτάω. In this section are included verbs from Herodotos, Hippokrates and other sources.

άγνομι. κατήξα in Hippokr. V 224 recalls if ε in ¥ 392, τ 539, for which lafe? must be substituted; cf. afar with a taken from the indicative lafa.

In Attic we find both abalvere and phairdup. Hdt. has dearded IV 151 but elyapre IV 173. Abicht augments in each case.

³ Zenodotos read ente, cf. e 316.

Though afa becomes ā in Ionic, a form κατήγγυμαι was invented to give a supposed Ionic colouring to κατάγνυμαι which was regarded as Attic only. This κατήγνυμαι appears in κατάγνυται Hippokr. III 556, κατηγνύμενα III 506 (v. l. κατεηγμένα, an unusual form for Hippokrates, who uses κατεηγότα). Elsewhere Hippokr. adopts κατάγνυμαι, ε. g. IV 278, ἀπάγνυμαι III 558, οτ καταγνύμ VII 530; though κάτηγμα III 498, 500, IV 154, 164, VI 118, 134, 150 and κάτηξις III 494, IV 118, 170, and not the a forms, are employed. The perfect is into found in κατέηγε Hippokr. III 428, 492, 506, VI 150, κατεηγώς Hdt. VII 224 Hippokr. III 442, 500, IV 130, 200, 278, 282 where the MSS. often have the Attic ā. The feminine must have had η not a. In Phoinix of Kolophon apud Athen. XI 495 E = Schneidewin Del. 34, κατηγυίης (Porson for και τηγυίης AB) recalls forms that occur in the MSS. of Hippokrates. Littré edits kareαγυΐα in III 426 where several MSS, have καταγυΐαν, MN -ηγυΐαν, IV 158 where H alone has κατεαγυίης, BCE &c. κατηγυίης, Ο καταγυίης (κάτηγα quoted by Veitch from Kühn 3, 75). Aor. pass. ἐᾶγην. In Homer we find ἐᾶγη οr ᾶγη except in Λ 559, where the MSS, have ἀμφίς ἐάγη. The substitution by Bekker of àμφl ἐάγη, perf. subj., (cf. Ahrens, Formenlehre, § 197, note 1) still leaves the text encumbered with an Attic (or Aiolic?) a that is found in Hesiod W. D. 534 (νῶτα ἔᾶγε, Bentley νῶτ' ἐάγη, though he made no further conjecture to bring this into the verse). The Ionic form would be 24yp. Confusion between perfect active and agrist passive led to the construction of such augmented forms as κατεηγή Hippokr. III 428, κατεαγή IV 220 (-ηγή M N, -εηγή B). κατεαγή IV 118 (-αγή CO), κατεαγείς IV 132, 172 (καταγέν C), 324, 346 (Littré). καταγή is well supported, IV 126, 168, 158 (FE J -εαγή), καταγείσα IV 164, καταγείσης IV 148, καταγείσαν IV 154 in many MSS, but rejected by Littre. καταγείσα IV 166 in CKN (Littré -εαγείσα), καταγείη IV 128 vulgo (Littré -εαγείη with H), καταγή IV 120 many MSS. (Littré -εαγή), III 442 rulgo (Littré -ηγή). άλίσκομαι. ήλίσκετο Hdt. VII 181, and II 174 (MSS. καταλand κατηλ-); ήλω I 78 (so always in Hdt.) and χ 230, the only indicative form in Homer (ἐάλω?). In Hdt, IV 127 δείσαντες μή ἀλώη (in A B P) ή καρή, the adoption of the Homeric form was aided by the following %. Read and (I 84, ef. II 93). Bekker's άλψη, found in Aldus and perhaps in C, is not defensible. In Hippokr. VII 284 we find ἐάλω, the Attic form < ἡάλω. Hipponax (frag. 74) has an indisputable case of αλώναι, the only occurrence of this form in literature. Its a might have been borrowed from the indicative taxur. though that form is not attested in Ionic sources. axwas recalls axore in Ε 487: μή πως ώς άψισι λίνου άλοντε πανάγρου. Here the v. l. λίνοιο removes the difficulty as regards quantity, but creates the worst possible caesura1. ήλωκα is better supported in Hdt. than ἐάλωκα: ήλώκοι I 83, ήλώκεσαν I 84. VIII 61, ήλωκώς Ι 78, ήλωκέναι Ι 70, but έάλωκε Ι 209, έαλωκότων and -κότας Ι 191 (read ήλ-). Arrian 1310 has ξαλωκότας. ἀνάλίσκω (ἀναλόω Hippokr. II 50 where Galen has αναλίσκεται, VII 588 with αναλίσκομαι twice on the same page). In VII 514, 588 we find ἀνήλωται, in V 122 κατηναλώθη, 126 κατηναλώθησαν as IX 178, 180. ανάλωσα Amorgos B. C. H. VIII 450,6 (third century B. c.) is an Hellenistic form often found in the MSS. of Attic writers. Attic inscriptions always have n. aνδάνω. In Hdt. IX 5, 19 we find έἀνδανε, the form to be substituted for invoave a 25, y 143; but in VII 172, VIII 28 invoave in almost all MSS. As both forms cannot well coexist, I should adopt fireare

¹ The attempts to cure this verse are enumerated by Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 236.

(cf. 0 674). The open form derived its existence from the belief that Herodoteian Ionic was like Homeric Ionic in its preference for open 🚓 and perhaps also to the presence of fader. fade Hdt. I 151, IV 201, VI 106, day I 133, &c. Hipponax 100 has above with the lenis, which is supported by dredres Hippokr. II 230, desir Hdt. III 45 in ds. In Homer we find the non-Ionic éditors in I 173= \$\sigma 422\$. With some, cf. Homeric adjustres from addus. delia. είθισμαι Hippokr. IV 254, είθιστο II 294, είθίδαται twice in II 298 (in Δ) 800. Luba Hdt. I 133, II 91, IV 134, dubás I 34, 111, for elliquéroi elgl. III 27, 31, 160ea I 73, III 31, IV 127, 134, VI 107. Homer has eluda and two each twice, but only electis. Hippokr. has elect V 610, 718, VI 242, elser Hdt, I 68, II 148 (18er in PRs), elses elutés II 300 as in Attic. Hippokr. II 436, V 352, IX 230, #8ea Hdt. II 150, #8ee II 100, IX 94, swp8eare IX 58, #Secar VII 175, VIII 78. In I 45 Heide is supported by Ac Ps, but #See, the conjecture of H. Stephanus, is to be adopted. The pluperfect always has the augment: $\sigma vrel{\delta ee}$ VIII 113 in ABC is to be corrected (cf. VII 164). The epic heldns X 280, helder a 206 are certain cases of the augment q. Elsewhere elnálo. elnasor Hdt. III 133, elnasu II Homer has #8- as in New Ionic. 104, eleaqua II 182, III 28. Attic distinguished imperf. sor. (p., i.e. with augment η^1) from perf. (e1-). *clke. A sharp dividing line separates Herodotos from other Ionic writers in respect of the perfect of this verb. fours is found in Sim. Amorg. 74, Theog. 391, 525, Hippokr. II 24, 52, Anax. 11. dolkaσι Hippokr. II 12, 68, Herakl. 2, 3. doikds Anakr. 84, Hippokr. II 34, Diog. 6, dourvies Hippokr. II 58, dourvier Aret. 169. In Hdt. on the other hand, though force appears in the MSS. I 39, III 71, IV 31, 99, 132, VI 64, VII 18, the testimony in favour of the unreduplicated form is so strong as to justify the substitution of olka which is read in IV 82, III 71 (in R), eleare V 20, VII 162, olkası VII 106, olkas IV 180, olkas VI 125, I 155, &c. Eberhard adopts olads in Arrian 1310, not elads, as in 60, where the MSS. have decads. Hercher edited elads. For elads it is fitting, found in Hippokr. II 50, Hdt. has elke yield. elker Hdt. VIII 3, elfa IX 63, 106. olkós V 97. circy and dire. elpu say < fepim. elpyna Hdt. I 155, elpyna II 24, VIII 93, Hippokr. VIII 20, elpéara: Hdt. VII 81, elpyro VIII 26, elpyuéros Hippokr. VIII 20, elpédyr Hdt. IV 77, 156, and so elsewhere though the MSS. often have depotent or έρρέθην, Hippokr. V 196 προερρέθην; inf. βηθήναι Hdt. III 9, βηθείς I 91, &c. fut. ρηθήσομαι Hippokr. II 362. εΙρήσομαι is confined in Attic to the form εΙρήσεται, which occurs in Hdt. IV 16, Hippokr. I 596. The latter author has also the strange form elpησόμενος III 516 (where nine MSS, have βηθη-). thiorw. Traces of a form thiorw or rather thiorw appear in Hippokr. nevel to σεται II 470. For διεξελίσσουσι Hdt. IV 67, δνελιξάμενος II 95, the recent editors adopt the forms with et. There is but little doubt that the Herodoteian form was eldloom. Hippokr. has nareidfai VII 32, 42, 50, VIII 426, eikifas VIII 166 (6), ērekifasa VIII 168 (ērekifas 0), ērekifas VIII 172, Littrē (dreλίξας θ, dreλιξαμόνη -ei-θ) VIII 376, elλίχατο Hdt. VII 90; συνειλισθίντα [Three has lost σ not f, cf. suicus.] Hippokr. II 438. έλπίζω. Κλπιζον

¹ Other Attic verbs which have ει in imperfect and sorist according to tradition may in reality have had ψ; cf. An. Ox. IV 1792, which says that some wrote ξθιζον, ἡστίων. ἡθίζοντο is actually attested. εθθισται is the correct form in the perfect.

³ Eust. 1714, 1 το δε elevia ob naτά την δοτερον Ίωνικην γλώσσαν λόγοται. οί γαρ μεθ "Ομηρον, όν δηλοί και 'Ηρόδοτου, οίκδυ γράφουσι, και άπολοόθως και οίκυία, 'Αττικοί δε δοικόυ και δοικύα. Η ισποτ has δοικώς, είκως, είκως, είκως.

Hdt. VII 168, ἤλπισα VIII 24, ἡλπίζετο Hippokr. IX 320. ėμέω. Hues Hdt. VII 88, ημεσα Hippokr. II 696, VII 194 (not ημησα), εμημέκεε V 232. Εννυμι epyalouat. This verb is ήμφίεσμαι Hippokr. VII 456, ημφιέσθαι VI 76. probably unaugmented in Hdt. and inscriptions, § 578. In Hdt. I 185 A Bpr. have πργάζετο, είργ- the other MSS., I 93 εξηργάσαντο A, -ειργ- the other MSS., except Bpr. which has -εργ-, II 15 περιεργάζοντο d (cf. R), -ηργ-A Bt, -ειργ- Bm CP. Hippokrates does not omit the augment in κατειργάσατο II 58, Lukian Syr. dea 25 elpyágao, but epyágorto Astr. 23. espyagtas Hdt. III 155 is better supported than ἔργασται which Stein and Holder adopt, but in II 121 (ε), IX 45 έργασμαι is certainly correct. έργαστο I 179, έργασμένος V 53. Lukian Syr. dea 24 (MSS. είργ-), εξεργάσθη IV 179. It may be noted that έfεργάσατο Hermione, C.D.I. 3383, does not impeach the contention that digammated verbs may have had η as their augment. This Argolic form is simply a new formation from the present. έργω (Attic είργω). The correction of a few passages, e.g. Hdt. IV 69, IX 68, where the Attic form has crept in, will reinstate έργω in complete possession. Homeric έργω is never well supported in Hdt. ἔργω is augmented in ἐξείργον V 22, and receives no augment in Epyero IV 164 according to Stein (Cobet and Holder Epyero). In VII 197 Stein reads έργετο with A B, Holder είργετο with PRes, as I think correctly. In III 136 we read είρξε (CPd ερξε or έρξε), κατείρξαν V 63 (-ερξαν CPd). The perfect is ἀπεργμένος I 154, II 99, V 64, VI 79, the aor. pass. subj. is έρχθη in Hippokr. VIII 26, 36, according to Littré, where έρχθη is well supported (in 26 by C θ). ἔρδω. ἔρδον not ἔρδον Hdt. IX 103, ἔρξαν V 65, ἔοργε III 127, εόργεε I 127 not εώργεε with Rd. οίγνυμι. Hdt. άνοιξα IV 143, IX 118, and I 68, where all MSS. have ἀνφξα, ἄῖξα in Hippokr. V 144, Littré with some MSS., vulgo &ξε, cf. &ιξα Z 298, Ω 446. Hesychios cites a form ξφξεν with which cf. -έωξε Hippokr. VI 568. With ανέφγες, quoted from an inscription by Hdt. I 187, cf. ἀνέωγεν Π 221. This is the imperfect. The second perfect is found in Hippokr. VII 558 ἀνεψγασι; ὥικται occurs in Hrd. 435. οἰκέω. ὧκει? Hippon. 47, see § 579 B, Hippokr. II 666, 684, III 24, 128, ofkeov Hdt. I 57. οἴκησα ΙΙ 154, IV 105; φκηκας Hrd. 42; οἴκημαι Hdt. VII 22, 122; οἰκέαται Hdt. I 142, ολκημένος I 27, V 73, οίκητο Hdt. I 193. ἐψκεον appears in Littre's edition of the letters of Hippokrates, IX 406, where \$\$\tilde{\phi}\$keov is correct. Arrian οίκίζω. οίκισα Hdt. III 91, V 42; οίκισμαι IV 12, ενοικίσθην I 68. Arrian has συνώκισε Ι, ώκισμαι Ι, ψκισμένος Ι, 513, 104, 2210. οίκοδομέω. οίκοδόμεε Hdt. I 186, οίκοδόμεον VIII 71, οίκοδόμησε II 127, οίκοδόμηται I 181, οlκοδομήσατο III 10. οἰκοφθορέω. οἰκοφθόρησθε Hdt. VIII 142; cf. 144, οlνοχοέω. φνοχόει Anakr. 32. V 29, I 196. οίνόω. οίνωμένοι Hdt. V 18. οράω (ορέω). See § 582 end. ωρα III 72 and often in Hdt., κατώρα VII 208, έπώρα I 48. Sometimes there is a variation between ώρα and έώρα, e.g. I 11. 123, III 53, where the former form is to be adopted. Hippokrates' use of έώρα is undisputed (cf. II 708); Vita Hom. έωρᾶτο 5. δρῶμεν is read by Stein when the MSS. have ώρέωμεν, όρωμεν, όρέομεν, έωρωμεν. For έωρωμεν I 120 (v. l. έορ- in C) Lhardy conjectured ένωρῶμεν. ώρᾶτε VII 8. In the third plural the form is δp - not $\delta w p$ - (cf. v. l. V 91) whatever the termination (see under Contract verbs). In later Attic according to Photios Town was used.

¹ Homer has no trace of $food\omega$. f disappeared before an o sound at an earlier period than it did before other vowels. Ahrens *Philol.* XXXV 50, L. Meyer, K.Z. XXIII 49). Cf. the early loss of f in $-f\omega s$ of the perfect participle.

Perfect. δρηκα Hrd. 440 and δράρηκα 610, δωράκη Hippokr. V 720. In Dorie we find δρακυΐαν C. D. I. 33400 (Epidauros). δρτάζω (δορτάζω). δρταζον Hdt. ούρεω. ούρει Hippokr. II 686, ούρεον II 692, ούρησα II 686, 696, V 354, οδρήκει V 354, οδρήθην V 716. This verb is placed in this list because of spooreobpour Demosth. 54, 4, dreobpnoer in Eupolis (Koch frag. 45), though the ou is probably not proethnic. 2064. 206ero Hdt. VI 86, &ou III 78, VII 167, ωσάμην IX 25, ἀπωσμένος V 69, ἀπεώθησαν, a singular form, occurs in the MSS. of Hippokr. IX 242 (Littré dresso-). Hippokr. has the noteworthy form πρώσας for προώσας VII 314. ereour Hdt. I 69, III 139. A singular form is depodueres Hippokr. IX 362.

That η may be the augment of verbs whose initial sound was F may be inferred from Skt. āvar, āvidhyat, and Homeric heldns ? &c. heidns is not the preterite of efect, i.e. feed- with a prosthetic vowel (ἐεισάμενος) which was lengthened as the ε of ξρχομαι was lengthened to ή in ήρχόμην. Other examples of η that are tolerably certain are ήκειν, ήκαζον, ήκασα, less certain is ήργαζόμην which may have been formed from έργαζομαι, not from Γεργάζομαι, i. e. it is only apparently identical with the old πργαζόμην from η εργ. The imperfect and agrist were the tenses where η appeared, not the perfect.

It has been widely held, since Wackernagel's 3 discovery of the existence of η as an augment of f verbs, that the form ἐώρων was to be explained as resulting from ηλόραον. From the point of view of Attic or Ionic, dialects which permit metathesis quantitatis, there is no difficulty in the way of such an explanation; the movement which in Ionic produced n from & having ceased. In Doric however a shifting of no to ew (at least in verbal forms) is unknown, and yet we have $\epsilon \omega \rho \eta$ on Epidaurian inscriptions, C. D. I. 3339₆₆, 3340₂₈. ἐώρων will therefore have to be explained as Attic ἐώρταζον⁵: instead of ἐόραον, ἐώραον was constructed, since the former form did not seem augmented at all 6. In the pluperfect we find twoden, -ew, but in the perfect ἐόρακα (such is the better form) as ἐάλωκα. The Homeric ωίγνυντο, ωιξέ, for which Wackernagel proposed to substitute ήσιγ-, ήσιξε, are genuine forms from δΕίγνυμι (cf.

¹ δωθέουσι, quoted by Gram. Paris. 675 = An. Bachm. II 364m as the Herodoteian form of ωθούσιν, is due to the supposed fondness of Ionic for em.

An. Ox. II 37421.

³ K. Z. XXVII 272. The idea was first suggested by Hartel Hom. Shud. I³ 120, but later abandoned by its author. Wackernagel cites An. Oz. IV 179, where it is stated that some wrote hoyaccomp, force.

⁵ lepterstrar Kos 40 A 11. Paton and Hicks) from leptforive; cf. lept 3720.

⁴² B (Πολιῆτ 38_{121 12}, Μαχανῆτ 38₁₆).

It is not probable that 46ρη is a new formation from 5ρη.

The rough breathing is due to the influence of 4ρdω rather than to the lost spirant.

B. B. IV 304.

Aiolic ὀείγην). Hippokrates has ὅιξα. Attic ἀνέφξα looks as if it was assimilated to ἀνέφγα from Γοίγνυμι or it has a double augment.

582 A.] Varia.

1. Augment before the Preposition occurs in μεμετιμένος Hdt. V 108, VI 1, VII 229; elsewhere the augment of this verb keeps its usual place, notwithstanding ἐμετίετο I 12 in Λ¹ C¹ (ἐμετείθη I 114 in dz). See also below on 2. κατέατο is now written in III 144, VIII 73 against the augmented form of the MSS. ἀμφιέννυμι augments the preposition only: ἢμφιεσμένη Hipponax 3, ἢμφιέσθαι Hippokr. VI 76, VII 456. Hippokr. has ἐκάθενδον V 252. ἐμπολημένος Hdt. I 1 may be noted here.

2. Double Augment. Anakreon used the form εξυνῆκεν (146) according to the Et. M. 3859, which states that εσυνῆκε occurred in Alkaios. Hdt. has ἡνέσχετο V 48, VII 159, VIII 26, but ἀνέσχοντο V 89, VI 112, VII 139. Hippokr. III 94 has ἡνώτχλεον, V 702 ἡνωχλήθην, ἡνίει V 414, ἡφίει V 228 (ἐψκεον ΙΧ 406 is incorrect). On επηνωρθώθη, see § 578, note. On εώρων,

see § 582 end.

3. Augment of some compound verbs. ὡδοιπόρησε Hippokr. VI 276, cf. Hdt.VIII 129 διοδοιπορήκεσαν. οἰκοδομέω and οἰκοφθορέω are unaugmented in Hdt. ἐδυστύχεε Hdt. VIII 105, εὐδοκίμεε VII 227, εὐδοκίμησα III 131, εὐνομήθην I 66, εὐτύχησα VII 233. ἐπαλίλλογητο Hdt. I 118 in the perfect without reduplication. Hdt. has παρενόμησα VII 238 not παρηνόμησα.

Reduplication.

583.] 1. On the absence of reduplication in οἶκα, ἥλωκα, cf. § 582, where the digammated verbs are enumerated. On τρηκα and ὁρώρηκα see the same section. On the syllabic augment of the reduplicated pluperfect in Herodotos, see § 576, 1. The temporal augment does not appear in 'Attic' reduplicated forms. ἐπαλιλλόγητο Hdt. I 118 is due to a desire to avoid a cumbersome form. Reduplication in the second aorist is chiefly Homeric'. In Herodotos we find ἥγαγον, ἐσπόμην, εἶπον. Reduplication in the present presents no noteworthy features except in the case

¹ The grammarians often call Ionic such forms as λελάχωσι, κέκλυθι, κεκάμω (Aristarchos κε κάμω), τετύκοντο, πεπαλών. Cf. Joh. Gr. 240, Greg. Kor. 433 (also Doric), 461, Vat. 696, Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 365s, Et. M. 86s, Birnb. 677ω, An. Ox. I 36s, An. Par. III. 183s (cf. 302s), 3432s, Eust. 135m, 15712ν 502n, 1225ω, 1267ss, 1629s, 17226ω, 17742s, 1969si, Diakonos on Hesiod Asp. 245 (ἐμέμαρπον). By a reverse process the absence of reduplication is called Ionic in βλήμενος Greg. Kor. 461, Paris. 676 = An. Bachm. II 3653s (also δέχθαι), τύχθαι Drakon 160si, cf. 156s.

of the pseudo-Hippokratic διδίσσομαι VIII 66 (Littré with CDK). Here, however, θ has δειδίσσηται (intransitive), whereas B 190 is transitive. Elsewhere both Hippokrates and Aretaios use δεδίσσομαι in the sense of 'feel afraid.'

From alρέω we find in Thasos 715, 11 ἀναιρερημένος, in l. 2, 3 --ραιρημένος, which was read by Bergmann ἀναι-, by Blass ἀνε-. Neither of these forms occurs. The reading of Blass (Δυεερτ. 62) rests upon the view that aι could become ε in the fourth century; a change unattested for this period of Greek 1. Since Herodotos has ἀραίρηκα, ἀραιρήκεε, ἀραίρημαι, ἀραιρήμην, ἀναραιρημένος has been read by Bechtel. If this restoration is correct, as seems probable, the perfect of αἰρέω was formed in Ionic in two different ways (1) ἀραίρημαι, a kind of perfect often used in Hdt. in other verbs, (2) αἰρέρημαι by inner reduplication, as in ἡνίπαπον, ἡρύκακον. In Samos 22136 ἡιρημένος shows that by about the year 322 B. C. in an official document the specifically Ionic reduplication had been abandoned.

2. So-called Attic reduplication 1.

Ερία are αλάλημαι, αγηγέρμην, αλαλύκτημαι, ανήνοθεν, εδήδομαι, ερήρισται, ερήρισται, ερήρισται, ερήρισται, ουνοκωχότε, δδώδουσται, δδωδα³, δρώρεγμαι (δρεγμαι Hippokr. I 520, δρωρα³ (Theog. 909), and δρώρειν, δρώρομαι.

άκήκοα Hdt. I 37, VIII 109, άκηκόειν II 52, VII 208 while Hippokr. VII 490 has the Attic ηκηκόειν. In Herodas 540 occurs the interesting form ἀκήκουκα³. ἀλήλεσμαι Hdt. VII 23, καταληλεσμένους (?) Hippokr. VIII 456, where the MSS. have -εληλα-, -εληλασ-, and -εληλεσ- (so Littré). Aretaios 195 has άληλεσμένη. From αραρίσκω Homer has αρήρη, αρηρώς, ήρήρεα; in Archil. 94 the MSS. have ηρήρεισθα which Bergk thought fit to change to -ησθα. Δρηρομένος Homer, Hdt. IV 97. Εγήγερμαι Hippokr. IX 340 (ep.), cf. ἐγρήγορα, V 310, 694, Homer. ἐληλάκειν Hdt. V 90, ἐλήλαμαι Homer, Tyrt. 1226, Hdt. I. 180, IX 9, ἐλήλασμαι Hippokr. VIII 290, 426; ήληλάμην Homer, εληλάμην Hdt. VII έλήλυθα Hdt. VIII 68, Hippokr. II 266, έληλύθεε Hdt. 205. V 98, VIII 114 (epic ελήλουθα, είλήλουθα, είληλούθει). Ηίρροκτ. V 232. εξενήνειγμαι Hdt. VIII 37, IX 72. ερή-ρεισμαι Hdt. IX. 152, Hippokr. III 294, IV 220, 312, 152 (but συνήρεικα VI 372). In VIII 272 for ξυνερήρεισται in D, θ has συνερηρέδαται (cf. Ψ 284). In VIII 270 συνηρεισμένας is attested by θ and the other MSS. Homer has also πρήρειστο, έρηρέδατο. Hippokr. VIII 292 has έρηρείσεται in θ. έρηριγμει Hippokr.

In Attic the change occurred in the second century A.D.

Ionic: Eust. 152329.
 This form recalls in a measure the Syrakusan inflection of the perfect as a present. Cf. also Knidian τετιμάτει.

VII 416 (ἔρειγμαι in D), VIII 506. οἴχωκε, not ὧχηκε, was called Ionic by Dorotheos apud Schol. Ven. A on O 252, and this spelling was adopted by Apollonios. Aristonikos and Trypho (frag. 99) probably received παρώχηκεν. Hdt. VIII 108 has οίχωκυίας, οίχωκότας ΙΧ 98, διοίχηνται ΙV 136 (διοίχονται?), ολχώκεε IV 128. The vulgate παρωχημένος is rightly rejected by Littré for παροιχόμενος in Hippokr. VI 16. The form with the 'Attic' reduplication but with ω for ω also appears in οιχωκεν Herodas 237 and this, and not the form from the stem οιχε, must be regarded as Ionic. απολώλεκα Hdt. I 45 απόλωλα Hom., Hdt. II 181 ἀπολώλειν Hom., Hdt. III 119 οπωπα Homer, Hdt. III 37, 63, Hippokr. IV 78, VIII 606, pluperf. Homer, Hdt. V 92, Arrian 150. δρώρυγμαι Hdt. III 60, IV 195, and so II 158 (not ἄρυγμαι), ὀρωρύγμην Hdt. I 185 (not ἄρυκτο), 186 (not ωρώρυκτο). δρώρηκα § 582.

3. Mute followed by a Liquid.

βέβλαμμαι Hippokr. VIII 418, 494, 498 but ἐβλαμμένοις Ephesos, Dittenberger Syll. 344₈₄ (first century B. c.), γέγλυμμαι Hdt. II 106 etc., Hippokr. IV 386.

4. Other verbs beginning with a double Consonant.

κτάομαι: In an inscription from Mylasa 248 B 11 (360-61 B.C.) we find ἐκτῆσθαι ¹, the form found Iliad I 402 and usually in the MSS, of Herodotus, whether a vowel or a consonant precedes. κέκτησο VII 29, ἐκτημένος II 173, 174, VII 27 (after a vowel) are to be rejected though occurring in all MSS ². κεκτημένος appears in Zeleia 11320-21 (shortly after 334 B.C.) but κατέκτηται in the same inscription l. 6 makes for the conclusion that the former form is an Attic interloper. In Sim. Am. 132 Bekker read ἔκτηται for κέκτηται of the Schol. Σ 407 who quotes the verse. Aischylos has only one case of the Ionic form and that by metrical constraint (Prometh. 797). It was preferred by Plato when it followed upon a consonant (plup. ἐκεκτήμην). The pluperfect in Hdt. is ἐκτήμην II 108. κτίζω yields ἔκτισται Hippokr. IV 194.

ἐσμυρισμένος Archil. 30 (cf. Hesych, ἐσμυριγμέναι) from σμυρίζω, whereas in Hdt. we have μεμυρισμένος from μυρίζω. The lyric poets have the ordinary forms in ἐσκιασμένος Sim. Am. 766, &c.

5. Verbs beginning with ρ .

There are in Ionic some noteworthy forms of these verbs which in Attic refuse to reduplicate. The reduplicated forms in Ionic

¹ An. Par. III 6530 (Attic and Ionic), Gram. Paris, 676=An. Bachm. II 3659 καθαρῶς Ἰωνική.
² κεκτῆσθαι is however as old as Hesiod, W. D. 437.

represent a newer method of reduplication, since they have followed the analogy of verbs whose initial sound had not originally

been preceded by a spirant.

ρερυπωμένος in Hippokr. IV 374, VIII 140, 236, 368 is the same form that occurs in \$\(\) 59; ρεραπισμένος is quoted from Anakreon (166) by Choirob. II 55524, cf. Bekk. An. III 1287 (where the Pindaric ρερίφθαι is compared), An. Ox. IV 18517, 4156, An. Par. IV 22617. ρερυθμώσθαι was used, according to some, by Demokritos. Cf. ρυθμός Demokr. 205 according to Stobaios (§ 358). In Hdt. IV 71 for συνερραμμένην of the editors (Α συνερα-), B and C have συρρερ-. The spiritus asper in the above forms should doubtless be changed to the lenis.

6. Verbs beginning with λ .

λαμβάνω: Archil. (143) is reported by Lukian (Pseudolog. 1) to have said τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνείληφας, out of which Bergk made the dimeter τέττιγα δ' εἴληφας πτεροῦ. The form is interesting because Hdt. has λελάβηκα III 42¹, IV 79, VIII 122 (and in the mouth of an Ionian in Eupolis according to Meineke II 570), λέλαμμαι III 117, IX 51. Hippokrates however has εἴληφε VIII 584, εἰλημμένοι VII 490, ἀπειλημμένος V 616 but on the same page ἀπολελαμμένος, and ἀναλελάφθαι III 308 (νωίσο -λελάμφθαι). λελήφαται is called Ionic by An. Ox. I 268₂₆. εἴληφα Ionic-Attic, Et. M. 298₈₅.

λαγχάνω yields λελόγχασι Hdt. VII 53 (not είληχα 4) as in Homer. λέγω collect has -λέλεγμαι in Hdt. VII 26; cf. Arrian

1511. λέγω say has λέλεγμαι in Hdt. II 21, &c.

Personal Endings.

The following is a summary of the specially noteworthy endings of the Later Ionic. See also under the various tenses where fuller reference is made to the thematic and modal vowels.

584.] Endings of the Active.

1. First Person.

μι: Analogues of the Homeric ἐθέλωμι, ΐδωμι, ἀγάγωμι, &c. do not appear in the New Ionic.

¹ According to PRz and Bekk. Aneed.; other MSS, have the pluperfect, which Veitch adopts. λελάβηκε in Doric (Archimedes II 290 Heiberg) as well as εΓλάφα.

as είλάφα.

³ Eupolis' (II 533) ἀνήσατο may occur in an Ionic proverb; cf. Hippokr. IX 362.

Cf. Archimedes' λελάφθω.
 Ionic-Attic, Et. M. 298₁₂.

- a: The imperfect of $\epsilon l\mu l$ is $\tilde{\epsilon}a < \tilde{\eta}a$ in Homer and Herodotos; of $\epsilon \tilde{l}\mu l$, $\tilde{\eta}a$, of $\tau l\theta \eta \mu l$, $\tilde{\epsilon}\tau l\theta \epsilon a$ in Hdt. In the acrist we find, besides $\epsilon \tilde{l}\pi ov$, also $\epsilon \tilde{l}\pi a$ which is rare in Attic. The pluperfect has ϵa , an ending which shows the acristic connexion of this tense.
 - 2. Second Person.
- -θα: This original perfect ending occurs in οἶσθα < οἶδ + θα and in ἢρήρεισθα (§ 619). ἢσθα in Theog. 1314 = ϵαs in Hdt. is strictly a perfect, ἢs an imperfect. The abandonment of the perfect of $\epsilon l\mu l$ brought with it the confusion between -s and -σθα; whence followed the creation of such forms as ϵχεισθα in Theog. 1316 (MSS. ϵχοισθα) and Sappho, $ϵ\~lησθα$ Theog. 715. Cf. Homeric τ(θησθα from τ(θηs), $ϵ\~lσθα$, ϵβϵλησθα, βάλοισθα.
- s has been added in είς thou art (Hdt. and Archilochos) to εί for primitive έσι. In Syrakusan εσσί was the regular form, which indeed may be read in all passages in Homer except ρ 388. On εί in Hdt. see § 705. Το οἰσθα, -s was also added, thus producing οἶσθας found in Herodas 255 and adopted by Zenodotos in his recension of the Homeric text (cf. Eust. 17732). οἶσθας also appears in comedy, and was 'Hellenic' as well as οἶσθα according to Ailios Dionysios. εα-s in the pluperfect happens not to occur in Hdt.¹, but in the plural we find συνη-δέατε. In the optative aorist Hdt. has -ε-ια-s (never -αις)². In the plural of the second aorist we find ο-ιη-τε not -ο-ι-τε, ε.g. δοίητε in Hdt. VII 135; so -αιητε not -αιτε. -οιης except in Hom. σχοίης (?), and in Aiolic, occurs only in εύροίης, Hippokr. I 590, where εύροις is a ν. l. The pluperfect has -εας, not -εες, as the Et. M. 38623 states.
 - 3. Third Person.
- $\sigma_i < -\tau_i$ in the singular, Ionic being an assibilating dialect. $-ov\sigma_i < -ov\tau_i$, $-\omega\sigma_i < -\omega v\tau_i$. The sporadic cases of $-oi\sigma_i$ and $-\omega i\sigma_i$ in Chios are due to Aiolic influence. The instances of $-\eta\sigma_i$ in the subjunctive are rare in the elegy (Theog. 139). $-\eta\sigma_i$ never occurs in iambic poetry or in prose, though ABC have $\epsilon \lambda \alpha \dot{\nu} \nu \eta i\sigma_i$ Hdt. I 188. Theognis has elsewhere $-\eta$. On primitive $-\epsilon_i$ in the subjunctive, and on $-\epsilon_i < -\eta_i$ in Euboian Ionic, see § 239. In the perfect we find $-\bar{\alpha}\sigma_i$, except in a few instances where the poetical $-\bar{\alpha}\sigma_i$ comes to light (§ 595) by imitation of Homer. In the pluperfect we find $-\epsilon_i$ in Hdt. with no case of $-\epsilon_i$ or $-\epsilon_i\nu$ as in Homer and in Attic. The inscriptions have $-\epsilon_i$. In the plural $-\epsilon\sigma\alpha\nu$ in Hdt. with no case of $-\epsilon_i\sigma\alpha\nu$. The imperative has $-\tau\omega$, $-\tau\omega\nu$,

 $^{^1}$ ετεθήπεας ω 90 is an unmetrical variant for θηήσαο. 2 Cf. ποιήσειας Hippokr. VII 260 in θ against other MSS.

and -ντων. ἔστων occurs on inscriptions, ἔστωσαν is found in Hdt. I 147, and -τωσαν in Teos 15811, 25, 26, a late document composed under Attic influence. In Attika by 300 B.C. -τωσαν had almost entirely displaced the older form.

In the present optative of $-\epsilon \omega$ verbs we find $-\epsilon \omega \eta$ in Teos 156 A 10 and $-\omega \eta$ in line 4, elsewhere $-\omega \eta$, as in Hdt., with but few, if any, exceptions. Hippokrates has however many well-attested instances of $-\omega \eta$. In $-\omega \omega$ verbs Hdt. prefers the ending $-\omega \eta$ (and $-\omega \varepsilon \nu$). Both $\epsilon \eta \eta \sigma \omega \nu$ and $\epsilon \ell \varepsilon \nu$ occur, and $\pi \alpha \rho \varepsilon \ell \ell \omega \varepsilon \nu$ is found

in IV 120, VII 103.

In the acrist Herodotos adopts -ειε (-αι twice only: II 100, III 156, and these are doubtful), and -ειαν (-αιεν only VI 101, VII 152 (?), VIII 35). In inscriptions we find -ειαν. In the second acrist we find δοῦεν in Hdt. The perfect optative has -οι not -οιη. In the acrist passive optative we find both -ειησαν and -ειεν.

585.] Endings of the Middle.

1. First Person.

-μεσθα, in Homer, appears once in Theog. 671 (cf. 183, 888, 983, 1047, 1056, &c. -μεθα), Hrd. 3_{21} , never in Ionic prose.

2. Second Person.

-σαι preceded by the thematic ε, becomes either -εαι or -η in Ionic.

 $-\eta$ - $\sigma a\iota$ yields $-\eta a\iota$ and $-\eta$ in the subjunctive, which also admits of $-\epsilon a\iota$ for $-\eta a\iota$, by retention of the short thematic vowel.

-a-so becomes -ao; -eso becomes eo or ev.

In the imperative we have -00, -00.

3. Third Person. The perfect and pluperfect endings are -νται, -ντο, and -αται, -ατο. The terminations -αται, -ατο are not the exclusive property of the Ionic race, though retained by Ionic and Attic with greater tenacity than by other dialects. Two examples of the ancient form in -αται < ηται occur in Doric: Kretan κιάται and Herakleian γεγραψάται.

-aro in the optative for -vro is one of the best attested forms of Herodoteian Ionic. This ending is here more ancient than

-ντο, since it is derived from μητο.

The terminations -aτaι, -aτo have in Herodotos been transferred from their home in the indicative perfect and pluperfect, after stems ending in a consonant, to the present and imperfect of μι verbs. On δύνα-μαι, ἐπίστα-μαι, whose a apparently passes into ε before the endings -aται, -ατο, see § 688, 1, note 2.

into ε before the endings -αται, -ατο, see δ 688, 1, note 2.

(a) Present. προτιθέαται Hdt. I 133 (IV 26 in C), ἀπιστέαται II 113, ὑπανιστέαται II 80, ἐξανιστέαται V 61, δυνέαται II 142,

¹ See Abicht, Philologus XI 275 ff., and § 612.

IV 30, ἐπιστέαται¹ III 2, 103, IV 174. (For ἐκδιδόαται of C in II 47 read -ονται.) These forms do not occur in Homer. In Ω verbs these forms are incorrect, e.g. ἀγέαται II 47, κηδέαται I 209 (both in C). -νται² is preserved in the following forms: ἐπίστανται Solon 49, δύνανται Hippokr. II 290, cf. ἀπόλλυνται III 254, V 624 bis, 680 bis, ῥήγνυνται III 200.

(b) Imperfect. -ατο, introduced from the pluperfect (cf. -αται in the present) in ἐπανιστέατο Hdt. IV 80, ἐδυνέατο VII 211, ἢπιστέατο II 53, where a apparently changes to ε; and also in παρετιθέατο I 119, ἐναπεδεικνύατο IX 58. The -ντο form may also occur in the imperfect, as witness ἀπεδείκνυντο VII 223, IX 40.

Improper are all such forms in Ω verbs (1) in imperfects: προαιδέατο I 61 with -εατο in all MSS. is nevertheless to be rejected³, as are all other such forms no matter how well they are supported by MS. evidence: as ἐβουλέατο I 4 (ἐβούλοντο Plutarch), ἐναπενιζέατο II 172 (in all MSS.), ἐγινέατο I 67 (bdz), ἀπεγραφέατο V 29 (in all MSS.), ὑπεδεκέατο IV 167 (P Rz), ἐσινέατο VII 147 (in all MSS.), ἐμηχανέατο V 63 (in all MSS.). ὁρμέατο I 83 is regarded by Stein as pluperfect⁴. Bredow's (p. 330) ὡρμέατο is incorrect. (2) Second aorists: ἐγενέατο II 66 where Stein suggests ἐγεγενέατο, περιεγενέατο I 214 (R -εγενοντο), ἀπικέατο often, ἐπυθέατο VII 172 (P Rz). The inscriptions have -ντο invariably.

The imperfect of $\mu\iota$ verbs, where $-a\tau o$ was in place, was the source of this error, which seems to have been inserted by copyists into no other text than that of Herodotos. The forms in $-\epsilon a\tau a\iota$ and $-\epsilon a\tau o$ in the imperfect and a orist of Ω verbs do not occur in the MSS. of the logographers or of Hippokrates 5. The latter does not adopt, even in $\mu\iota$ verbs, the ending $-a\tau o$; $d\pi \omega \lambda \lambda \nu \nu \tau o$ III 88, $d\nu \iota \sigma \tau a\nu \tau o$ II 608. The presence of the abovementioned misshapen formations in the MSS, cannot be laid to

¹ ἐπίστηται Π 243 (subj.) was read by Zenod. ἐπιστέαται. ἐπίσταται is the reading of A L. G. Meyer, Gramm. § 485, holds it to be indicative. Zenodotos' reading indicates the prevailing uncertainty as to the place of -εαται. Zenodotos is also reported to have read πεποιέαται (sing.) in Homer.

² Homer has -νται after α and o invariably.
³ No verb which has the short vowel in the future before sigma, and sigma in the perfect middle, has either -αται in the perfect or -ατο in the pluperfect. We must read προαιδέοντο. προαιδέατο would be a strange pluperfect (as Abicht takes it to be).

Stein reads δρμέστο here, and in every other passage with MS. authority. The pseudo-lonic movement did not affect in an equal degree all Ionic literature. While such forms as masc., neutr. τουτέων, αὐτέων were inserted into the texts of Hippokrates and Aretaios, these writers were spared from the irregular -εατα and -εατο. It is also noteworthy that Arrian's Indikè was spared the intrusion of such forms as ἐγενέατο.

the charge of the teachings of the grammarians, who make absolutely no mention of their occurrence.

- 1. -ανται for -νται after vowels is supported only by the statement of Herakleides Milesios (Cohn, p. 77), who cites as used by some Ionians the forms πεποιδωνται, γεγενέωνται.
- 2. -era is not used in the singular despite the statement to the contrary of the Et. M. 36740, eletera, a poor variant in Hdt. I 151, &c., stera often in Lukian's Syria dea, revoltera Zenodotos in Homer (above p. 480, footnote 1).
- 3. -are in the singular is also incorrect: repelere noisy in Kallimaches cited by An. Ox. I 3732, Et. M. 6532. In Hdt. IX 100: &s & ton repermediare relat Ellyst, Reiske proposed to insert warm or to read -arre.
- 4. -Sarai for -erai and -Sara for -era are indefensible in nerency Sarai Hdt. II 75 (Ppr. Rd) and doreha- or dorahá-Sara VII 90 in all MSS. (Dobreo doraharo).
- -σθων. In the imperative -σθων is often preceded by ε (present and 2nd aor.), never by ο. ο-σθων in early Attic inscriptional documents is even more frequent than ε-σθων (ε. g. εὐρισκόσθων). -σθωσαν in χρήσθωσαν Hippokr. VI 82 is suspicious.

586.] Endings of the Passive.

-θησαν, not -θεν, is the form adopted in iambic poetry and prose. The 3rd pl. μ ιάνθην in Δ 146 is not to be rejected; cf. Kretan διελέγην, Delphic ἀπελύθην.

CONJUGATION.

Introductory Remarks.

587.] Many peculiarities of usage of the Ionic verb do not affect our estimate of the position of the dialect in respect of its interrelation with other idioms. Many details of verbal usage and even of formation belong more properly to a history of the Greek verb or to treatises dealing specifically with the diction of individual authors. Not wishing to trench upon the domain of the lexicographer, we have therefore in general excluded from the present discussion verbs of regular formation which occur in Ionic alone, though many points of interest are thus passed by, such as the appearance in Ionic proce of a large number of so-called epic and poetic verbs, the affinities of the dialect for the active in place of the middle and vice versa. Ionic forms not dissimilar to those in vogue in Attic have as a rule not been incorporated, chiefly because it may be assumed that the Ionic verb is inflected on the same general lines as the Attic verb. Sometimes, however, where Ionic and Attic are alike, the forms in question are adduced provided their Aiolic or Doric equivalents are differently constructed. Forms of this character are treated under the special tenses in which they occur.

On δύνω, δυνέω and similar examples of the co-existence in later Ionic of such parallel forms, see under Contract Verbs. On $\mu \iota$ verbs inflected as ω verbs, see § 691 ff. ω verbs inflected like μι verbs, and tenses of ἴστημι, τίθημι etc. other than present, imperfect, and second agrist, are mentioned under us verbs.

588. Variation between $\theta \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \omega$ and $\dot{\epsilon} \theta \dot{\epsilon} \lambda \omega$.

θέλω was regarded as Ionic by the grammarians , and it is the only form which appears in the inscriptional monuments of the dialect 2: Thasos 7216, Halikarn. 23816, 33, Miletos 1007. θέλω occurs in the iambographs in only two passages (Sim. Amorg. 713, Hipponax 22 B), and Anakreon employs it in catalectic iambic dimeter (92). Solon 37, (trim.) has ήθελον. In the elegists we find θέλω in Phokyl. 12, Solon 2712. Homer adopts the fuller form with only one or two possible exceptions3, and this, too, is preferred by the elegy: Archil. 62, Tyrt. 1240, Solon 428, 335 (imperfect; trochaics), in Theognis over twenty times, Bergk changing 139 (A 0 θέλησω) and 919 (neither A nor O has ἐθέλη). In 606 we find an imperfect ἔθελον (Stob. ἐθέλουσι). Anakreon uses ἐθέλω in choriambics (217, 242). In Pindar, Mommsen (on Ol. II 97) can count a few instances of θέλω which he regards, in opposition to Boeckh, as certain: Ol. II 97, VIII 85, P. II 69, X 5, Isthm. VI 43, Nem. X 84. It is therefore improbable that tragedy, which uses only $\theta \ell \lambda \omega$ in dialogue, should have derived this form from Pindar. That its very rarity gave it a certain element of distinction adapted for the purpose of the tragic poets, is confirmed by the attitude of comedy towards the word. Here it is only in paratragedic passages and in the formulae ήν θεδε θέλη, εl θεδε θέλοι that the shorter form finds a place. So in early Attic prose, which follows tragic usage to a certain extent. May we see the influence of Gorgias' theories upon Antiphon in his use of θέλω? When θέλω became the common form, ἐθέλω carried with it the distinction that $\theta \in \lambda \omega$ had once enjoyed. It is to be noted that θέλω is not, like κείνος, made by Aristophanes the mark of the Ίωνικὸτ avhp.

Out of the confusion in the MSS. of Herodotos, Stein thinks to establish the principle that, while in the present both forms were employed, 20 22 was more common, but that θέλω was regularly used in such collocations αι μαθούσι - - - το θέλει σημαίνειν το τέρας (Ι 78, cf. III 65, IV 131, V 131, VI 37, VII 8, 37, 101) 5. In the imperfect and future ἐθέλω is certainly preferred,

Joh. Gr. 240, Gram. Aug. 668, Birnb. 678, citing τον θέλω=δν θέλω.

θέλω was also thought to be Alexandrian. See on κεῖνσς, § 564.

² On Attic inscriptions ἐθέλω is found until 300 B.C. The shorter form appears after 250 B. c. The Κοινή adopted θέλω except in augmented forms.

Aristarchos could save ¿θέλω and his theory as to its universal adoption by Homer, only by having recourse to an outrageous synizesis A 277. Cf.

also o 317, and A 554.

* Cf. Wilamowitz, Herakles II 57. Contemporary preferences from the same point of view are discernible in the history of βούλομαι and ἐθέλω (not in Pindar).

⁵ VII 162 τὸ ἐθέλειν λέγειν, Stein must brand as a spurious addition. He has no objection to τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ΙΙ 13.

but in the sorist this is not so certain. At all events it will not do to follow Bredow in rooting θέλω out completely. Herakleitos adopts ἐθέλω in 65, 86, 91, θέλω in 104. Demokritos has only the former form: 53, 54, 109, (Demokrates), 144, 188 (θέλει in A), 236. ἐθέλω appears in Littre's Hippokrates I 570 (θέλω Δ), II 228 (θέλω C), 244, 424 (Δ), III 234, 242, VI 46 (θέλω A), 50 (θέλω A C), VI 252 twice (θέλω in θ once), VII 530, 542, 562, but in 498 Littré reads θέλοις (20- in C), #θελεν III 90 (έθελες D). This looks as if θέλω had a better claim to a place in the text than that assigned it by Littré, and that it was forced out in malice prepense. θέλω is certain in VII 198, VIII 416. In Aretaios we find ἐθέλω 26 (θέλω G H), 107, 255, 256 twice.

589. Variation between ylyvouat and ylvouat.

To § 196 may be added the fact that ylvours occurs as early as Pindar. ylrouat of the Common dialect is the prevailing form in Arrian, while Hippokrates 1, Arctaios, Lukian's Syria dea and Astrologia, the Vita Homeri and the pseudo-Hippokratic letters have γίγνομαι. Eusebios Myndios accepts now γίγνομαι, now γίνομαι. The latter form should be banished from all classic Attic writers.

yelrouat beget was used in Ionic prose only in yetraheros (Hdt.); cf. eyelraro Sim. Am. 787.

590.] Varia.

References may here be made to the variation between τρέπω and τράπω (§ 128), τέμνω and τάμνω (§ 129), καλινδέσμαι, κυλίνδω, and κυλινδέω (§ 132 ; Hippokrates has κυλίω, as well as κυλινδέω, Aretaios 302 καλινδέομαι), εΐνυμαι (§ 224, 10), βοφέω βυφέω (§ 154, where Hippokr. II 306, 456, VII 60 might have been adduced in support of the former, V 370, 374 of the latter form). σκάλλω is Hippokratic II 426, but for σκήλειε Ψ 191, σκείλειε should probably be read. σκεδάω in Hdt. and Hippokr. is from a different root from σκίδνημι (Hdt., Hippokr., Herakleitos, Aretaios). The latter is connected with the root of σχίζω2. λάζομαι occurs frequently in Hippokr. (VI 276, 330, VIII 88, 108, 242), who also uses λά(νμαι (VII 110, VIII 42, 274). The latter is chiefly Attic. тетрить in тетритета Hippokr. VII 498 is a doubtful form alongside of rerpairs (Hdt., Hipponax, Aretaios). C and & have rerpaireras. Signual, not the poetic δίζομαι, is the correct form in Hdt., Demokritos and Lukian, Syria dea, § 22.

ACTIVE VOICE.

591.]

Indicative Present.

 Verbs in -[... It is well-known that the Dorians, notably those of Sicily, evinced a fondness for verbs in -a(w parallel to those in -aw, e.g. σιγάζω, γελάζω, ἀκροάζομαι. Analogous cases from Ionic are rare: ἀκροάζομαι Hippokr. VII 70 (Littré): πειράζω ψ 114, πειραζόμενος, the vulgate reading Hippokr. VII 546 (Littré πειρασαμένων). πειρητίζω is also epic M 257, O 615.

In the treatises of the younger school of Hippokrates, virgum is frequent, e.g. IV 120, VII 198, 332, 478, 542, VIII 94, 98, 408; also in I 574.

See Moulton in Class. Rev. III 45.

Verbs in -ζω are frequent in Ionic. The following are examples of such as do not occur in classic Attic prose: ἀγλαίζω Hippokr VIII 368, ἀκουάζω VII 94, ἀλυκτάζω Hdt. IX 70, ἀληθίζομαι III 72, ἀρμόζω Hippokr. I 580, II 368, but ἀρμόσσω III 558 1, ἀρμόζομαι Aretaios 214, ἀτρεμίζω Hdt., Hippokr. (rare in Attic) by the side of ἀτρεμέω, ἰακχάζω Hdt. VIII 65, μινυθίζω Hippokr. VI 118 (Λ -εω) transitive, συρίζω Hippokr. V 378, VII 190, φώζω VI 566, χατίζω VII 558.

Herodotos uses σφάζω. σφάττω did not come into use in Attic

until TT had supplanted oo.

2. The presence of ἵκω in Ionic prose is open to suspicion. It is retained by Littré in Hippokrates III 238 (ἥκω MN), 242 (sic MN), V 224, but in VI 32, where the vulgate has ἀφίκει, A has ἀφήκει, H ἐφήκοι. Here Littré reads ἐφήκει. Herodotos uses ῆκω only, with which ἵκω is connected in meaning but not in etymology². As regards the objection to ἵκω in Hippokrates based upon his adoption of a verb (not employed by Herodotos) which is poetical, it may be said that in Korinthian we find ἵφομες, C. D. I. 3119¹, in the Xuthias inscription (Lakonian?) ποθίκες, Cauer 10, B 9, and in Delian ἵκον (B. C. H. II 579 ff.). ἀφικόμην occurs in many dialects.

χύω for χέω is doubtful in Aretaios 299, where Par. has χέου. ἀποχύσαντα from χύνω Hippokr. VIII 200 is not found in

θ or in C, which have ἀποχέαι.

For some reason Eust. 154,15 (cf. 621,48, 718,60) regards as Doric δύνω for δύω, and θύνω for θύω. That the Dorians used δύνω for δύω not for δύομαι is, we believe, unvouched. So far as the form δύνω is concerned, it is frequent in Ionic, rare in Attic, prose; and Homer as well as Pindar has θύνω.

4. Examples of -ισκ added to roots ending in a vowel are χρηΐσκομαι Hdt., κυΐσκομαι Hdt. (κυΐσκω Hippokr.), ῥυΐσκομαι, perhaps, Archil. 142. Hdt. was probably the first to use ἀρέσκω,

the only old verb in -εσκω.

592.]

Future.

1. Liquid Verbs were probably inflected in the dialect of the fifth century as follows:—

μενέω (-έω) μενέομεν (-εθμεν)
μενείς μενείτε
μενεί μενέουσι (-εθσι)

1 Hippokr. has λαπάσσω.

² The most recent discussion of the relation of the two verbs will be found in Johansson's Beiträge zur gr. Sprachkunde, p. 62 ff.

The adoption of the liquid future form in the active does not of course necessitate the appearance of the liquid stem in the middle forms. Thus Herodotos has κερδανέω, but κερδήσομαι (the only future middle form of this verb, and that not found in Attic).

The following examples may serve to illustrate the paradigms

given above :-

A. ἐρέω¹ Hdt. II 38, IV 129, VI 43, IX 42, Hippokr. II 52, 58, VII 490, VII 550 (but ἐρῶ VII 530)², Lukian Syr. dea 27, 36, cf. έρέω Archil. 792, 891, Hipponax 21 A, έρω Theog. 1236; δυομανέω Hdt. IV 47, σημανέω I 75, 209, IV 127, VI 39, περανέω Hippokr. VII 496, ἀποφανέω VII 542, 548, VIII 408, τεμέω IV 630 (the future of $\tau \epsilon \mu \nu \omega$ is unusual).

B. In Hdt. we usually find -teis, e.g. απολέεις VIII 60 (απολεις Theog. 36, 245), κερδανέεις Ι 35, αποβαλέεις Ι 71, διατετρα-

véeis III 12. épeis occurs in all the MSS. VIII 100.

C. ἐρεῖ Mimn. 74, Theog. 22, 492, δλεῖ Tyrt. 3, ἀπολεῖ Theog. 1104, ἀπιαλεῖ is a conjecture of Bergk, Hipponax 21 B, καταυaveî Archil. 61 (or -{ei?)3. In the MSS. of Herodotos the open forms prevail, e. g. ἀπολέει Ι 34, διαφθερέει V 51. Hippokrates has ἐρέει VII 478, but ὑγιανεῖ VI 662 (θ), πταρεῖ VIII 484. In Herakl. 26 Hippolytos has κρινεί (Bywater κρινέει), in Melissos 10 Simplicius has περανεί (Mullach - εει). From the pseudo-Ionists we note ἐκφανέει Lukian, Syr. dea 32, εὐφρανέει Astr. 29, προφανέει, έρέει Euseb. Mynd. 63. Compare -ιεί in -((verbs with - ee in liquid verbs.

D. ἐρέομεν Hdt. IV 118, μενέομεν IV 119, VII 141, κερδανέο-

μεν VIII 60.

Ε. ὑπομενέουσι Hdt. IV 4 (Attic -οῦσι Cd), VII 101, ἐρέουσι

Hippokr. VII 440; αμυνεῦσι Hdt. IX 6.

From verbs in - (co of more than two 2. Verbs in -ilw. syllables we find numerous instances of the forms devoid of the sigma, e.g. in Hdt . κατακοντιεί IX 17, κομιεί II 121 (γ), νομιεύμεν II 17 (not -οῦμεν, the Attic form which Stein has adopted from the MSS.); in Hippokr. αφανιεί VI 360, ερεθιεί IV 346, παρακαθιεί VII 608 (cf. Hdt. IV 190 κατίσουσι), φροντιείς Epist. IX 334 (φροντίζης vulgo). εμφανίσει, on an inscription from Priene (Brit. Mus. III 1, no. 421₁₉), is Hellenistic.

The future in -ww has driven out the older form in -w (cf. Sudw). -w, which was extremely common in liquid verbs, was substituted for the -w of -lw.

Cf. Tzetzes Ex. II. 118,.
 The unique elpion may be correct VII 448.
 Cf. Hephaist, p. 88. The active form of this verb does not occur in the best Attic prose; in fact the verb is poetic and Ionic.

3. 'Attic Futures.' διασκεδᾶς Hdt. VIII 68 (β), cf. σκεδάσεις Theog. 883; ἀποδοκιμᾶ Ι 199 may possibly be present, but is probably future; δικᾶν Ι 97 but δικασόμενοι Ι 96, as always in Attic. δοκιμᾶ, δικᾶν are analogues of δλέσ(σ)ω: δλέω, &c. On

έλậs, έλῶσι, see under the next section.

4. Short stem vowels in the Future. In the first of the following lists are given only those cases (active and middle) from post-Homeric Ionic in which sigma was the final consonant of the stem. No verb with a dental stem is here included. In the second list are enumerated the analogues of the first class. See under the Aorist.

Signatic Stems. ἀρκέω Hippokr. IV 282; θλάω Hippokr. VII 276 (ἐνθλάσσει in θ); κορέσω Hdt. I 212, 214 (ερία κορέω); πτύω Hippokr. IX 70, πτὖσομαι II 396, VI 198, VIII 98, 100; σπάω Hdt. VII 236, Hippokr. VI 534 (σπάσομαι).

For φλάσει the reading adopted in Hippokrates by Kühn (III 358), we read

with Littré the present φλά (III 218 L).

From analogy with the above verbs we find the following with short vowel before sigma, where the stem ending was originally vocalic.

Non-Sigmatic Stems. ἐπαινέω Sim. Am. 7112, -ήσω Theog. 93, v. l. -εσσ-; but ήνημαι Hippokr. II 334; ἐλαύνω: ἐλάσει Hippokr. VI 342, VII 348, 428, Hdt. I 207 (ἐλᾳ̃s, ἐλῶσι), V 52 (διεξελᾳ̂s); ἐμέω Hippokr. VII 28, VIII 16 (ἐμέσω), II 184, VI 42 (ἐμέομαι, cf. δμέομαι &c.); [εἰρύσει adopted by Ermerins in Hippokr. VI 198 (Littré) is not supported by θ]. καλέω Hdt. III 74 has καλέσειν, Bredow, Veitch, with R, other MSS. -λέειν, which is adopted by Stein and Holder. Where the participle occurs after πέμπω it may be present (cf. VII 15 and 152). καλῶ in Attic is better than καλέσω, which in inscriptions does not appear till the second century. Cf. καλέων 8 532. [μάχομαι yields μαχήσομαι Hdt. IV 125, 127 bis, VII 102 (R v, -εσ- A B s z), 103 (A B P C R, -εσ- d z), 209 bis (-εσ- z), VIII 26; epic μαχέσμαι, and μαχήσομαι as Solon 25, Attic μαχούμαι. See on the aorist]; ὅλλυμι Hdt. I 34, VI 91 bis, VIII 60, IX 18 (δλέω), VII 209, VIII 57, 69, IX 42 (δλέσμαι). δλῶ is called Ionic in Anecd. Par. IV 6711; δζω Hippokr. VIII 424, 488 (Attic - ήσω); πονέω Hippokr. IV 512 (?); but πονήσω is certain in I 598, VIII 16, 30, without regard to the grammatical distinction that πονέσω expresses bodily pain; φθάνω Hippokr. VII 134 (φθάσω) may be mentioned on account of epic φθήσομαι; χαλάω Hippokr. II 36, V 436.

5. Varia. Hdt. and Hippokr. have both σχήσω and ἔξω. The former has not yet appeared on any Ionic or Attic inscription. Cf. § 607, 6. ἀνέξων in Archil. 82 may be noted as being the only case of this form of ἀνέχω in early Greek. For τίσοντες Hdt. III 14 we should write τείσοντες, cf. § 214. Hdt. has δόξω, e. g. VIII 80, and the poetical δοκήσω only once (IV 74). On δέξω, see § 142. Rare forms are ἀδήσω Hdt. V 39; ἐξαμαρτήσω Hippokr. II 420, δι- IX 264 (late); ἀποπατήσω Hippokr. VII 100; Foes and Ermerins read ἀπαντήσει for ἀπαντήση of the MSS. IV 264, though usually Hippokr. uses the future after ὅκως (ἀπαντήσω is otherwise late); κνήσει V 686 is doubtful, but εἰρήσω VII 448, probably correct. A future γνώσω may not be defended on

the score of the vulgate VIII 416 (read yrdor). Caupdon, VII 530, is unusual in Attic; so too the uncompounded xupper in Hdt. and Hippokr. (xupperput is not found in Homer or Ionic prose). On deduct in Hippokr., see § 593, 2.

598.]

First Aorist.

I. Verbs in -aire, -aire. Verbs in -aive form their sorists in -nva.

Examples are Toxrara Hdt. III 24, Hippokr. III 316 (-dras Galen), despeque Hdt. VIII 5 (enephanen in R), enologue II 73, to mention only those in which Attic regularly adopts -are from the analogy of the -pears class. squairs yields ἐσήμηνα ¹ in Ionic, and this is the proper form in Attic, though ἐσήμανα appears several times in Xenophon. spalre yields spara, not spara, which is the reading of Rd in Hdt. II 122.

From -- we have exhipm Hippokr. VII 388, but Attic xhidres VII 150, dμίηνα VI 112. From λe(ι)alru, δλείηνα Hippokr. VIII 360, δλέηνα Hdt. I 200, VIII 142. Verbs in -pairs. From gapairs we have different in Hdt. VII 109 (-are Rd), Hippokr. V 476. The -are forms are, however, more usual: drighpdry 4 347 (thus Aristarchos, stavelry Aristoph.), stapere Hdt. II 99 (in all MSS.), Hippokr. V 104, rerpaire yields rerpaires in Hipponax 56, Aretaios 131; paire. Sppnra in Hippokrates VI 128, III 486. The -ara forms above mentioned, so far from representing (as J. Schmidt K. Z. XXVII 322 thinks) an original -ärga (in contradistinction to -ara from -ärga), are merely Atticisms. -ara is original in Ionic and the direct descendant of -dres in all cases. In later times in Attic -are forced an entrance into verbs which did not have e, t, or p in the stem. This extension of -ave is not so much a Dorism (as Curtius suggested), as due to the operations of analogy in Attic itself. The proper Ionic form is dealypa, which is found in Hdt. I 41, 44. Hippokr. II 644, VI 212, VII 24, 242, VIII 304. The Attic by-form deddene appears in AB in Hdt. IV 26, where R is correct, in Rbds in I 45, and in Hippokr. II 418 (in all MSS.). The only example on inscriptions of \bar{a} for η in these assists is duddepa C. L. A. II 1054, 8 (347 B. C.), Delos B. C. H. V 468 (third century), ibid. VI 23, line 185, 24, l. 194 (second century). Attic inscriptions of 329 B.C. have indeppa.

2. Apparent variation between dental and guttural stems. As early as Homer's we encounter a confusion in - werbs between these two classes of stems, which led to the adoption of σ in the future and agrist of such verbs as ἀρπάζω (by analogy

Curtius' Grammatischer Gesellschaft, p. 129 ff.

¹ dospera, Aldus in Hdt. III 106, R in IV 179. onespeared C. L.A. III 30, 4 (first century a. c.) is the only occurrence in Attic inscriptions of the

This is the only case of an aorist in -dre in Homer. There are 69 cases of -ηνα. The Townley scholiast on Φ 347 says: Θερμάνη μέν φησιν, Δλλ' οδ ξηράνη διλ τὸ κακόφωνον. See Lobeck, Phrynichus, p. 24 ff.

See Cauer in Sprachioisenschaftliche Untersuchungen hervorgegungen aus G.

with $\delta\iota\kappa\dot{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ or the like). In the Doric dialects the formations from guttural stems (e.g. $\kappa\alpha\theta\iota\xi\epsilon\hat{\iota}$, $\sigma\nu\mu\pi\alpha\iota\xi\epsilon\hat{\nu}\nu\tau\alpha\iota$, $\tilde{\eta}\rho\mu\iota\xi\hat{\alpha}$) gained the upper hand and almost entirely displaced those in σ . In post-Homeric Ionic there are a few examples of the displacement of the dental stems.

ἄρπάζω yields ἥρπαξα (cf. ἄρπαγή, ἄρπακτήρ) and ῆρπασα in Homer. In Hdt. VIII 28, IX 60, we find ἀρπάσομαι, in II 156 etc., ῆρπασα (in all fourteen times), I 1, 4, VII 191 ἡρπάσθην, but ἡρπάχθην in II 90 (ἀρπασθείς Rd), VII 169 (ἀρπασθείσαν R), VIII 115 (ἀρπαχθῆναι all MSS.) There can be no doubt that the forms with σ are to be everywhere adopted. Attic, too, uniformly accepted ἀρπάσω, -ομαι, ἥρπασα, ἡρπάσθην.

In the fourth book of the pseudo-Hippokratic tractate περὶ νούσων, and not elsewhere, we meet with the acrist forms ἐσάσειεν VII 550, 552, 554, 556, ἐσάσαι 558, and the futures ἐσάσει and ἐσάσειν 568. These, the vulgate, forms were generally adopted by Kühn, and derived by him and Foes from σάσσω. See Veitch, p. 582. For the single σ an analogy was, or might be, sought in πλάσω IV 346, ἔπλασα Sim. Amorg. 721, Hdt. II 70; ἐσάσειεν cannot, however, come from σάσσω because of the augment; and if from ἐσσάσσω (which does not occur elsewhere), we encounter the difficulty of an ἐσ- put for ἐσσ- in literary monuments, examples of which abbreviation we desiderate. The forms above mentioned must be separated from σάσσω:—(1) because that verb yields ἔσαξα in VIII 440, Hdt. I 194, III 7, &c. (2) because the meaning is inappropriate. Kühn, to be sure, translates ἐσάσειεν by gravarit, Littré, who displaces the vulgate for the strange form ἐσάσσειεν, &c., translates by sentir in all passages but one (VII 558 réplétion).

αάσειεν, first suggested (but rejected) by Bredow, was adopted by Ermerins. The occurrence of Homeric words in the tractate $\pi \epsilon \rho l$ νούσων is common enough (cf. χατίζω 558, ἐπαυρίσκω 558, ἄκικυς 564), but it is difficult to see how αάσειεν could have been so corrupted. It is better to read ἐσάσειεν from δίω; cf. ἐσάσουσι 552 where EK have ἐσαίσσουσι. In 568 we must accept ἐσαίει for ἐσάσει, ἐσαίειν for ἐσάσειν. The original present is ἀείω, and ἄῖον is an aorist (Schulze K.Z. XXIX 250). Hdt. IX 93 has ἐπῆσε (ἐπῆισε ABC).

έξωνείρωσε the vulgate in Hippokr. V 196, where CDHIK have -ασε, should be derived from έξονειρόω. Littré reads -ωξε. A guttural stem in the verbs in -ωσσω denoting a disease is rare; but Plato has δνείρωξες, Aristotle δνειρωγ-

μός. Cf. αμβλυώσσω and αμβλυωγμός.

μόζω has in Homer the aorist ἐπέμυξαν Δ 20 = Θ 457. In Hippokr. V 206 the vulgate ἔμυσσεν (ἔμυσσεν Η I K) has been regarded as a case of the confusion of a δ with a guttural stem. But after δκότε εἴη, ἔμυζε is clearly right. On the same page, further down, J has ἔμυσσε, D G ἔμυξε, where only the imperfect is correct.

For ἐπύρεσε from πυρέσσω have a fever, which Kühn adopts, Littré accepts ἐπυρέτηνεν V 150, and the imperf. ἐπύρεσσε V 216, 230. σ forms in acrist active and passive of ελίσσω have been discarded by Littré.

There are not a few cases where later Ionic refuses to permit the substitution of σ , which was adopted by the post-classical (not Doric) language, ϵ . g. $\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\xi\omega$, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\rho\iota\xi\omega$, $\epsilon\sigma\tau\varphi$, $\epsilon\sigma\varphi$, $\epsilon\sigma\varphi$, $\epsilon\sigma\varphi$, $\epsilon\sigma\varphi$, $\epsilon\sigma\varphi$, $\epsilon\varphi$,

άρμόζω has a dental stem, despite άρμογή.

Conversely we have the guttural where -σ- was in place. επίεσα occurs in Hdt. IX 63, Hippokr. III 436, IV 386 etc., but in III 434 πιέξης is the vulgate reading (here C and other MSS. have πιέζης, whence Littré πιέζης); πεπίεσμαι Hippokr. II 270, V 196, VII 520, but πεπίεγμαι III 432 bis, 436, 450, 560; επιέσθην VI 368, Hdt. IV 11 (not πιασθέντας), but επιέχθην Hippokr. III 324, 434, &c. Hippokr. used πίεξις for πίεσις III 434, 560, IV 272.

Ktesias, Pers. 29, 59 has a form not Ionic in παίξασα. Hdt. has πίπαισται (cf. Eust. 159448). παιξούνται Xenoph. Symp. 9, 2

is well put into the mouth of a Syrakusan.

έναρίζω forms its future and acrist in Homer in ξ; and in O. K. 1733 (ch.) we find ἐπενάριξον. ἡνάρισεν in Anakreon's (?) eleg. 1004 as well as Hipponax' (42) ἀπηναρίσθη and κατηναρισμένας in Aias 26 point to a dental stem. ἐναρίζω, like πολεμίζω, is made from an o stem, and both have adopted ξ by analogy to στίζω, &c.

αὐδάζω would seem to have a dental stem properly (cf. αὐδάω); yet we find ηὐδαξάμην Hdt. II 57, V 51, and similar forms elsewhere. The verb seems to fall into the class of those in -ζω which express sustained sounds. βάζω speak, certainly is derived from the stem βακ-, whence ἐμβιβάζωντες Hipponax 53 (ἐμβιβάζω). ἀλθέζονται (sic) Aret. 157 is from ἀλθέσσω, ἀλθεσθήναι Hippokr. IV 126 from ἄλθομαι.

νέναγμαι, Hippokr. VII 520, is probably derived from a guttural stem; cf. δναξα φ 122, Hdt. VII 36. νένασμαι (MSS. Ekkles. 840), if correct, has σμαι by analogy. Dindorf has νεναγμέναι. σπαδίξαι in Hdt. V 25 has the stem σπαδίτ.

3. Short stem vowels before the sigms of the sorist. The short vowel is properly in place only in those primitive or denominative verbs whose stem ended originally in σ , and whose sorist (and future) $\sigma\sigma$ has, partly even in Homer, suffered a reduction to a single σ . Thus $\ell \zeta \epsilon \sigma a$ represents $\ell \zeta \epsilon \sigma - \sigma a$, $\ell \kappa \epsilon \sigma - \sigma a$, which in Homer coexist with those in $\sigma \sigma$.

It is a matter of extreme difficulty to decide in all cases

¹ The σσ acrist has been compared by Bezzenberger in B. B. III 159 with the Skt. acrist in -sisham. The original inflection was in the singular -seq, in the plural -seqt. Sanskrit (cf. aydsisham' extended the singular forms into the plural, while in Greek the plural gained the upper hand over the singular forms. See also Fick in G. G. A., 1881, p. 1429, Mahlow K. Z. XXVI 284, Schulze K. Z. XXIX 266, and in opposition Brugmann M. U. III 83, who assents to the view of Leskien in Curtius' Studies II 67. Another view is brought forward by Fröhde, B. B. IX 115. See also Curtius' Fortum II 294. Johansson D. V. G. 207, Solmsen K. Z. XXIX 105.

whether or not a stem ended in sigma 1. Some of the verbs arranged below as non-sigmatic stems are classed by Brugmann, Grundr. II § 842, with those whose sigmatic ending is beyond doubt. Thus ἀλέω, ἔμέω and καλέω are referred (though doubtfully) by Brugmann to the first class; so too στορέω and εἰρύω.

By analogy with the verbs with stems in sigma (or in a dental mute), $\sigma\sigma(\sigma)$ effected an entrance into verbs with vocalic stems². Thus we have ἐκάλε-σσα by analogy with ἐτέλεσ-σα, and ἐκάλεσα = ἐτέλεσα, as we have ἐπέεσσι, φερόντεσσι with -εσσι borrowed from στήθεσ-σι, έπεσ-σι. Such forms as καλέ-σσαι, δμό-σσαι appear, so far as the literary monuments are concerned, chiefly in the Homeric poems and in the literature dependent upon Homeric diction. In the dialects they are confined entirely to that branch of the Aiolians which settled in Lesbos and the adjacent mainland; though no reason may readily be discovered for any such restriction. If it was possible for Aiolic, it was possible for all the dialects in a primitive period to have conformed the inflection of καλέω to that of τελέω.

It has been held by some scholars 3 that originally all verbs with vocalic stems had $-\sigma\sigma$, whether the vowel was long or short. This hypothesis would lead to the assumption that λῦσαι was formed from *λῦσσαι by a law operative in all the dialects in the earliest period of their existence, and that καλέσσαι became καλέσαι in earlier or later periods of the dialect life of the That is, that Aiolic and Homeric Greek still represent the primitive, the other dialects a later stage of development. Of these contentions the latter at least may be demonstrated to be erroneous. Dialects other than Aiolic, which uniformly retain $\sigma\sigma$ after a short vowel in verbs in dental or sigmatic stems, show no trace of $\sigma\sigma$ in vocalic stems, either in their earliest or their latest monuments. Where the preceding vowel was long, as in λῦσαι, the non-expulsion of σ is due to the analogy of *ἐλυσ-s, *ἐλυστ, &c.

As in the case of sigmatic, so in that of vocalic stems, the later Ionic refuses to adopt the $\sigma\sigma$ of the Homeric dialect.

In the development of the inflection of vocalic stems on the lines of those ending in σ , we may observe that the $-\sigma\sigma$ (σ) readily found a place in such verbs as had a root or stem of two syllables, such as ὅλε-σα. Much more noteworthy are those cases in which $-\epsilon \sigma$ -, not $-\eta \sigma$ -, appears in verbs derived from nouns with o stems and those that form some of their tenses by the addition of \$\epsilon\$ to the stem. Many of the latter verbs present considerable difficulty, unless we throw them all into the class

Mahlow, K. Z. XXVI 585, Hoffmann, G. G. A., 1889, p. 880.

 $^{^1}$ Cf. Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 90 ff. 2 The cause of this transference by analogy has not as yet been satisfactorily explained. Between ἐτέλεσ-σα and ἐκάλε-σσα there is not absolute equality; and ἐκάλεσσα, as is shown in the note, is not original. The analogy assumed cannot have been effective until ἐτέλεσσα was reduced to ἐτέλεσα.

represented by $\Delta \lambda \epsilon \sigma a$; but in some cases it may easily be shown that the $-\epsilon \sigma$ - forms are late, that is, formed on the lines of $\epsilon \tau \ell \lambda \epsilon \sigma a$ (or in some cases on the analogy of verbs of like function) in the post-Homeric, but pre-Herodoteian period. Such occurrences as show earlier $-\eta \sigma$ - for later $-\epsilon \sigma$ - are noted in the two lists which are given below. Conversely we sometimes find in the later dialect the original, in the earlier the later form, $\epsilon .g$. Herodoteian $\epsilon \sigma \tau \ell \rho \eta \sigma a$, Homeric $\epsilon \sigma \tau \ell \rho \epsilon \sigma a$. Herodotos does not always show short vowel $+\sigma$ where Homer has short vowel $+\sigma$ or $\sigma \sigma$

The two lists contain only such examples of aorists (active and middle) with a short vowel before σ , as we have observed in post-Homeric Ionic literature. As far as was possible, there has been included no aorist which may be ascribed to a present, actually existing or supposed, in $-\zeta\omega^1$ or $-\theta\omega$. A δ stem, too, has σ , not the epic $\sigma\sigma$, in the later dialect, ϵ . g. ϵ κόμισαν Hdt. V 98, ϵ κομίσαντο Iasos 1057.

Sigmatic Stems. descount Hdt. IV 90, Hippokr. IV 368, VI 588; doctor Hdt. III 63 (Homer - o- and -oo-, Theog. 762 aperodueros); aprile Hdt. II 115; γελάω Hdt. VIII 114 (ἐγέλασσε Theog. 9); (ἀμφι)έννυμι Hippokr. VII 194; έραμαι: Archil. 30 ήρασσατο (cf. ήρήσατο Lukian, Syria dea 17, from épde). § 372. In Homer we find hoassdung and hoasdung. (w Hdt. I 59, VII 13, Hippokr. VII 158, 354, VIII 434; Сеттин Hippokr. IV 122; кореттин Theog. 1158, Solon 1311; кереттин Hdt. V 124, VII 151, Hippokr. I 578, VII 348, 422 (cf. κρήσας VII 254, κέκρημαι I 600, II 270, Hdt. III 106, ἐκρήθην Hippokr. I 616, Hdt. IV 152); [to µaloµaı has been referred by some doµasdµeres in Hippokr. IV 198; this would if correct be the only occurrence in proce (cf. Hom. decude cure). Since Erotian glossed the word with tubanto, and Galen has tubantours, it is much more probable that it is derived from doudgow. Cf. VIII 148 where the participle occurs a second time]; μόω Hippokr. V 234 (ἔμῦσα); ξόω Hippokr. VII 276; [ποθέω: Hdt. IX 22 ἐπόθεσαν as in Homer O 219, β 375, δ 748, but III 36 ἐπόθησε and ἐπιποθήσειν V 93, with which cf. ἐπόθησα, ποθήσω in Xenophon, &c.; ποθέσομαι, ἐπόθεσα are also Attic. ποθεισές is probably not an analogical formation. ἀπόθεστος ρ 296 is ἀπό-θεστος not ἀ-πόθεστος]; πτόω Hippokr. IV 218, V 406, VI 184, VII 82 (5); onder Hdt. III 29, Hippokr. VI 210, 212. Arctaios 103 has the strange form σπήσει ; τελέω Hippokr. III 420 (the rare middle); Tpfw Tyrt. 1114, Hdt. VII 231, a verb not often found in early prose; φλάω Hippokr. III 218, VII 158.

Non-Sigmatic Stems. alviu Hdt. I 80, 90, V 113, Thasos 724. The form with η is morphologically and chronologically older. fraga Homer, Theog. 969; αλίω Hippokr. VI 454, VII 170, 266 (Homer alversa); ανίω: Hdt. I 91 frags;

¹ Curtius was prone to the method of defending the acrists with short vowel which referred the forms in question to supposed presents in -ζω. Thus, because it was derived from *προκαλίζω, he regarded προκαλίσσανο, Η 218, as a more archaic form than προκαλίζοτο Γ 19. So γαλάσω he derived from *γαλάζω, δλακοθήνωι from *δλαόζω. Apart from these errors, it is, in fact, oftentimes difficult to set aside with certainty the reference to a 8 or θ stem.

ἡνύσατο, Hippokr. IX 420, is now abandoned in Hdt. I 91; δαίομαι Hdt. VIII 121, II 4, VII 121; ἐλαύνω Hdt. I 59, I 77. Sim. Am. 17 has ἡλσάμην which Veitch (p. 240, cf. p. 224) puts under the head of ἐλαύνω regarding it as a syncopated form. It rather belongs to έλσα Λ 413; cf. Ibykos 55; έλπόω Hdt. I 179, II 65, VII 167 (not ἐλκῦσαι), Hippokr. VI 46, IV 106; ἐμέω Hdt. I 133, Hippokr. II 696, VII 12, 28, 60, 86, 100, 110, 112, 194, 288, &c. (many cases); έμέσηται II 494, a rare form (ἐμέεται fut., Ermerins with A C; ὑπερήμησα occurs in VII 10, 30, 32 (rejected by Veitch); είρύω Hdt. I 141, II 38, 136, III 30, IV 10, VII 24, VIII 96, IX 96, Hippokr. VI 166, 172, 194, 198, VII 16 (εἰρύσωσι and ἐρύσωσι on the same page are read by Littré. For the latter H has elρύσωσι), VII 552, VIII 108. Hdt. IV 8 and Arrian, Ind. 38, have elpuσάμενος. [Leskien, Curtius, and Brugmann regard the stem of έρύω as έρυσ-]; ίλασκομαι Hdt. I 67, VIII 112; καλέω Hdt. II 107, VI 67; κρεμάννυμι (late) Hdt. V 77, IX 120, Hippokr. IV 86 (IV 290 not κρεμάσηται with Galen, but κρέμηται). This may be from the stem κρεμασ. μάχομαι in the future has μαχήσομαι in Hdt. The agrist form is, however, έμαχεσάμην, ε.g. I 18, 82 and in about ten other passages. διαμαχεσώμεθα IX 48 is the only example of the aor. subj.; μεθύσκω Hdt. I 106; δζω Hippokr. VIII 488 (Attic ωζησα represents the original form); ὅλλυμι, Hdt. II 121 (β) where προσαπολέση, not -έσει, is correct, III 36; δμνυμι Hdt. I 165, Zeleia 11310; πετάννυμι Hdt. III 146; πονέω Hippokr. V 696 (A D), VI 146 (-η- in θ), 164 (-η- in E other hand), 176 (-η- in θ), 184 (-η- vulgo), but ἐπόνησα ΙΙ 322 (-ε- vulgo), VI 290; πονήσατο Sim. Am. 745; ἐπόνησα is morphologically and chronologically (Homer) older than ἐπόνεσα; στορέννυμι (late) Hdt. VIII 99, IX 69; τανύω Hdt. V 25, Hippokr. VIII 458 (rare in prose). The present ταννύω cannot be defended (see Veitch). φθάνω, cf. § 592, 4; χαλάω Hippokr. V 258, 390.

4. Varia. On ἔδεξα, see § 142, on ἔτεισα, § 214, where it might have been noted that the present in the inscription from Zeleia is ἐκτίνω (11311, 21). With this variation between present and agrist, we may compare that in Kretan: τίνω, τίνομαι, but τεισεῖ, &c. τεινότω occurs in B. C. H. IX 11. The

Hippokratic διέρσαι is difficult of defence; see §§ 224, 6, and 382.

Acrists in -a. From καίω we have ἔκαυσα Hdt. VIII 33 (ἐκαυσάμην I 202, VIII 19, a form found here only; cf. epic ἐκηάμην), Hippokr. VII 242, 424. The epic ἔκηέν in Hippokr. V 216 (vulgo ἔκυέν) is noteworthy, both on account of its appearance in prose (in the sense of κατακαίει III 258), and because of the retention of the η. ἔκεα< ἔκηα occurs in an Attic prose inscription (C. I. A. I 324, A I 43, C II 13) of the year 408 B. c.¹; and is the Old Attic literary form (tragedy and in a chorus in Aristoph.) ἔκαυσα appears in a later Attic inscription, and in Thukydides, Plato, &c. In connexion with the use of the first acrist in Ionic literary prose, it may be noted that ἐκάην was adopted by Ionic (Hdt. II 107, 180, IV 79, Hippokr. V 214, VI 330, VIII 200), but not by Attic.

χέω yields έχεα Hdt. VIII 57, Hippokr. VII 422. The epic έχευεν appears in Archil. 1032 (epod.), which Fick wrongly attempted to displace by έχευσεν, a form that does not occur till the Anthology. έχευσα in Homer has long been abandoned (cf. v. l. H 86, Ψ 45): so too ἀποχύσας Hippokr. VIII 200. Hdt. and Hippokr. have ἐχεάμην, which is a rare form in early prose. Other α aorists are ἥνεικα, on which see § 608, and εἶπα.

ā should be noted in the following: Attic & spedays Hippokr. VII 96, from

¹ ἐγκέ[αντι], not ἐγκή[αντι], as G. Meyer, Gram. § 527, writes.

deepde pour out. In δγάρδαα Hdt. II 146, VII 114, γεγάρακε Hrd. 626 we observe an d which recurs in γαράσμεν Sim. Kees 850 (eleg.), for which Bergk regarded γαρασίμεν as the proper Ionic form. But ρη never appears in this verb. May we assume that the Ionic ρd is due to the influence of δγάρδ in Hom. and Hdt. VI 72 and the ρd of γάραε, γαρδικω? δγάρα is an imperfect in form rather than an acrist (=Skt. αρδικ), though γαρδικ in the present is not attested before Xenophon. If an acrist we should expect δγάρη (cf. εδρη). We may assume as the present γάρδαμ (γαρδικ P 197) which in the imperfect (δγάρα) was inflected as a contract-verb. δγάρα became an acrist because of the disappearance of γάρδαμ, and the general use of γαρδικω (Hom., Sim. Am. 726, Hdt.). In H 148, P 197, ξ 67, Hdt. II 146 δγάρα has the acristic function. We are unable to observe the shade of difference in use between γαρδιω (γάραε) and γαρδικω (γάρασιε) noted by Ammonics. On γαρείε, see § 636, 2.

It is generally believed that in walfores VIII 21, Herodotos has preserved the only 1 occurrence of a verb makin = makain. damakingan Hippokr. III 552, inwalfor IV 240, which were formerly referred to this present, are, we believe, now regarded by most scholars as derived from an derealfue classific. which is to be connected with πάλ-λω. If παλάσειε is from παλέω, the latter must be held to be an 'Ionic' form, and placed in the same category as &pdu, τολμέω, &c. But nothing prevents us from deriving παλέσειε from παλέω and regarding the latter as the denominative of wiky. wakele is not a denominative from πάλη, as Curtius, Verbum I 340, held, because of the retention of s as ι before w. Whether Aiolic πάλαιμι (Hdn. II 930s) is anything more than the equivalent of makes may well be doubted. That this Aiolic form is the πάλαιμι which is set up by some as the original form, which was changed to παλαίω from the analogy of *κναῖμι, κναίω, is out of the question. The source of verbs in -alw, some of which have parallels in -dw, e.g. xaxalw, evalue, is still under dispute. Cf. Johansson, D. V. G. 176, who maintains that wakele has followed the lines of development of such primitives as welle, tele; and latterly, Solmsen in K. Z. XXIX 98, who thinks we hale is from water-w, παλήσειε from παλήω. These two forms are, Solmsen contends, amplifications of the root wax by -as and -n.

The first acrist arignum is found only in Ionic prose, and only in the sense persuaded, e.g. Hdt. I 68, &c., Hippokr. IV 80. The present drayundame is also employed as the present of arignum (cf. Hdt. VII 10 (6)), but is not, like that acrist, confined to Ionic. argumenties for, Hdt. VIII 110, occurs in the meaning had been persuaded, argumenties = argumenties, IV 154.

ourifactes Hdt. VII 60, if from from is the only example in the Ionic of Hdt. of the first acrist. The preferable reading is considered from convictors.

¹ Hesychios has, looking to the passage in Hdt., παλήσειο διαφθαρείη; and also δπάλλησειο δράφη (where δπάλησειο is to be read), πεπαληκένου διαφσερού Photios = διαγίστου τὰ πλοῦκ), πεπαλημένου Βεβλαμμένου.

⁽im Photios = deπίπτειν τὰ πλοῖα', πεπαλημέναι' βεβλαμμέναι.

³ Cf. Greg. Kor. § 95. The schol. on Dionys. Thrax in Villoison's Aneed. Grace. II 179 erroneously states that Δυέγνων means permaded, in Hdt. I 87, where ἀνέγνων is wrongly cited for ἀνέγνων. Bast quotes from the Et. Leidens. ἀνάγνωστε . . . παρὰ δὰ θουκυδίδη ἡ ἀνάπειστε, καὶ ἀναγνώστειν τὸ ἀναπείδειν (I). Suidas' remark (s. v. ἀνάγνωστε): ἀναγινώστειν παρὰ ράτορουν ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀναπείδειν refers to Andokides. M. Schmidt refers the Hosychian gloss ἀναγνώναι ἀναπείσαι to Hippokrates IV 80, where we read ἀναγνώναι. Erotian and Galen have ἀναγνώναι' μεταπείσαι, μεταδιδάξαι. Hosychios has also ἀναγνώστειν πείδειν.

Instances of a orists formed from a stem with the increment ε or otherwise noteworthy are: — εφθίνησα Hippokr. V 468, εκέρδησα Hdt. IV 152, καθενδήσαι Hippokr. VII 198, a verb rarely employed in prose. An unusual form in early Greek is έξησα Hippokr. II 112; ήσα, Anakr. 148, is rare (Pollux III 98: ήδω Ίωνικὸν καὶ τὸ ήσε (νυἰσο ήδε) σπάνιον μὲν παρ' ἡμῖν, 'Ανακρέων δ' αὐτὸ εἴρηκεν, 'Ίων καὶ ποιητής ἀνήρ). From ἀφάσσω we have ήφασα (ἄφασον Hdt. III 69). Littré's emendation ἀφασσήση, Hippokr. VII 326, would imply a confusion with ἀφάω (or a verb ἀφασσάω). Θ has σαφάσση, Vat. ἐσσαφήσση, whence Ermerins ἐσαφάσσης.

594. Second Aorist.

τάμνω (§ 129) yields ἔτεμον in inscriptions, but Herodotos has ἔταμον II 162, IV 201, VII 132, &c. In III 69 the inscriptional form is well supported. Hippokrates has ἔταμον, e.g. VII 70, 152. ὅφλεε, Hdt. VIII 26 (in Rz), is a false form, apparently due to a confusion between ὀφλεῖν and ὄφλειν which was a late present. Cf. Cobet, Var. Lect., 129. ἐνείχεε, Hdt. I 118, it is vain to attempt to defend, though found in all MSS. Archil. 73 has ἡμβλακον. In Ibykos, Pindar, Simonides of Keos, and the tragic poets the form is ἡμπλακον. No present ἀμπλακίσκω is found, but in Doric we have ἀμβλακίσκω. From the aorist form as a point of departure, it was sought to extend the verb into other tenses, but the attempt was not successful. Bloomfield (A. J. P. VI 46) connects ἀμβλακεῖν with Skt. mlecchati, and suggests that the π of ἡμπλακον is due to association of the word by popular etymology with $\pi\lambda$ έκω or $\pi\lambda$ άζω.

έχαδον, poetic like χανδάνω, occasionally appears in Ionic prose.

Hdt. has έσπου. On έπεσου, see § 607.

595.] Perfect.

On augment and reduplication, see §§ 578ff., 583ff.

I. Endings. $\bar{a}\sigma\iota$ is the regular termination of the third person plural in prose (e.g. Iasos 105₅), and poetry, except Xenophanes' $\pi\epsilon\phi\dot{\eta}\nu\ddot{a}\sigma\iota\nu$ and $\mu\epsilon\mu a\theta\dot{\eta}\kappa\ddot{a}\sigma\iota$ ¹, formations similar to Homeric $\lambda\epsilon\lambda\dot{\alpha}\gamma$ - $\chi\ddot{a}\sigma\iota$ λ 304, $\pi\epsilon\phi\dot{\nu}\kappa\ddot{a}\sigma\iota$ η 114, and like forms in Empedokles, Antimachos, and in the dialect of Phokis. This - $\ddot{a}\sigma\iota$ is equivalent to Skt. - $\ddot{a}t\dot{\iota}$ of reduplicating verbs, and has been forced into the perfect from its old and proper home in the present ².

Assimilation of the perfect to the aorist ending (σ)-αν occurs in παρείληφαν, Smyrna, Ditt. Syll. 171₃₈ (246-222 B.C.). The form is late, not specially Ionic. In late Lakonian we find διατετέλεκαν (Ditt. Syll. 255₃).

2. The 'second' perfect, the older formation which preserves unaspirated a final κ , γ , π , β of the stem, appears in later Ionic as in other dialects.

Cited by Hdn. II 1619; not in Bergk.

² Schmidt, K. Z. XXVII 394, cf. Osthoff, M. U. I 100, Monro, H. G. § 7.

Examples of the unaspirated forms are έηγα (see § §82), δοργα, δρουγα ¹ (not in Homer, but in Archil. and Hippokr.), κέπραγα (with non-Ionic & in Hippokr. VIII 66), λέληκα Sim. Amorg. 718, πέπραγα λανε fared (πέπραχα λανε done is also Ionic), οίκα (see § §82), πέφευγα, τέθηκα, τέτηκα, τέτρεγα. ἀνέψγα is found only in a letter of Hippokr. (IX 394), where it has the rare active sense.

Other examples of the second perfect worthy of note for various reasons are διέφθορα = am ruined Hippokr. VIII 246, as in Homer, δέδρομα Sim. Amorg. 700, whereas both Hdt. and Hippokr. have the later κ form δοδρόμηκα, λέληθα Sim. Amorg. 70 and Hdt., but not in Homer, διάληθα = epis δι- and ελιάλουθα, πέφηνα (not πέφαγκα) rare in prose, δρηρα Hippokr. IX 366; δέδιε Hippokr. VIII 36, δεδιέναι V 414, δεδιάς VI 210 (rejected by Littré). πέγροφα is the perfect of τρέφω Hippokr. VI 380. γέγρονα, not γεγένημαι (Hippokr. IX 382), is Herodoteian. On δωθα, εδωθα, see § 582. The absence of γέγηθα from Ionic prose is noteworthy, as this form occurs in the epic, in Attic prose and poetry, and in Doric. γέγραπφα, in a late inscription from Priene (British Museum Inscriptions, III, 1, no. 4127) might have been mentioned under § 362.

 The 'first,' or aspirated, perfect is foreign to the epic dialect, but appears in the later Ionic.

Forms worth special notice are δια- and δμπέπλοχε Hippokr. IX 190, and δμπέπλοχε 192 (δμπέπλοκε three MSS.). In the case of the forms with ablaut there are variants -πλοχε. Hdn. II 356₁₁ = Choirob. 548₁₃, calls πέπλοχα, &c. Attic, while πέπλοχα (-εξα Lentz), πέπεμφα, βέβρεχα are referred to the Keirý. The scholiast on H 346 (τετρηχυῖα) says that τέτρηχα is the result of 'Ionic syncope' for τετάραχα. The later Ionic used τετάραγμαι (Hdt., Hippokr.).

4. Whatever the origin of the κ perfect², the forms that served as models for the ever increasing spread of this formation must be sought in those perfects which are derived from stems in long vowels. Even in the case of vocalic stems, the only stems which in Homer have κ in this tense, the epic dialect does not invariably adopt the κ form. The following were inherited by the later dialect from Homer.

βίβηκα, βίβληκα, βίβρωκα, δεδάηκα, δεδείπτηκα, δίδυκα, δότηκα, μέμυκα, πέρυκα, φχωκα οτ οίχωκα, τέθτηκα, τετύχηκα (certain only in κ 88; in P 748 -χηώς Herakl. Miles.). In Homer the κ forms are used in the singular number with but rare exceptions.

The perfect without κ , which in the participle of vocalic stems is more frequent in Homer than that with κ , was regarded by the ancient grammarians as a specific mark of the Ionic dialect. Homeric forms are noticed by Theognostos in An. Ox. II 15122; Choirob. 82911 (cf. Hdn. II 2962 ff.); An. Ox. I 9923, II 3557, Schol. L on E 698, Et. M. 19325, 5011; Et. Gud. 10645, 1217, 31819; Eust. 28224, 44329 (cf. 56111, 59521), 170044 (cf. 171449). The ω of references was held to be Ionic, Eust. 13362. On respects, see § 377, 4, note.

¹ Bekker's Ιρρηγμαι Hdt. II 12, which suggests the Herakleian Ιρρηγα, is not to be defended.

² Cf. Johansson, Beiträge sur gr. Sprachkunde, for the fullest discussion of the subject.

From the analogy of the perfects with κ preceded by a long vowel, were formed those with κ after a short vowel, e.g. $\mathring{a}\pi o\lambda \mathring{a}-\lambda \epsilon \kappa a$, $\mathring{\epsilon}\lambda \mathring{\eta}\lambda a \kappa a$, $\mathring{\epsilon}\mu \mathring{\eta}\mu \epsilon \kappa a$, verbs whose future and agrist had σ preceded by a short vowel. In such forms as $\pi \acute{\epsilon}\pi \lambda \check{v}\kappa a$, the point of departure was the perfect middle. Finally stems ending in a dental explosive ($\kappa \epsilon \kappa \acute{\epsilon}\mu \kappa a$) fell into line.

In the following note are given forms noteworthy for various

reasons.

Hdt. uses a late formation λελάβηκε III 42, 65, &c., = Attic είληφα and είληφα
*σέσληφα. With λελάβηκε, cf. λελάβηκας Euseb. Mynd. 51, λάψεται Miletos 1004, κατελάφθη Zeleia 1137. Hippokrates III 308 has ἀναλελάφθαι according to the MSS. In the middle Hdt. has ἀπολελαμμένοι IX 51. On νένωκα Hdt. III 6, from νενόηκα, see § 296. ἄδηκα, Hippon. 100, is the only occurrence of this tense-form in literature. δεδοίκωσι is found in Hippokr. IV 166, δεδοικώς Hdt. I 107. On πεπλώκαμεν, see § 78, on είσχηκα, § 216. In Ionic prose we find ἀπείρηκα, -είρημαι, not ἀπηγόρενκα, -ευμαι. τέθνηκα appears in composition with a preposition (Hippokrates). γεγήρακα is used by Hrd. 64 (see § 593, 4). On δρώρηκα and ἀκήκουκα in Hrd., see §§ 582, 583, 2.

596. Pluperfect.

The first person ends in $-\epsilon a^1$ ($\epsilon \omega \theta \epsilon a$, $\tilde{\eta} \delta \epsilon a$ Hdt.), the second would end in $-\epsilon a s^2$ in the dialect of the fifth century, we venture to believe. $\kappa a \tau \epsilon \iota \lambda \hat{\eta} \phi \epsilon \iota s^3$ Hippokr. IX 382 contains the later $-\epsilon \iota s$. In the third person $-\epsilon \epsilon^4$ makes its appearance in about twenty-five verbs in Hdt., whose MSS. reject the form in $-\epsilon \iota^5$. Examples are $\delta \pi \omega \pi \epsilon \epsilon$, $\epsilon \tau \epsilon \tau \epsilon \nu \chi \epsilon \epsilon$ (cf. $\tau \epsilon \tau \nu \chi \hat{\eta} \kappa \eta s$ Hippokr. III 434), $\delta \kappa \eta \kappa \delta \epsilon \epsilon$, $\epsilon \sigma \tau \hat{\eta} \kappa \epsilon \epsilon$ ($-\epsilon \iota$ Hippokr. V 150).

In Hdt. VIII 79 for προακήκοε of all MSS, we read -δει (cf. VII 208). Occasionally the close association in form between imperfect and pluperfect (cf. ἐπενήνοθε, ἐγέγωνε in Homer) caused such readings as ἐλήλνθε VIII 50 (all MSS.).

The termination -εε reappears in Lukian's Syr. dea εγεγόνεε 4, 25, επεπόνθεε 25, εώθεε 35, ἀπολελοίπεεν 26, Euseb. ἀπεστήκεε 9. Hippokrates differs from Herodotos in that he adopts -ει, e.g. εμπεφύκει II 246, ἀφωρμήκει V 122, ἐκεκράγει V 396 (with

2 -εες is fabricated from the later -εις by Choirob. 601₂₁ (cf. Et. Mag. 386₂₀),
 who was misled by -εε for -ει.
 2 Thus Littré and Ermerins. καταλελαβήκεις, which occurs in four MSS.,

recalls Hdt. λελαβήκεε III 42.

Cf. Hdn. II 19323 = Choirob. 5607 (cf. 60111); Et. Mag. 38621.

¹ Cf. Apollon. Adv. 1917 (Schneider), Hdn. II 326₂₀ = Choirob. 600₂₁ (cf. 564₂₈, 860₂₉), Hdn. II 835₂₂ = Choirob. 866₂₁; An. Ox. IV 211₂₀, An. Par. III 320₂₂, IV 232₂₀, Et. Mag. 386₁₅, Et. Gud. 236₂₄, Eust. 50₂₇, 718₁₈, 1589₄₁, cf. 1946₂₀; but in 881₈₆ elphκη and elστήκη are put down as Ionic. elστήκευ Hippokr. IX 352, is late.

⁶ Homeric -ει (δδάδει, δράρει) Eust. 1523ε3, who is there treating of the reduplication. Asios 4 has εἰστήκει. Homeric -ειν (ἐστήκειν, Βεβλήκειν) is referred to by Choirob. 560ε.

Attic a), eyeyover IX 3821. The single example from the inscriptions2 is of too late a date to render certain, what on the whole seems probable enough, that in the ordinary, inartistic

speech of the fifth century - ee had yielded to - et.

Plural forms are not at hand in the case of the first person 3. συνηδέατε occurs in Hdt. IX 58. -εσαν⁴, not -εισαν, is Ionic. Thus Hdt. has εώθεσαν, εγεγόνεσαν, ηλώκεσαν, Hippokr. μεμαθήκεσαν Ι 592, προηριστήκεσαν ΙΙ 290, εξεπεφύκεσαν V 124 (Littre -€ισαν).

597. Subjunctive.

Present. -ησι appears in Theog. 139, ἐθέλησω (Bergk with most MSS. -η-, but A has -η-), and in ελαύνηισι Hdt. I 188, in such excellent MSS. as A B C. The form has no justification in

prose.

Aorist. Traces in later Ionic of the original identity of the aorist subjunctive and the future indicative are given in § 239. The proper form of the sorist of the is etecoa, as is evident from ἐκτείσωσι Zeleia 11335 (cf. § 214), dating shortly after 334 B.C. An earlier and Attic example of excelouou is found in C. I. A. II 14, A 8, 13 (before 378 B.C.). Hdt. has έπιβέωμεν VII 50.

Perfect. Hippokrates, IV 166, makes use of the rare form δεδοίκωσι. δεδοικώς is rare in prose (Hdt. I 107, Hippokr. II 76). Other examples of the simple (not periphrastic) form are

τετυχήκης Hippokr. III 434, βεβρώκη VIII 350, τεθήλη VI 654 (conj.), ἐξεληλύθη VII 24, ἐκπεπτώκη IV 240, VIII 148. ἀνώγωμεν Hrd. 33 may be noted because this verb is used in Ionic prose (Hdt. VIII 104 ἀνώγη). Hrd. 7101 has a present ἀνώγουσα; cf. ἀνώγει Hdt. VII 104 (ἄνωγε?). In Hdt. III 81 the important δικού το πορολίδο πο the imperfect avwye is probably perfect. On avwye see Mekler Beitr. z. Bild. d. gr. Verb. p. 48. Danielsson Nord. tidskr. f. filol. VII 138, refers dvúyw to dváyw.

598. Optative.

- 1. An occurrence of the rare future optative is if to Hdt. I 127 (ήξει Rd).
 - 2. The endings of the first agrist optative are -cias, -cie (-ai?)5,

² ennyopdies Erythr. 206 ▲ 17. 3 -einer Choirob. 564m.

4 Hdn. II 279, = Choirob. 60614; An. Ox. IV 19314, An. Par. IV 1911, Et.

ĸ k

¹ These forms show that δλελήθη, the vulgate reading in III 418, is an error for -et; cf. V 208. eyeyéret appears in Menekrates, esellet Aretaios 81.

Mag. 386.3.

³ βίψαι II 100 may be read as an infinitive, συμβουλεύσαι III 156 is due to Stephanus. Both are adopted by Dindorf. Hips is generally accepted by recent editors (Bachr John).

-ειαν, and -αιεν. Hdt. has ποιήσειαν (cf. Teos 156 B 30), δρμήσειαν, etc., with -ειαν as in Homer. This ending is therefore not specifically Aiolic (cf. Hdn. II 823₁₆, &c.). διαφυλάξαιεν Hdt. VI 101, ἀποδέξαιεν VIII 35, συνενείκαιεν VII 152 (the only cases of -αιεν) contain an ending constructed from the model -οιεν.

In the second agrist we may note εὐροίης, adopted by Littré
in Hippokr. I 590. Here there is the v. l. εὕροις which is
adopted VIII 326; cf. Hrd. 673. Hdt. uses εἴποι not εἴπαι.

4. Herodotos does not use the perfect active optative form in -οιην. Cf. περιεληλύθοι, βεβρώκοι, πεποιήκοι, ήλώκοι; in the plural -οιεν in πεποιήκοιεν. τεθναίην occurs in Mimn. 12, καθεστήκοι in Hippokr. IX 380. Hdt. has both εἰδείησαν and εἰδείεν, § 702.

599.] Imperative.

In Anakr. 75 we find κλθθι, a form occurring in Homer and tragedy; πλθι Hrd. 1_{82} . From εἶπον we have the second agrist form εἰπϵ Hdt. V 111, προειπϵτω Hippokr. IV 376, but κατειπάτω B. P. W. 1889, 1194, l. 7. Hrd. 3_{26} has εἶπα. A pure perfect optative is ξυμμεμυκϵτω Hippokr. IX 54.

Infinitive.

Some of the ancients held that the occurrence of -εμεν in Homer was warrant of its Ionic character. Cf. An. Ox. I 13132 ἐλκέμεν, 1327 εὐρέμεν. So too the Aiolic -μεναι is called Ionic (and Doric) in An. Par. III 14513. On the occurrences of these two forms in elegiae, not in iambic poetry, see § 700.

600.] Future.

 Liquid Verbs. - ϵειν is the usual traditional reading in Herodotos and Hippokrates, though contraction had ensued in the fifth century. Hdt. has ἀμυνέειν VII 168, αἰσχυνέειν IX 53 (the active is rare in prose), Hippokr. ἀποφανέειν VII 530, ἐπικρινέειν IV 630.

Verbs in -ίζω. After the close vowel ι, εε are merged into ει. καταγιεῖν Hdt. I 86, καταπλουτιεῖν VI 132, ἀτρεμιεῖν VIII 68 (β)¹, θεσπιεῖν VIII 135², μακαριεῖν IX 93.

3. Verbs in -άζω. From δικάζω we have the noteworthy ἀποδικᾶν Hdt. I 97. In Attic the σ was never dropped in this verb, and Hdt. has δικασόμενοι I 96. The Ionians seem to have pursued a different course from the Attics in differentiating the

¹ Here PR have arpsuteer.

² Stein adopts θεσπιέειν, the reading of R, by a strange inconsequence.

active and middle forms. Late writers contract the future middle. κατασκευᾶν appears in a late document from Olbia, C. I.G. 2058 B 29, 53. Hdt. has διασκεδᾶν I 79 (σκεδάζω is late).

601. First Acrist.

Hdt. has εἶπαι and εἰπεῖν, the very rare οἶσαι in ἀνοῖσαι I 157, a correction of ἀνῶσαι of the MSS. Cf. ἄνοιστος VI 66. In Homer we have οἶσον, in Arkadian ἐποίση (subj.).

602.] Second Aorist.

The infinitive in $-\epsilon \epsilon \iota \nu^1$, while not unknown to the MSS. of the early Ionic prosaists and the pseudo-Ionists, occurs nowhere else in the monuments of Greek prose literature. It is certain that this form did not first appear in a prose text. Whether it came into existence in a pre-Herodoteian period of the history of the Homeric text (as seems probable), or whether it must be ascribed to a later date, cannot be definitely determined. At all events the $-\epsilon \epsilon \iota \nu$ forms in Homer represent a misunderstanding of the old $-\epsilon \epsilon \nu$. They were foisted upon the epic language by false transcription of EEN through the analogy of $\epsilon \iota \nu$ and congeners. That $-\epsilon \epsilon \iota \nu$ was substituted for EMEN, as has often been maintained, is not probable.

No Ionic inscription has any other form than $-\epsilon i\nu$. In Theognis 426 one MS. has $l\delta \ell \epsilon \iota \nu$, and in 1190 one (K) has $\pi \rho o\phi \nu \gamma \ell \epsilon \iota \nu$. The genuine forms are amply attested. In the elegiac poets we find everywhere else $-\epsilon i\nu$, and no iambographic poet has $-\ell \epsilon \iota \nu$. This holds good of some sixteen verbs occurring fifty-one times (elegy 43, iambics 8).

In Herodotos by far the greater number of second sorists end in $-\epsilon i\nu$. In some cases, however, all the MSS. agree in the

longer form3.

That these forms are due to the activity of pseudo-Ionizing grammarians and scribes, who held that the language of Hdt. was the language of Homer, is clear from the fact that Hdt. is never made guilty of an attempt to create an expect, an electrical and expects.

Kk2

¹ Et. M. 46549 (cf. 22481), Et. Gud. 27023, An. Ox. I 2163 refer Blew, saview to the Ionians.

It is but seldom that any acrist in -few is followed in Homer by a word beginning with a vowel. This makes against our assuming that -few is a genuine contamination of an acrist -cer (e-fer or e-cer) and the present -few cf. Rhodian figure by contamination of -µer and -ew.

The following are only those verbs in which there is absolute consensus. βαλίειν II 111, III 12, 35 bis', συμ- II 10, III 32, 160 (cf. IV 42), ère- III 41 cf. VIII 65. ὑπερ- VII 168; ἐλίειν Ι 36; ἐπεθανίειν Ι 82, VII 229; Βίειν V 24; παθέειν ΙΙ 141, VII 11 (cf. VI 12, VII 17); πεσθειν ΙΙ 141, III 53, 81, V 86, συμ- III 120, μετα- V 61; φαγέειν ΙΙ 141; ἐπεφυγίειν Ι 91, δια- Ι 10, 204, VIII 88. In other passages the correct forms of each of these verbs occur, though not without the c.l.-deιν. All of these -deιν forms are Homeric, though the prepositions do not always agree.

or an $\partial \gamma \alpha \gamma \acute{\epsilon} \epsilon i \nu$, forms which could not find admission into the hexameter save by a synizesis which had equalized them with the ordinary $-\epsilon \hat{i} \nu$. The occurrence of these (false) Homerisms in Hdt. is a signal instance of the effort to render poetical the diction of the historian. The 'sweetness' of the Ionic dialect was due, according to the rhetoricians, to its poetical nature $(\hat{\eta} \ \gamma \hat{a} \hat{\rho} \ 'l \hat{a} \hat{s} \ o \hat{v} \sigma \alpha \ \pi o i \eta \tau i \kappa \hat{\eta} \ \phi \acute{v} \sigma \epsilon i \ \hat{\epsilon} \sigma \tau \hat{l} \nu \ \hat{\eta} \hat{\sigma} \hat{\epsilon} \hat{i} \alpha$). Herodotos' $\pi o i \kappa i \lambda l \alpha$ became his perversion.

In the editions of other Ionic prosaists there are to be found many occurrences of $-\epsilon_{\epsilon\nu}$. The MSS., however, often pronounce

against their correctness.

Herakleitos 6 has $\epsilon l\pi \epsilon \tilde{\imath}\nu$, 114 καταλιπε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$; Demokr. 188 λαβε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ (Stob.), 70 τυχε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ (Stob.), but 135 ἀμαρτέειν, 20₁₄ κακοπαθέειν (both in Stob.); Diogen. 2 $\epsilon l\pi \epsilon \tilde{\imath}\nu$. In Hippokrates' Κωακαλ προγνώσεις, ἐπιδ. τρίτον there are no traces of ·έειν. In περὶ διαίτης δξέων, II 224 (cf. I 620), προκαταμαθε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ occurs, but in II 290 ἀφελέειν is adopted by Littré, and I 624 κακοπαθέειν (-ε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ is however found in Λ in both places); in περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλ $\tilde{\jmath}$ τρανμάτων, III 258, 260, ἀφελέειν is found without a variant. Elsewhere -ε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ is, we believe, in the genuine works, the only form. In the supposititious treatises, as well as in those that are genuine, we have often observed -έειν in Littré's text, ε.g. IV 184. ἀγαγέειν was not foisted upon Hippokrates in IV 142, where χανέειν occurs. Ατεταίος has παθέειν 12, θιγέειν 126, Ιδέειν and Ιδείν 126, ξυμβαλέειν 241, Lukian's Syr. dea παθέειν 25, Euseb. Mynd. ἀπελθε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ 1, εὐρε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ 13, 61, λαβε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ 51, κατασχε $\tilde{\imath}\nu$ 53.

603.] Perfect. On the ending -vaι in the perfect of θυήσκω, see § 700. τεθηλέναι occurs in Arrian, Ind. 404.

604.] Participle.

- 1. Future. In verbs derived from liquid stems, -εω-, -εω- are uncontracted, e.g. ερέων Hdt. VII 49, αγγελέοντα IV 14, αμννέοντες IX 60. From -ίζω verbs we have δπωριεθντες IV 172, 182. οἴσων is found in II 91.
- First Aorist. Greg. K. § 72 says that εἴπας, not εἰπών, is the Ionic form. In Hdt. I 27 εἰπόντα is, however, correct (εἴπαντα A²). εἴπας is very common (also in Euseb. Mynd. 1). νήσας, not νηήσας, Hdt. I 50, II 107 (νηέω is not later Ionic). On πρώσας, see § 267, 4. Hippokr. VII 254 has κρήσας (θ κιρνάς) as η 164 κρῆσαι. Cf. ἐκρήθην.

 Second Aorist. ἀποκλάς Anakr. 17 recalls Homeric οὐτάμενος, γηράς, and is formed as if the present were ἀπόκλημι.

4. Perfect. The grammarians 1 state that the Ionians had or, not $v\iota$, in the feminine of the perfect participle. The only support for this view to be found in the monuments is the reading of θ in the following participles in Hippokrates: $\epsilon\omega\theta$ o(η s

¹ Hdn. II 368₂₁ = Choirob. 832₂₅ (and = Bekk. An. III 1292₁₈).

VI 200, δωθοΐαν 204 (-υι- υνιζο, -ει- Κ)¹, τετοκοίη and τετοκοΐαν VIII 10, προσπεπτωκοΐαι VIII 312, with which cf. δκπεπτωκυΐα IV 80. Elsewhere we find only the -υι- forms, with perhaps a variant -ει-, e.g. δρηρυΐαι IX 394, δρηρυίη IX 366 (-ει- υ.ί.),

διεφθορυίη VIII 246.

Lobeck² held that the -oi- forms represent merely the confusion between vi, oi, and v that prevailed in later times. This is not probable. Perhaps -via was changed to -oia under the influence of -ωs of the masculine. G. Meyer (Gram. p. 308) cites φιάλαι πεπονηκόται from a Delian inscription (B. C. H. VI 51, 207), where a much more audacious assault has been made by the masculine. In Lakonian we find βίδιοι (i.e. fίδιοι) and βίδιοι lovioι and lδίνοι overseer (mentioned by Brugmann Grandr. II p. 412, 4).

On a late Oropian inscription ('Epqu. dpx. 1889, 3 ff.) we meet with disperyea, dwokatayeias. The-esa forms occur in inscriptions from Thera(distrete leaves,
dotakeia, ourayayoxeia), from Herakleia (dppyyeia), and from Attika (yeyoveia).
The Oropian forms may therefore be Attic. dppeyeia as well as Herakleian
dppyyeia retain the long vowel which is unoriginal in the feminine. We
expect dppdyeia; cf. Homeric dpupés, dpapuia. In Hippokratic dpupuia the
masculine form prevailed. The relation of the fem. -eia to the ordinary -via
is to be explained thus: the fem. nom. was -eia, the gen. -viās, whence -eia,
-eias and -via, -vias. Cf. J. Schmidt, K. Z. XXVI 329 ff.

Later Ionic generally adopts the forms of the first in preference to those of the second perfect.

BeBownés is the only a participial form in Homer which reappears in later Ionic (Hippokr. VI 268). The perfect and pluperfect active and middle of βιβρώσκω are well represented in Ionic. The following cases of the κ form in the post-Homeric dialect may be noticed. Homer has resures, -pores and -noros (and Theog. 1205), -nort and -cort, -nora and -nora, -noras, -noras and -ηότας; -ηυίης, -ηυίαν (not -κυίαν δ 734). In post-Homeric Ionic we find the π form in rebryaviar Hippon. 29, cf. rebryads Theog. 1230. The proce forms in use are τεθνεώς Hdt. IX 120 (τεθνεώς Theog. 1192), τεθνεώτος V 68, τεθνεώτα Hippokr. VIII 146, redreds Hdt. I 112 (-eds in B), Hippokr. V 212, VII 350, VIII 220 (-ids in θ). Cf. έστηκνία and έστεψε, § 701. Homer has βεβαώς, -αῶτα, βεβῶσα, and -βεβανῖα. Hippokr. III 282 has ἐπιβεβῶτα (cf. Attic βεβάς), διαβεβώτας IV 184. The κ form appears in βεβηκώς Archil. 584 (tetr.), βεβηκότας 56, (tetr.). πεφυώτας, -υνία in Hom., πεφυκυίη Hdt. II 56, -κυίας Hippokr. epist. 164. Homer has werrewras and -ewr' from wirre. Hekat. 360, Hippokr. III 434 have rerrenés; but in Hippokr. VIII 146 we find in and four other MSS. neuryora (Littré - 467a) which recalls neuryoras in Apoll. Rhod. III 321. Is the form with -no- due to confusion with evicew? Attic has both mentucies and mentes < &- for, as it has refraces and refrects.

In VI 228 θ has δυθνιη = νίμ.
 Pathol, II 25, note 5. Lobeck compares ψοῖαι ψυῖαι and τρίττοια = τριττόα.
 Cf. δοιοῦν Choeph. 944 (Μ).

Middle Voice.

605. Indicative Present.

-εαι 1 < -ε-σαι remains uncontracted in φαίνεαι Archil. epod. 94.1 χαρίζεαι 752 troch., έρχεαι Theog. 1374. In Anakr. 12 B, δινέαι, or δίνεαι, has been formed from δινέεαι. Contraction has set in in προεκπόνη (or -έαι) Sim. Amorg. 22 and in several forms in Anakreon :- ἐπιστρέφεαι 24, πέτεαι 9, βόσκεαι 755, τανταλίζη 78 (if Love is addressed). ἐπίστη Theog. 1085 (cf. below) occurs at the end of the hexameter. Cf. ἄρχη Ι 102, ἔλκη σ 10, &c. ένεύχη 647 and βούλει (?) 56 appear in the Herodas papyrus.

In Homer, whenever -n occurs it is almost always followed by a vowel: hence we may read e'(ai). Most of the instances of east before a consonant occur in a and the Odyssey.

In the Ionic prose of Hdt. - cal is preserved after a consonant and after diphthongs (e.g. διακελεύεαι I 42, VIII 80, βούλεαι I 206, βουλεύεαι VII 12, συμ- VII 235). After a vowel we find an unwarranted -εαι, as in φοβέεαι I 39 even in good MSS., δέεαι VII 161. P sometimes prefers the longer form, where the other MSS, adopt the form shortened by hyphaeresis, e.g. προθυμέαι Ι 206, ἐπαινέαι ΙΙΙ 34, εὐφρανέαι IV 9, φοβέαι VII 52, &c. R has διαιρέαι VII 50 where Stein reads -έεαι, as elsewhere. Lukian, Syr. dea 18, has λίσσεαι. -ει is not Herodoteian, at least in the present (see § 607); but βούλει appears in Hippokr. II 36, in Herodas 5_6 , and Ion $\epsilon \pi i \delta$. I. In Hippokrates at least we doubt its correctness. In pseudo-Ionic literature this ending is more frequent. Cf. Hippokr. epist. 1720. The grammarians of the Roman period regarded - et as specifically Attic.

In verbs whose themes end in $-\tilde{a}$, Ionic has $-\epsilon(\sigma)a\iota$ for $-a(\sigma)a\iota^2$ (§ 688, 1, note 2). Thus Hdt. has ἐπίστεαι VII 104, 135. This -εαι is contracted in επίστη Theog. 1085. In the Dorie of Pindar we have ἐπίστα from -aσαι, e.g. Pyth. III 80, but ἐπίστασαι VIII 7 as usually in Attic. Aischylos however has ἐπίστα as well as ἐπίστασαι. δύναμαι yields δύνασαι in Homer, Pindar, and classic Attic prose, but &va in Attic poetry (see Porson on Hek. 253). The Doric form is also δύνα. Ionic would be δύνεαι,

¹-εaι is called Ionic in Hom. κέλεαι:—An. Ox. I 21518, 24223, An. Par. III 32623, Tzetz. Ex. II. 1178, Et. M. 5028, Et. Gud. 27038, 31338; μέμφεαι Et. Gud. 38721, An. Ox. I 2703. The ancients thought κέλε(τ)αι yielded κέλεαι. ²-εαι from -ααι is Ionic according to Hdn. II 8402 = Choirob. 8793 if we accept Lentz' reading. Ἰωνικῶς is wrongly said of δύναι, ἐτίσται in Choirob. (cf. Hdn. II 29817 = Choirob. 67312 for the Ionic loss of the σ). Cf. also An. Ox. IV 18611, Eust. 96921. The scholium Hesiod W. D. quoted by Gaisford p. 266 is corrupt.

a form that has been contracted in dun, Anakreonteia 2911.

δύνασαι Hippokr. IX 342 is Attic.

Varia. It may be noted, in view of the objections raised to the occurrence of $\kappa a\theta \ell \zeta o\mu a\iota$ in early authors, that Hippokr. VIII 392, which is cited by Veitch in support of its early existence, is not supported by θ ; and in VII 348 for $\kappa a\theta \epsilon \zeta \ell \sigma \theta \omega$, θ has $\kappa a\theta \ell \sigma \theta \omega$.

On -atai, -catai, see § 585.

606.] Imperfect.

Hdt. has εο < εσο, e.g. ἐνετέλλεο I 117, ἐπηγγέλεο VII 39; Lukian V. A. 5 ἐφαντάζεο. On ἢπιστέατο Hdt. II 53, &c., and -ατο, -εατο generally, see § 585. Whether ἀπάγχεο, Archil. 67, is an imperfect is uncertain. -ευ seems not to occur in Hdt. (ἠέξευ Kallimachos' Hymn to Zeus 55).

We do not recall a case of $-\omega$ in the second person in the later dialect. $\epsilon \kappa \rho \epsilon \mu \omega^1$ occurs O 21. In Attic we find $\eta \pi \iota \sigma \tau \sigma \sigma$ and $-\omega$ (the latter in prose). $\eta \delta \iota \nu \sigma \sigma \sigma$ occurs Hippokr. IX 344=

Attic ἐδύνω.

The non-Attic ηρχόμην appears in Hippokr. V 426, IX 328 (uncompounded).
Δεηρχόμην is found V 402, ὑπεξ- V 414. Hippokr. also used the subjunctive VII 598, ἐξ- VIII 508, the infinitive VIII 546, IX 418, Δπ- VIII 42, the participle διεξ- II 138 (in a genuine treatise). Cf. Rutherford, New Phrymichus, p. 103 ff.

607.] Future.

 First Person Singular. -εθμαι is the ending in -ίζω verbs: ἐναγωνιεθμαι Hdt. III 83, δριεθμαι Hippokr. VI 4, IX 264.

2. The termination of the second person singular.

(a) $-\epsilon a \iota^2$. The lyric poets generally preserve the form $-\epsilon a \iota$. Thus in Archil. 792 $\tau \epsilon \rho \psi \epsilon a \iota$, Ananios 12 d $\rho \ell \epsilon a \iota$, Theog. 35 $\mu a \theta \eta \sigma \epsilon a \iota$ and in several other forms (100, 884, 991, 1161 cf. Stobaios, 1285, 1299, 1333). Of the prose writers Herodotos has $\delta \psi \epsilon a \iota$ I 155 (and so MSS. Androm. 1225), drauphoea I 71 (see § 633), $d\pi \ell \epsilon a \iota$ II 29 (a rare future in prose: for Aldus' $\ell \epsilon a \iota$ in the same chapter, $\ell \epsilon \epsilon a \iota$ is read), $\ell \epsilon a \iota$ II 29, $\ell a \iota$ aparaciyea V 52, $\ell a \iota$ V 52, $\ell a \iota$ I 199, and in all other forms. Demokritos 2035 has $\ell \iota \iota \omega \sigma \epsilon a \iota$.

Lukian has ἀπίξεαι Syr. dea 25, μεμνήσεαι 30, ἐνασκήσεαι V.A. 3, εἴσεαι 4, 5, γνώσεαι 4, ματαβήσεαι 5, δψεαι 6; Euseb. Mynd. has ἔσεαι 63, καταθήσεαι 51, cf. νομισθήσεαι 52, Aret. 30 δψεαι.

In liquid verbs, - fai not - feai is correct, e.g. eupparfai Hdt.

¹ Hdn. II 317₂₁ = Choirob. 883₁ (cf. Et. Mag. 324₁₁) calls ἐπρέμω Attie, ἀκρέμω Ionic because of the loss of σ; cf. An. Ox. I 171₅, IV 213₂₀, 379₁.

³ -car is called Ionic Et. Mag. 237₁₅, Et. Gud. 128₁₆ (γράσται), Et. Mag. 381₂₁ (Ισεαι), An. Par. III 335₂₄ (Ισάσσεαι).

IV 9 (-εεαι Pz only), ἀποθανέαι IV 163 (-εεαι Pz only), ἀπολαμ-

πρυνέαι Ι 41 (-εεαι no authority).

(β). -η. Theognis has γνώση 65 and πωτήση 238, in each case followed by a consonant. With γνώση, cf. B 367 γνώσεω δ'1 and 365 γνώση έπειθ'. Hrd. 250 has πλώση, 661 γνώση, 81 κείση.

χαριῆ should be read in Hdt. I 90, κομιῆ in II 121 (γ); cf. VII 49. Dindorf's -ιέεαι, Bredow's and Stein's -ιεῖ are impossible: the former because of the mass of vowels (cf. - fat from - feat in liquid verbs), the latter because -ηι does not become -ει in Eastern Ionic. Hippokr. has γνώση VII 340.

(γ) When contracted -εαι becomes -η in Ionic. -ει is possible in Euboian Ionic, but not elsewhere. We have therefore no hesitation in branding as spurious εξευρήσει Herakl. 7. In Hippokr. VIII 342 θ has όψη: hence we read όψη, not όψει with Littré, as there is no need of assuming a retention of the later Attic ὄψει. ὄψει 'Οδυσσεῦ μ 101 is an error, as it is in Ψ 620, where AD have όψη ἐν; in both passages όψε' may be read. -ει in Hrd. I1, 523, 791 is an Atticism.

3. - eîrai is the correct termination of the third person of liquid verbs and those derived from a present in -i(w. This ending is not generally preserved in the MSS., where it has been

supplanted by -έεται.

(a) -είται occurs as follows: ἀνανεμείται Hdt. I 173 (A B), μανείται I 109 (all MSS., the fut. middle is very rare); σημανείται Hippokr. II 228, θανείται (not ἀπο-) VIII 70 (C θ), 98, ἀμβλυνείται IV 464, αναχανείται VIII 498 (for αναχάνηται), τεκμαρείται VI 24; φανείται Demokr. 135 (sic Stob.; cf. 6). Solon 41, Theog. 867 have δλείται. ἀνδραποδιείται Hdt. VI 17, καθαρείται Hippokr. VII 24, 330, 338, 508, διορείται IV 102. Οπ πεσείται Hdt. VII 163 (R; -έεται all MSS. in VII 168), V 92 (β, oracle), and on προσπεσείται Hippokr. VIII 34, see below.

(β) -έεται is found in ἀποθανέεται Hdt. IV 190, διαφθερέεται VIII 108 (note that -φθερήσεται is not used); σημανέεται

Hippokr. VII 276.

4. Plural. -εύμεθα in κομιεύμεθα Hdt. VIII 62 (hence νομιούμεν ΙΙ 17 is wrong), ἀμυνεύμεθα VIII 143 (-εο- Abicht), φανεύμεθα Hippokr. IX 424. χαριείσθε Hdt. IV 98. φανέονται Hdt. III 35, διαφθερέονται IX 42, εξανδραποδιεύνται VI 9.

5. Doric Future. Ionic, like Attic of the best period (cf. Rutherford's Phrynichus, p. 91), usually rejects the 'Doric' forms. Thus Hdt. has whenσομαι II 29, III 135, φεύξομαι Ι 207, πεύσομαι IX 58, Hippokr. παραπνεύσομαι

Barnes read γνώσεαι el with asyndeton. In N 818 we find ἀρήση Διί, in I 102 ἄρχη (subj.) at the verse end. These two cases of η and γνώσεαι above are the only occurrences in the Iliad of the closed forms. -p in the future always occurs before vowels, so that we may read -e'.

VIII 284, βεόσεμαι VI 440, 442, VII 224, 556, VIII 100, a form found in Theog. 448. (In VIII 596 the active βεόσει is probably corrupt). In Homer we find δσσείται and πεσέσεται, πεσέσεται πεσέσται οccurs in Attic and in Hdt. VII 168, Hippokr. VIII 34; but δσσείται is rejected by both Attic and Ionic. Wackernagel (Κ. Z. ΧΧΧ 313) in setting up a new theory of the generis of these two forms, regards the 'Doric' future as alien from Ionic speech. It is, however, improbable that δσσείται should be a contamination of δεσεται and *είται, and that πετόσμαι should have passed into πεσόσμαι by assibilation of τ before a vowel not ίσαι. στεργοσείται in Olbia, Dittenberger Syll. 3541, 177 is no doubt a contamination of στεργόσεται and στερείται, but is a poor support for the above explanation of δεσείται.

The derivation of πεσεύμει from *πετσίσμει does not carry with it that of έπεσον from *έπετσον. An *έπετσον would have yielded an *έπεσον, which would have been preserved in Homer: but of such a form there is no trace. From *πετσίσμει the epic forms with σσ were necessarily limited; in fact Homer has only πεσίστει and πεσίεσθει where the single σ was inevitable. We must assume that έπεσον was substituted for έπετον, which is attested as Doric and Aiolic, at a time when *πεσσίσμει had given way to πεσίσμει. As in Sappho 42 έμπεσών has been installed in the place of the earlier and genuine τ form, so in Homer έπεσον has usurped the place of the regular έπετον. Cf. Brugmann, Gram. p. 170.

The appearance of πιούμαι in Hippokr. VII 196 is not more surprising than its occurrence in Aristotle. It is a form used by late writers that has crept into Xenoph. Symp. 4, 7, but disapproved by Athen. X 446 R, Phryn. p. 91 (R.). Homer N 493 and Theognis 962 have πίσμαι, Ion 210 πίσμαι. On έμπίσμαι Theog. 1129 (present), see M. Schmidt, R. M. XXII 186. Pindar, Ol. VI 86 has the present πίσμαι < *πίσμαι. Cf. τίω, τίω. πίσμαι is a subjunctive used as a future.

6. Varia. In Miletos 100,4 we find λάψεται, whereas Hdt. has λάμφομαι I 199, IX 108. The former of these forms is built on the model of ελαβον (αξ. θορέσμαι εθορον, καμέσμαι εκαμον), the latter on that of λαμβάνω. With λάμψομαι, cf. συμπεριενεγχθείς C. I. G. 2058 A 32, 79 B 70 (Olbia), and see § 130. A contamination of the Attic λήψομαι (which appears in Hippokr. VII 490, VIII 16, 34) and λάμψομαι is λήμψομαι C. I. G. 42444, 42472, 42492, 42531 (Lykia), and in the N. T. See §§ 619, 634, 4. Hdt. has λάξομαι VII 144 with the α of the present: *λάγξομαι would have been parallel to λάμψομαι.

different Samos 22119-20 recalls afterent Hdt. VII 8. The inscriptions have brought us as yet no example of \$ξα or of \$ξάμην. Hippokr. VI 504 has παρασχήσονται. Ιξομαι is Homeric but not later Ionie; cf. § 592, 5. On μαχήσομαι, 200 § 592, 4.

608.] First Acrist.

-ao remains open in the MSS. of Hdt. in εξεργάσαο (16 times), κατεχρήσαο, εμιμήσαο, and in numerous other forms; in only one instance does contraction appear: εποιήσω VIII 102. The open -ao < -aσfo is noteworthy because medial afo became ω as early as the sixth century¹ (§ 277). Xenoph. 51 has ήραο,

¹ Homeric -mo is called Ionic in An. Ox. I 211;, An. Par. III 3046, 356m (ήναο); An. Par. III 138m, 248, (λλόσπο); cf. An. Par. III 8544.

but Archil. epod. 941 has ἐφράσω (in the seventh century it was not permitted to resolve the arsis), and ἐδέξω 101 at the end of an Archilochium iambicon curtum. Lukian Syr. dea 25 has εἰργάσαο, Hippokr. IX 365 ἐμέμψω (epist.).

2. Relation between the stems èven- and èveyk- of the first and second aorist. These stems are not etymologically akin, that of the former being derived from the preposition ev + eux which is connected with ico or with Lith. sekiu, reach with the hand. See § 214, 2. ey-eye is reduplicated (cf. Skt. ānānça). ¿veik- was soon regarded as uncompounded, conjoined with ¿veykas an agrist of φέρω, and in modern times explained as a development of ένεγκ- (Schmidt, Vocalismus, I 122). In Ionic poetry and prose (with the exception of the medical writers) evens-gained the upper hand. It appears as early as Homer and is found in Pindar, but in the former author the second agrist is exceedingly rare, and its forms referred to a present evelow-In Ionic inscriptions we find εν ΕΙκάντων Chios 174 B 4. ένεικ- also appears in the Attic stone records after 370 B. c., but disappears after 322 B. c. A peculiar form from the weak stem ικ (cf. Ικταρ) is the agrist passive ε]ξενιχθηι Keos 4224, for which εξενεχθηι has been substituted by Bechtel on the ground that the stone is not perfectly intact. With the Keian form we may compare Boiotian ἐνενιχθείει C. D. I. 488150, Aiolic ἐσένικαι 304 B 39, ἥνικαν Mytilene, Arch. Zeit. 1885, p. 41, and other forms in Kalymna, B. C. H. X 242 (cf. p. 143). Troizen, C. D. I. 3364, Epidauros 3339110. συμπεριενεγχθείs Olbia, C. I. G. 2058, A 32, 79, B 70 recalls Delphic -ενεγχθηι (see Curtius in Berichte der süchs. Gesell. 1864, 228), and the presence of the nasal in such forms as Adulouas. The inscriptional Attic ήνειγκα, -ον are mixtures of the two forms. Cf. ήνειγκαντο in Hesychios and Boiot. ήνειγξα Hdn. II 37421 (and εἴνιξαν). post-Homeric Ionic poetry we observe Evelkov Anakr. 623, Evelkav Tyrt. 411 ένεγκε Herodas 717, 54, ἐνεγκεῖν I 33 as usually in Attic, where the first aorist ἐνέγκαι is rarely employed. Herodotos has Hyeike II 146, III 155, -av III 30, IX 70, evelkete VI 61, συνενείκατεν VII 152, evelkat I 32, evelkat II 23, IV 64; ηνείκατο V 47, ηνείκαντο Ι 57, ΙΙ 180, VII 152, ενείκωνται IV 67, ανενεικάμενος I 86, ἐνείκασθαι II 23, VI 103; ἐξενηνειγμένος VIII 37, IX 72, as if from ένείκεται Scutum Herc. 440. In the agrist passive Hdt. has ἡνείχθην, a form which is not confined to Ionic (Epidaurian εξενειχθείς C. D. I. 3339111). In two cases all the MSS. of Hdt. unite in presenting the form in -εχθείς (VII Hippokrates has only ἐνεγκ-, e.g. ἡνεγκεν III 88, V 426, ήνεγκαν ΙΙ 606, V 388 (-ον Erm.), ενέγκοι ΙΙ 294, ενέγκοιεν ΙΙ 296, -ενέγκαι VI 210, VII 340, -ενεγκείν V 214, VIII 68, ἐπανενέγκαντες V 588, ἐσενεγκών II 36; ένέγκηται Ι 592, ΙΝ 640, ένέγκωνται Ι 582, προσενέγκασθαι ΙΝ 640, έσενεγκάμενος IV 640; -ενέχθην V 516, 602, 652, 722, IX 186, 356 epist. Lukian has ένεικ-, Syr. dea 16, 22, 25, 27, 48, 49, 58 (A V -εχθέντα), κατηνέχθη Astr. 15, Eusebios § 5 ἐνεχθείη; Euseb, Mynd. κατενεχθέντας 63, διενεχθείς 1; Abydenos 5 ἐνέγκασθαι, Vita Hom. ένεγκ- 12, 13, 15, απηνέχθη 34; Aretaios 108, 112 ἡνέχθη, 173 ξυνήνεγκε. The usage of the medical writers is sharply differentiated from that of Hdt. and his imitators.

3. Varia, ἀγορεύσασθαι Hdt. IX 26 may be noticed because of Cobet's onslaught on this tense in classic authors (Var. Lect. 36 ff.). ἐπαύρασθαι Hippokr. IV 632, ἐπαυράμεθα IX 424 (epist.) are occurrences of the unusual

¹ Attic inscriptions have only everyweir.

first agrist; & endun Hdt. I 59, V 56, is not classic Attic. Junedun Lukian Astr. 6, 21 is the only occurrence of this tense in prose, durgodung Hdt. VII 39, Syr. dea 39 is rare in prose. втогносиет Hippokr. IX 192 (втоген- MSS.) is to be referred to péopes (though this verb occurs only once in Attic prose) rather than to viw swim or viw heap up. vipu would scarcely yield (the un-Attic) δτεμησάμητ in Ionic. Εσφραντο Hdt. I 80 (Stein) where Εσφροντο might be expected. Other forms, such as elacte, seelacte are certainly to be rejected, and we incline to the view that sopporte is not genuine, though the Ionians not infrequently adopt acrists that were not in good odour in Attika. ρυφήσασθαι Hippokr. V 386 occurs here only (see § 154). Of the recent German editors of Herodotos, Abicht alone does not challenge the correctness of the derivation from any of the forms endeave V 34, speeddare I 190, VIII 20. They are to be referred to sassu. Suspensas appears only in Hippokr. IX 400; έφρασάμην and φράζομαι are often found in Ionic, though not in Attic, prose. εχεάμην Hdt. VII 43 is rare in prose. δυησάμενος Hippokr. IX 362 recalls the fact that Meineke regarded defeare in Eupolia II 533, the only occurrence in classic Attic, as savouring of Ionic origin. In Attic inscriptions of the Roman period drygdung is used for expeduage.

609.] Second Aorist.

In the second person we find -εο¹ and -ευ. (1) -εο in Hdt. εἶρεο I 32, ἐγένεο I 35, ἢγάγεο IX 111, ἐπίκεο VII 9, &c. (2) -ευ in ἀπίκευ I 124, εἴλευ III 52, 119, ἐτράπευ VII 39. The presence of the latter form makes up for the non-diphthongal character of -εο. Attic -ου appears in ἐγένου Theog. 454, 1273, ἀντελάβου 1362. In the later parts of Theognis -ου is doubtless original.

On -caro incorrectly transferred to the aorist, see § 585.

Ionic does not support a second aorist, active or middle, of δηγόλλω; cf. Hdt. IV 153, III 142, VII 37. Noteworthy forms in prose are δρμενος Hippokr. III 420, δτήσθαι IX 392 (ἀνήσθαι C and Ermerins, the only example of the perfect.

610.] Perfect.

After stems ending in a vowel the original ending ->rai may remain in Ionic; after stems ending in a consonant ->rai becomes -arai, with or without aspiration of a preceding tenuis. In Homeric and later Ionic the latter ending has been transferred in the perfect to stems ending in vowels. -arai has even found a lodgment in the present of -\mu verbs (\xi 585, 3) in the later dialect; a noteworthy mark of difference between the older and the later language.

In only one inscription do we find the third plural in a form not Attic: είρηται (είρῆται?) in Oropos 18₁₇ (between 411-402 or 387-377 B.C.), a form contracted from είρε(<είρη)+ αται. Compare the form in Hippokrates adduced below. γεγέγηνται

¹ έπλεο is called Ionic in An. Par. III 354m.

occurs twice: Samos 2215 (shortly after 322 B.C., an inscription strongly marked by Ionic spellings) and Iasos 1052 (end of the fourth century, with some traces of Attic).

611.] The Lyric Poets like Homer have -νται and -αται, which they have transferred to stems ending in a vowel. (1) -νται in the elegy occurs in πάρκεινται Xenoph. 19, ἐπίκεινται Theog. 421. (2) -αται in elegiac and iambic poems is found in τετράφαται Theog. 42, κείαται Mimn. 116, κέαται Archil. 169. (3) -εαται. In Anakreon 81 ἐκκεκωφέαται and in Hipponax 62 κεκινέαται, the long vowel of the perfect stem has been shortened before -αται to ε, and this ε, together with α, forms a single syllable. This shortening of the long stem vowel in the lyric poets and in prose constitutes a mark of division between the older Ionic of Homer and the later language. Homer has βεβλήαται¹, -ατο, κεκλήαται¹, πεποτήαται. The beginnings of the later usage appear in Homeric ἔαται, ἔατο.

Now if by the time of Anakreon and Hipponax $-\eta$ -atal had not only become $-\epsilon$ -atal but even $-\epsilon$ atal (to say nothing of Homer's ϵ atal), it is impossible to regard as correct the form $\pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \dot{\eta}$ atal which is reported as having been used by Sim. Amorg. (31 A). The Et. M. 367_{40} , which quotes the word, takes it to be singular number, not only on account of the subject (ϵ 60a), but also because of the confusion in the minds of the grammarians between the singular and plural forms in the perfect. See § 613, note at end. $\pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \dot{\eta}$ atal has long ago been corrected to $\pi \epsilon \pi \lambda \dot{\epsilon}$ atal, the η of the Et. M. being due to recollection of like

Homeric forms. Cf. § 281, 3, note.

612.] In Ionic prose we find -vrai and -arai, not merely after consonantal, but also after vocalic stems.

Herodotos has -aτaι, e.g. in the following cases:-

(1) After consonants (usually with aspiration of gutturals² and labials, but not of dentals): ἀναμεμίχαται, ἀποδεδέχαται, τετράφαται, κεχωρίδαται, ἀγωνίδαται, ἐσκενάδαται, ἐφθάραται. (2) After v: κατακεχύαται (p. 481), ἐνιδρύαται; cf. εἰρύαται (265. (3) After ε<η in verba pura, and, by analogy, in the perfect of κεῖμαι: ἡγέαται, οἰκέαται, ἐκτέαται, ὁρμέαται, εἰρέαται, κεκλέαται, ἐπικέαται, κατέαται, &c. (cf. ἔαται Γ 134). The latter form is in reality derived from a consonant stem (ἡσ-νται). In ἀναπεπτέαται α has apparently been dissimilated to ε.

Herodotos has also -νται, e. g. δέδονται VII 134, ἐκδεδωρίεννται VIII 73 in P (adopted by Stein; Dindorf ἐκδεδωρίδαται).

These forms, and ηαται, are adduced by the Gram. Vat. 694, who does not mention the -εαται formation.
Except ἀπίκαται (ἀπίκατο); see below.

In other Ionic prosaists we find -νται very frequently. The following cases of -αται occur. Hekataios μεμετρέαται (§ 613, 2, footnote). Demokr. 204 μεμνέαται. Hippokr. διακεκόφαται III 212 (ν. l. -μένοι εἰσί), περιβεβλέαται IX 80 (by anacoluthon; Littré would adopt the singular, with which -εαται was sometimes confounded by the grammarians), κεκρύφαται VII 382, VIII 342, τετεχνέαται I 628 (not in A), γεγράφαται VII 178, εἰθίδαται II 298 bis, each time supported by A, but ill-advisedly rejected by Littré who adopted εἰθισμένοι εἰσίν, εἰρέαται II 226 (εἰρηται A), but εἰρηνται 278 (εἰρηται in H), IX 170. κέονται is frequent, e.g., II 18, 22, 24, 48; ἐστεφάνωνται II 72. Lukian has περικέαται Astr. 3 and κέαται often for κεῖται, the subject being singular, μεμιμέαται Astr. 6, ἀποδεδάχαται 8yr. dea 10, 42, Aretaios γεγράφαται 331, &c., Euseb. Mynd. ἐκτέαται 2, 34, προκέαται 63, τετιμέαται 59 (rejected by Mullach), ἀπεστερέαται conj. 23.

The only verb in Hdt., compounded of a preposition ending in a vowel and a verbal theme beginning in a vowel and ending in a guttural, that admitted of -αται in the perfect, is &πικνέομαι. The isolated absence of aspiration in &πίκαται and ἀπίκατα is to be explained as due to the desire to avoid ἀπίχαται, ἀπίχατο, which had been too different from the aspirated ձφ. In compounds the Ionians did not always adopt poilosis. Cf. p. 326 and §§ 406, 407.

In Thukydides especially (but only in the verbs $\tau darau$, $\tau p darau$, $\tau p darau$) and also in Plato (Rep. VII 533 B) and Xenophon (Anab. IV 8, 5) we find these so-called Ionic forms. That they were not confined to the literary dialect is evident from $daray e \gamma p darau$ (and darau) upon Attic inscriptions prior to 410 B.C., after which date the periphrastic form obtains sole mastery. Thukydides indeed has both forms, sometimes in close conjunction (Surrerdxero and teray u darau) in IV 31). In Aiolic and Boiotian also terau occurs in the perfect. In late non-Ionic authors it appears very rarely, e.g. terau Dio Cass. 51, 23.

613.] Testimony of the Grammarians.

The grammarians quote as Ionic the following forms in (1)
-αται, (2) -εαται, (3) -ηαται, and even (4) -εανται. Most are
taken from Homer, others do not usually rest upon actual observation. Some are mere figments:—

(1' -αται: ἀγηγέραται Hdn. II 224, (An. Ox. I 396, of. Et. M. 9,0); ἀκηχέδαται Hdn. II 384, (Et. M. 48, An. Ox. I 74, Eust. 1570, ; γεγράφαται Greg. Kor. § 74; δεδέαται Eust. 1837, ; δε- and δειδέχαται Eust. 1568, Et. M. 252, 599, An. Ox. I 108, (cf. I 300, An. Par. III 162, Hdn. II 225, — An. Ox. I 300, ; faraι Hdn. II 497, Et. M. 295, 308, Et. Gud. 155, Eust. 234, 1. 1885, An. Ox. I 1264, I 1425, I 255, An. Par. IV 191, (fara); έδξαται Hdn. II 299, = Et. M. 3162; eleται Hdn. II 497, Et. Gud. 155, Eust. 1885, 1895, An. Ox. I 1272, An. Par. IV 191, εξεάται Hdn. II 224, 5037, Et. M. 378, An. Ox. I 1521, 3962, An. Par. III 3422; φειρέσαται An. Ox. I 1985; (Choirob.); έρηρέδαται Eust. 1301, 1895, (An. Ox. I 396, 'Aντικώς because of the augment), Choirob. 698, † έρρέδαται Hdn. II 224, (An. Ox. I

396a), Et. M. 3774, An. Ox. IV 19728, Choirob. 6982, Eust. 189542; Applares An. Ox. Ι 39625; ἐρύαται Εt. Μ. 37811, An. Par. IV 709; ἔρχαται Eust. 1301, 1071es; ἐσπάραται Et. M. 915, Eust. 23412; Eust. 13013; ἐστάλαται Hdn. II 2241 (An. Ox. I 39611), Diakonos on Hsd. Aspis 288, Eust. 13013; ἡλεύθαται (1) Greg. Kor. § 74; ἡχάδαται Hdn. II 34822 (Et. M. 480), An. Ox. I 742; κέαται Et. M. 2954, 308, Eust. 10434, 183715, An. Ox. I 14226, IV 1985, Choirob. 69716, 6980s, Et. Gud. 1553s; κείαται Et. Gud. 155ss, An. Ox. I 142m, Et. M. 295ss 308, ; κεκάραται Choirob. 698,7 ; κεκλίαται Hdn. II 224,19 (cf. An. Ox. I 396,18, Et. M. 500,1), Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655, An. Par. IV 70,0, An. Ox. I 224, et. 226, ; κεκλίναται (?) Hdn. II 2240, cf. An. Ox. I 396,3 ; κεχρυσόαται Choirob. 698,4 -waтai (?) An. Ox. IV 19732; λελάχαται Choirob, 69711, Greg. Kor. § 74; λελέχαται Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 5712, Eust. 23412; λελήφαται An. Ox. I 16836; νενέαται Hdn. II 2256 = An. Ox. I 3006, Et. M. 59926; νενήφαται Choirob. 69726; νενίφαται Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 5712; νενόαται An. Ox. Ι 28728; νενόχαται Choirob, 69731; πεπείθαται An. Ox. Ι 3967; πεφράδαται Eust, 13017, An. Ox. Ι 742, IV 19727, Theod. 5714, Choirob. 69723, Greg. Kor. § 74; тетахата: Joh. Gr. 242, Meerm. 655; τετεύχαται An. Ox. Ι 39531, 41115; τετίλαται Choirob. 698₁₈; тетрафата: Hdn. II 223₁₇ (An. Ox. I 395_{2e}), Joh. Gr. 242, Et. M. 366₇, An. Ox. I 12715, Meerm. 655; τετύφαται Choirob. 69622, Theod. 5719, Max. Plan. in Aneed. Bachm. II 53, Diakonos on Hsd. Aspis 288, Eust. 234,111 1301; ἀνομάδαται Eust. 1301; ἀρέχαται An. Ox. I 4511, Schol. Ven. A on Λ 26. (2) -εαται : βεβλέαται Hdn. II 22514 (An. Ox. I 2885); βεβσέαται Greg. Kor. § 74; βεβολέσται An. Ox. IV 19733, Choirob. 69828; εΙρέσται Eust. 2342 (not specifically called Ionic); ἐκκεκωφέαται Hdn. II 22514 (An. Ox. I 2884); κεκινέαται Hdn. II 225,9 (An. Ox. I 2882), An. Par. IV 702; κεκλέαται Eust. 189545; μεμετρέαται Hdn. II 22591=An. Ox. I 28728; μεμνέαται An. Par. IV 1915; vevoéaras Hdn. II 253, (Et. M. 60121), Choirob. 6971, 6982, An. Ox. I 28728, IV 19732, Eust. 188548, 189545; πεποιέαται Hdn. II 22417 (Et. M. 50011). Choirob. 69824, An. Ox. I 28720, 19732, Eust. 188513, Greg. Kor. § 74, Theod. 5711; πεποτέαται Εt. Μ. 66211; περιβεβλέαται An. Ox. I 2885; δμνέαται Eust. 23416. (3) -ηαται: πεπλήαται Εt. Μ. 36740; πεποτήαται Εt. Μ. 66220, An. Ox. I 973, Eust. 23416. (4) -εανται (?): Hyper-Ionic πεποιέανται, γεγενέανται ατο quoted from the Natiana of Philetas or Kallinos by Herakleides Milesios in Eust. 188522. For Philetas read Philteas.

The grammarians derived the plural directly from the singular forms. To their doubt as to what was the singular, what the plural, may be ascribed such forms as κεκλέαται for κέκληται in late Ionic monuments (pseudo-Hippokratic letters). Perhaps such collocations as ταῦτα...εἰρέαται Hippokr. VII 484, and ταῦτα...εἴρηται VII 496, 556, Hrd. 281, aided the confusion.

614.] Perfects with σ before -μαι2.

In the following are collected from post-Homeric Ionic writers, first those instances of perfects and pluperfects of verbs whose

¹ μεμετρέαται is here referred to Hekataios, though the passage quoted is found in Hdt. IV 86. Evidently two citations have been fused. In Et. M. 578₄₁ the passage is ascribed to Hipponax, who is quoted in Hdn. as having used κεκινέαται. Another instance of confusion between Herodotos and Hekataios is Hek. 135, where a citation from Hdt. and from Hek. have been fused. Nothing is thereby proved as to the spuriousness of the Parigust of Hekataios.

² See Lobeck on Aias 704, Bredow p. 341 ff., Solmsen K. Z. XXIX 90 ff.

stems ended originally in -s, and in which $-\sigma\mu ai$ (though itself due to analogy) is relatively more primitive than in the verbs of the second class. Original $-\sigma-\mu ai$ could not remain in the dialects: where it is apparently retained it is due to the influence of those forms before which the sigma could not disappear ($-\sigma\tau ai$). Secondly, those verbs whose stems did not end in a sibilant, but which have borrowed $-\sigma\mu ai$ from the first class. Not all the examples in these two classes are certain, (1) because of the difficulty of determining the etymology, and (2) because of the existence of by-forms in $-\zeta\omega$ or $-\theta\omega$, which might have carried sigma into the third person.

1. Sigmatic Stems.

βυνίω (cf. διαβύνεται Hdt. II 96), Hdt. VI 125 (pluperf.), Hippokr. VIII 125 (ννμι Hippokr. VII 456. In Homer we find εξμαι, εξται, and εστο. ζέω Hippokr. V 324. ζώννωι Hdt. II 85 (ν), VII 69 (in Rs, not adopted by Stein). ξέω Hippokr. VII 430. πτίσσω Hippokr. I 600, VI 536, VIII 102 σβένννωι Hippokr. VII 274. τελέω Hdt. VII 118. χρίω Hippokr. III 430, but κέχριμαι Hdt. IV 189 (-σμ. Δ. Εωπ.), 195. χρήζω Hippokr. V 390 (or is the σ due to the dental?).

Perhaps the stems of the following verbs once ended in z: elpsu: elesus: eles

2. -σμαι is due to analogy in δλόω Hdt. VII 23; γεγεύσεω Hdt. VIII 110, Hippokr. II 344; [δόω has δόδεμαι, but δοδοσμένος appears in the vulgate of Hippokr. IV 220, where Littré with ample MS. support reads δεσδοδεμένου; cf. IV 266, 268, 302]. [δλαόνω: δλάλασμαι Hippokr. VIII 290, 426 is a form neither Attic nor Herodoteian (on δλάσθην in Hdt. see under the Aorist passive). δλάλασμαι does not occur again until Pausaniaa. The stem may be regarded as δλαδ-; if so the σ is regular]. δλαόω Hdt. IX 98 (δλανσμένον), Hippokr. VIII 484 (είλανσμένον), V 178 pluperf.). καίω Hippokr. VII 242, but elsewhere κέπαντω II 54, V 424. VI 174, 192, 330, 442, VII 242 (and ἐκαόθην, καυθήσομαι). πελεύω Hdt. VIII 93 pluperf.). κλάω Hippokr. III 420. κλείω Hippokr. V 528 has κεκλεισμένον (some MSS. -ιμενον), πεκλέμαι is the correct form in Hdt. II 121 β (-ειμ- A B C, -εισμ- P R ds', III 117 (-ειμ- C, -ηισμ- P, -σρμ- R), VII 129 (-ειμ- C, -ηισμ- A Bd, -σρμ- Poort, -σβσμ- R qs). The Aorist passive always has σ. ξύω Hippokr. VIII 372 (cf. ξωστός Hdt.) σκεδώω Hdt. IV 14, Hippokr. VI 132. φλάω Hippokr. III 202, 232. χόω Hdt. II 138, VIII 144; see Schulse K.Z.

XXIX 265. χράω Hdt. II 147, 151, III 64, IV 164 (-ημ- CR z), VII 141, 210. The variant -ημαι is very frequent. χράομαι has κέχρημαι Hdt. I 42. ψαίφ

Hippokr. VII 556.

3. Perfects in -σμαι from verbs in -νω; which have also -μμαι <-νμαι in other dialects. Here too -σμαι is analogical. The aorist passive has -νθην. θηλύνω Hippokr. II 60, VI 202. κοιλαίνω Hippokr. IX 216 (cf. ἐκοιλαίνθην V 420). λεπτύνω Hippokr. II 26, IV 510, VI 174 (ἐλεπτύνθην IV 548). λυμαίνω Hdt. IX 112. ξηραίνω Hippokr. VI 172, 322, 586, 588, Hdt. I 186, VII 109 (ἐξηράνθην Hdt. I 75, Hippokr. V 228, VI 174). σημαίνω Hdt. II 39. ὑφαίνω Hdt. III 47 (ὑφάνθην I 203). In connection with these verbs we may notice ἀπήμβλυνται Hrd. I 4.

615.] Varia.

μέμνεαι and μέμνηαι (Φ 442) are called Ionic by Choirob. 67311. μέμνη Ο 18 has been regarded as contracted from μέμνεαι from μέμνομαι because - ησαι is usually retained in Homer. But for μέμνη we may read μέμνη.

Hdt. has both δέδογμαι and δεκόκημαι, the latter form only once (VII 16 γ). The form κατακεκραμμένον, Hippokr. III 490, has now given way to the present «κρεμάμενον. κεκόρημαι, not κεκόρεσμαι, is the Ionie perfect of κορέννυμ. In Attic we find the latter form. Ρεαce 1285 is an epic parody. λαμβάνυ yields λέλαμμαι Hdt. IX 51, but ἀναλελάφθαι Hippokr. III 308 according to the MSS. (the vulgate has here -λάμφθαι). Cf. § 130. The form τεθηλημένον Hippokr. VI 654 was displaced by Littré. νέναγμαι, not νένασμαι, Hippokr. VII 520. From δαΓ-ιω we have δεδαυμένον Sim. Amorg. 30, the only certain occurrence. The perfect of ἀλίζω is also confined to Ionic. On ξκτημαι, see §§ 583, 4-

616.] Pluperfect.

-ατο is the ending in Hdt., though -ντο occurs, e.g. ἐπέπανντο I 83, κατέστρωντο VIII 53. We find -ατο

(1) after consonants (generally with aspiration): ἐτετάχατο and in compounds of τάσσω (διὰ, παρὰ, πρὸς), εἰλίχατο, κατεστράφατο, διεφθάρατο, ἐσκευάδατο, ἀπίκατο (without aspiration, § 612, note). For ἐσταλάδατο or ἐστελ- VII 89, which was constructed on the analogy of ἐληλάδατο, we accept Dobree's ἐστάλατο.

(2) after v: ίδρύατο.

(3) after ε, with shortening of η to ε in -εω verbs: ἐκεκοσμέατο, περιεβεβλέατο, ἐδεδέατο, ὁρμέατο (not ὡρμέατο), ἐμεμνέατο, ἀναραιρέατο, ἐτετιμέατο, πεπειρέατο, κατέατο (cf. ἔατ' Η 414, i.e. ἦσυτο), and by analogy in ἐκέατο; ἀπεκεκλέατο, or ἀποκεκλέατο, in IX 50 has now given way to ἀπεκεκληίατο. It is to be noticed that Homer, in contradistinction to Herodotos, always uses -υτο after ε (present and aorist) and either -ηατο or -ηντο in the pluperfect.

The Homeric -ηατο appears in the MSS. of Hdt. in περιεβεβλήατο VI 24 in A B Cd, περιεβαλέατο reliqui, whence we restore -εβεβλέατο. Here βεβλήατο Z 28 was the cause of the mistake.

διεφθαρέατο Hdt. VIII 90 in all MSS. except P, which has -φθειρέατο, should be changed to διεφθάρατο (plup.).

In other Ionic prosaists these forms are very rare. Eusebios, § 8, has προσεκατέατο. -ντο is adopted, e.g. in κατέκειντο Hippokr. II 660, ἐγεγένηντο V 184.

With the occurrence of -eras, -ero in Hdt. and the lyric poets, compare the Homeric usage throughout: (1) after consonants and s these forms are necessary, (2) after u, η , and ω they are possible, but (3) not after a^1 , a^2 , and a. The lyric poets and Hippokrates, if his text has not been Atticized in this regard, stand nearer to Homer than to Herodotos in the admission of the forms with ν .

Testimony of the grammarians. The following forms in -ατο, -εατο, and -ηατο are called Ionic in grammatical treatises:—(1) -ατο: ἀγηγέρατο Εt. Μ. 912. An. Ox. I 39616; δειδέχατο Eust. 23442, 43622, 78253; δατο Hdn. II 9216 (Schol. Ven. A on O 10), An. Ox. I 17416 (είστο ποιητικός, δατο Ίακός as An. Par. IV 1911 where the smooth breathing is found), 2562; ελλίχατο Eust. 23413; ἐρράδατο An. Par. III 2616, ἐσεσάχατο Eust. 23412; ἐσπόρατο Εt. Μ. 927; ἐρθάστο An. Ox. I 12421, An. Par. III 34316, τετεόχατο An. Ox. I 41117, τετέφατο Theod. 5811, Choirob. 6972, 70116. (2) -αατο: ἀκλίχατο Eust. 23416; ἐσετάστο Εt. Μ. 25226, Et. Gud. 1356; ἐλλίχατο Eust. 23416; ἐσετάστο Et. Μ. 25234, Et. Gud. 41616, cf. 1602. (3) -¬αατο: δεδμήσατο Et. Μ. 25234, Et. Gud. 41616, cf. 1602. (3) -¬αατο: δεδμήσατο Et. Μ. 25234, An. Ox. I 9631, 11226 (cf. Schol. Ven. A. on Γ 183, I 3); ἐδεβολήστο Et. Μ. 19331, An. Par. III 4711, βεβολήστο An. Ox. I 9412, cf. 9671.

617.] Varia.

ηρήρεισθαι Archil. ep. 943 is the MS. reading of the second person, which we adopt with the change to -θα, the original perfect ending. We should expect either ηρηρέασθα or at least ηρηρησθα (cf. ηδησθα τ 93 and in the drama) which Bergk accepts. If the ει be correct, it is due to the desire to bring the form into line with ηρηρειστο. A direct interchange of ει and η is out of the question.

On έωρτο see § 289, 1; on ενένωτο § 296.

Subjunctive.

618.] Present.

1. From Herodotos we are able to discover traces of a double inflection of δύναμαι.

(a) Forms similar to those of the Ω conjugation: δύν-η-ται VI 125 (cf. κρέμηται Hippokr. IV 290), δυν-ώ-μεθα VII 143, δύν-ω-νται IX 11 as Samos 221₂₆ (cf. κέρωνται Δ 260). In δύν-

¹ When -aras would follow a in Herodotos, we have e-aras.

² With the apparent exceptions farm, fare. Homer has even fore as well as fare. The former is due to the analogy of fµcee, &c. < *feµcee.

η-ται the long modal vowel of the subjunctive, instead of appearing after the final vowel of the stem (δύνᾶ-ται Thasos 725), actually takes its place. δύνηται (cf. ἐπί-στ-η-ται from ἐπί-στᾶ-ται, and Skt. da-dh-ā-tāi from indic. dά-dhā-ti) is constructed as if the present were δύνομαι, a form which, we may incidentally remark, chances to have been used in a very late period of the language (Papyr. du Louvre 3910, 161 B.C.) and in Modern Greek. With δυνώμεθα cf. μαρνώμεσθα in Hesiod, μαρνοίμεθα in the Odyssey. A different formation is represented by Kretan δυνάμαι and the Hipponaktian ἡήγνῦται 194 (cf. ἡήγνῦνται Hesiod, ζώννῦνται Homer). Here a subj. like Messenian προτίθηντι seems to have been the model, or we have a very old formation by vowel lengthening in the subjunctive.

If Kretan δυνάμαι represents the primitive type of this inflection, the Ionic form would have been δύνημαι, which became δύνωμαι through influence of λύηται, λύωμαι. This may be possible, even though δυνάμαι does not contain a pre-Hellenic contraction of α + o, as Osthoff held, M. U. II 116. βήγγύται is certainly an analogical formation.

(b) δύναμαι actually passes into the Ω inflection in δυνέωμεθα Hdt. IV 97 (A B C, δυνώμεθα R), δυνέωνται VII 163 (R), which forms are not mere blunders made through recollection of δυνέαται². Cf. Thessalian δυνάεται οτ δυνάηται (as Delphic πριάηται) B. B. XIV 301. So too in the case of ἐπίσταμαι: for ἐπίστωνται we have ἐπιστέωνται III 134 and in the decree in Demosth. De Corona § 91. δυνέωνται has another parallel in βουλέωνται Teos (Mitth. XVI 292, l. 19), βούλομαι and δύναμαι going hand in hand in post-Homeric. Cf. βουλήσομαι, δυνήσομαι, ἐβουλήθην, ἐδυνήθην. The εω of δυνέωνται is perhaps reduced from ηω as that in θέωσι, ἀπιέωσι, ἐπιβέωμεν in Hdt. (Cf. μεμνεώμεθα, § 620.)

δύνωμαι with this accent is well attested (Herodian II 557: on Z 229 δύνηαι) but δυνώμαι, as if the result of a contraction of δυνέωμαι, found a defender in Tyrannio, who accented the Homeric form δυνήαι. Hdt. has δύνη.

In Π 243 is ἐπιστάεται (cf. δυνάεται) correct? The editors adopt ἐπίστηται (CDGH), which is rightly taken to be subjunctive. Zenodotos' ἐπιστέαται may point to a confusion with the singular (cf. §§ 611, 613) of the indicative, which Meyer, § 485, thinks is the proper mood; but, as Leaf has suggested, ἐπιστέαται and ἐπίσταται (AL) hint that the original reading was ἐπιστάεται.

 -η is the termination in the second person of the subjunctive present and agrist in the prose documents. βούλη Thasos 68, as in Hippokr. VII 120 and Hdt., who has also πείθη, δύνη, συνέχη

¹ Subj. δόνανται Hdt. IX 11 in one MS., VII 163 in Aldus are mere errors.
² μενέωσι Hdt. IV 97 in R (Aret. 251) is an example of the 'pleonastic' ew which was regarded as a mint-mark of Ionic.

(thus, and not -eas V 23 with C P dr, or - $\eta a \iota^1$ with Aldus). Herodas δ_{38} has $\pi \epsilon i \theta \eta$. $\pi \epsilon i \nu \eta a \iota$ occurs in Theog. 929 at the verse end. $\beta \iota \dot{\eta} \sigma \epsilon a \iota$ Theog. 1307, $\pi \epsilon i \sigma \epsilon a \iota$ Solon 20, are probably imitations of the epic usage, though in the fifth century - $\epsilon \iota$ was still used for - $\eta \iota$ in the acrist subjunctive active (§ 239).

619.] Aorist.

Mimn. 3 in παραμείψεται retains the short modal vowel (cf. 239). ποιήσωμαι, Hipponax 43, is a post-Homeric form.

Homer has no instance of -σωμαι.

παραλήψηται Hippokr. VI 326 is a conjecture merely, and ελαμψάμην finds no support in Hdt. δυνήσωνται Sim. Amorg. 117 is a rare form and perhaps incorrect, as is υπελεύσηται Hippokr. II 494 (-ελεύσεται). For δήξηται Hippokr. VII 330, 336, θ has δήξεται. ξυμβήσηται Hippokr. IX 28 is an interesting form. διαμαχεσώμεθα Hdt. IX 48 (-σόμεθα Rs) is the only example of this aorist subjunctive in early Greek.

620.] Perfect.

μεμνεώμεθα has the support of all the MSS. in Hdt. VII 47, where μεμνώμεθα of Aldus and Eust. 76737, who quotes the passage, is adopted by recent editors. But -εώμεθα is not an impossible form in Hdt. μεμνώμαι, μεμνήται, κεκτήται, κεκτήται in Attic point to contraction, and -εώμεθα may represent -ηώμεθα or -ηόμεθα. That Homer has μεμνώμεθα ξ 168 renders, it is true, the appearance of the earlier form in Hdt. somewhat surprising; unless we assume that the epic form is derived from μέμνομαι. μέμνομαι has indeed been conjectured by Scaliger in Archil. 92, but is not certainly attested before Xenophon, who has μέμνοιο, Anab. I 7, 5 (MSS.). But as Homer has μεμνέψτο Ψ 361², we hold it preferable to adopt μεμνεώμεθα in ξ 168, and to reject Abicht's derivation of the Herodoteian form from μέμνομαι. See §§ 615, 626. Cf. also χρεώμενος Ψ 834 from χρηόμενος. In Ildt. I 96 C Pz have μνεώμενος for μνώμενος of the other MSS. and the editors.

Hippokr. VI 212 has both βέβρωται and βεβρωμένος ή (cf. ξυγκεκαυμένη ή VII 242), VII 24 ήλκωται (έλκ- EIJK), ήλκω-μένον ή VIII 262. προσαρήρεται is called Ionic for -ηται by Tzetzes on Hesiod, W. D. 429 (431). Cf. Eust. 1869₂₄. It is the only example of the short modal vowel in the perfect. Vat. 2 has προσαρήσεται as a correction of -αρήρηται.

^{1 -}ηαι is called Ionic because it is Homeric: An. Ox. I 21514, 296m, An. Par. III 3154, 3415. Τόγαι is found in all MSS, but one in Hdt. IV 9.
2 μεμνήτο Bekker: cf. μεμνήμην Ω 745.

Optative.

621. Present.

-οιατο1 for -οιντο occurs in δεχοίατο Sim. Am. 7107, δυναίατο, συναπισταίατο, γινοίατο, λυπεοίατο, μηχανώατο in Hdt., τραποίατο Arrian 2112, διαδεχοίατο Euseb. Mynd. 38, ελεγχοίατο 29; Hippokr. II 280 has βλάπτοιντο.

622. First Aorist.

-αιατο² for -αιντο occurs in Hdt. γευσαίατο, δεξαίατο, άνακτησαίατο; κομίσαιντο Samos 22111.

623. Second Aorist.

-οιατο 3 for -οιντο occurs in πιθοίατο Sim. Am. 122, γενοίατο Hdt., Hippokr. II 666, VIII 94 bis (but yévouvro Theog. 736 in Α), έλοίατο, ἀπικοίατο, ὑπερβαλοίατο &c. in Hdt., πυθοίατο Hippokr. II 224 (vulgate).

Imperative.

624. Present.

Herodotos has both $-\epsilon o^4$ and $-\epsilon v$ from $\epsilon - \sigma o$, e.g. (1) $-\epsilon o$ in $\pi \rho o \sigma$ δέκεο ΙΙΙ 62, αναπαύεο V 19, πείθεο VIII 62, ἐπιφαίνεο VIII 143, &c., προσκέπτεο Demokr. 172, (2) -ευ in ἄγευ VII 38, ἀνέχευ I 206, V 19, τέρπευ II 78 (Greg. Korinth. § 60).

The poets have -ευ in ἐνάδευ (ἀνὰ δ' ἔχεο?) Archil. tetr. 66, αλέξευ 662, χαρίζευ 752; δικάζευ Demodok. 6 (tetr.); βουλεύεο Theog. 71, έρχευ 220 (A, other MSS. έρχου), εντρέπευ 400, πέλευ (and εφέπου) 1073; πληκτίζευ Hrd. 500, σκέπτευ 700. Cf. appendix.

Attic -ov appears in Theognis in several passages: εύχου 129, 171, ἐφέπου 217, 1073, γίνου 217 (so Demokr. 174), τρίβου 465, βουλεύου 633, σπεύδου 980 (A, -ειν Bergk), ἄχθου 1032 (v.l. ἄχθει &c.). The -ov form, which in no case is to be regarded as due to Megarian influence, may be adopted in those portions of the poet which are demonstrably late.

Hdt. has ἐπίστασο (not -ao) VII 29, 39, 209 in marked contrast to Attic prose (which admits, however, the uncompounded

Ionie according to Et. M. 50739, Et. Gud. 31825, An. Ox. I 10913, 244101

Gram. Vat. 694.

² Et. M. 32543, 50739, Et. Gud. 31834, An. Ox. I 24410.

³ Et. M. 2583, 50738, 40, Et. Gud. 13930, 31825, An. Ox. I 24410, An. Par. III 34321, IV 7126; πλώιατο An. Ox. I 14822 (Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic I).

⁴ An. Ox. I 1614, on έρχευ Z 280, quotes as Ionic έρχέο (ξρχεο); Τζεο An. Ox. I 21522, Et. Gud. 27328 (-ευ Doric); βύεο Et. Gud. 49414.

Ιστασο). In Attic poetry only is there freedom to use either $\hat{\epsilon}\pi$ (στασο or $\hat{\epsilon}\pi$ (στασο ων (μαχέσθων, χράσθων Hdt., $\hat{\epsilon}\nu$ εχέσθων Zeleia 113₂₆), but Hippokr. VI 82 has the later χρήσθωσαν (A). κτεινέσθων in Hdt. VII 10 (θ) may be noted because of its use as a passive.

625.] Aorist.

γενοῦ Archil. 752 (tetr.) is an Atticism for γενέο or γενεῦ. Hdt. has $-εν^1$ in πύθεν III 68, βάλεν VII 51, VIII 68 (γ) as Theog. 1050. On the accent, see Chandler § 783. δικασάσθων Thasos 7215, Hε]λέσθων Chalkidian Ionic, 138.

626.] Perfect.

μέμνεο Hdt. V 105, Hrd. 4_{39} , might be derived from μέμνομαι (cf. μέμβλεται Φ 516 and § 620), since from μέμνημαι we might expect μέμνησο in Ionic=Doric μέμνασο (Epicharmos, Pindar). It is not likely that \bar{a} -σο has become εο in μέμνεο. μέμνεο also occurs in the Anthol. Pal. and in Orph. Lith. 603. Cf. Attic κάθου and κάθησο. πεπρήσθω Halikarn. 238_{35} .

Infinitive.

627.] Future.

In the future of liquid verbs the MSS. of Hdt. usually have -έεσθαι, e.g. ἀπολέεσθαι I 38, 112, φανέεσθαι I 60, ὑποκρινέεσθαι I 164 and by conj. in V 49. In VIII 101 all MSS. agree in ἀποκρινεῖσθαι. The future of ἀποκρινομαι is certainly rare, if correct, in Ionic. Furthermore in ἐπιτελέεσθαι VI 140. Hippokr. has ἀπολέεσθαι VII 218, but -εῖσθαι IX 320, and θανεῖσθαι VIII 356 (as Sim. K. 859).

In -(ζω verbs we find -εῖσθαι: χαριεῖσθαι Hdt. I 158, III 39, ἀνασκολοπιεῖσθαι II 132, IV 43, ἐπισιτιεῖσθαι VII 176. (Dindorf's -ιέεσθαι is wrong). Theog. 47 has ἀτρεμιεῖσθαι (MSS. ἀτρεμέεσθαι).

τιθήσεσθαι Hippokr. IX 424 is a unique form (from τιθέω).

628.] Aorist.

dποίσασθαι Hippokr. (epist.) IX 418; μνήσασθαι Hdt. VII 39. Syr. dea 39, does not occur in Attic prose or in comedy.

^{1 -40} in Homer is Ionic : An. Or. I 322₃₈, Et. Gud. 436₃₈ (δρσεο), An. Par. III 138₁₀ (περίσχεο).

Participle.

629.] Future.

έξανδραποδιούμενοι adopted by Stein in Hdt. I 66 is incorrect. Cf. έξανδραποδιεῦνται VI 9, ἐπισιτιεύμενοι IX 50, ἀνταγωνιευμένους V 109. In Arrian 242 Dübner's ἀπομαχούμενοι is non-Ionic. δικασόμενοι Hdt. I 96 should be noted because of δικαν I 97.

630.] Aorist.

εἰσάμενοι Hdt. I 66 has borrowed its ει from the indicative (εἴσαθ' Theog. 12). The epic form is έσσ- (π 443), which recurs in Anakreon (?) epigr. 1113 (καθέσσατο).

631.] Perfect.

On ἀναιρερημένος and ἀναραιρημένος, see § 583. ἀπολελαμμένοι Hdt. IX 51, διαλελαμμένος III 117 deserve notice because of παραλελάβηκε III 42 and ἀναλελάφθαι Hippokr. III 308 (-άμφθαι vulgo). See also λάμψομαι § 607, 6, and cf. § 130. ἐβλαμμένοις occurs on a very late Ephesian inscription, Ditt. Syll. 34486. Hippokrates VIII 418, 494, 498 uses βέβλαμμαι. νενοσσευμένα Hdt. I 159 has awakened suspicion because of νεοσσός II 68, νεοσσιέων III 111. Portus' conjecture νενεοσσ- is adopted by Dindorf. See § 287, 2, note, and cf. Modern Greek νοσσός, νοσσίς. Aldus and d have νοσσιέων in III 111.

632.] Future Perfect.

βεβλάψεται Hippokr. II 256. γεγράψεται Hippokr. II 304, 330, 676, III 70, IV 104, 108, 114, 174, 252, Aretaios 280. In IV 80 for yeypatomeros, the only example, except διαπεπολησόμενον Thuk. VII 25, of the participle of the reduplicated future occurring in a classical author, we may read γραψόμενος with J. γράψομαι is a v.t. II 304, 676. Galen regarded as genuine the treatise περί ἄρθρων, in which γεγραψόμενος appears. δεδηλώσονται Hippokr. IV 190. elphoetai Hdt. II 35, IV 16, 82, VI 86 (8), Hippokr. I 596, II 250, IV 142. Hippokrates has the following noteworthy forms: είρησομένοιστε IV 238 in many MSS. (είρημένοισιν vulgo), είρησομένων ΙΙΙ 516 (βηθησομένων in many MSS.), εΙρήσεσθαι VIII 28 (omitted by several MSS.; εΙρήσθαι θ). In Attic we find elphoeras, but the participle and infinitive are not used. These unusual forms in Hippokrates are hardly due to a confusion with the forms of elρήσομαι ask (ἐπειρησόμενος Hdt. I 67, 174, IV 161, VI 52). ἐρηρείσεται Hippokr. VIII 292 (θ). κεκλήσομαι Archil. 24, Theog. 1203 (?), and perhaps in Euseb. Mynd. 47. κεκρύψεται Hippokr. VIII 86 (θ), not κρύψεται as passive, 98. λελέξεται Aretaios 280. αναμεμίζεται Hippokr. VII 498 (μίζεται C, ξ). μεμνήσεσθε bear in mind, Hdt. VIII 62, cf. Syria dea 27, 30. πεπαύσεται Hippokr. VI 238 (not in θ), IX 14, -ονται 52. πεποιήσεται Hippokr. VIII 46, 92 (C, θ). έμπεπρήσεται Hdt. VI 9 A B Pm and Stein; other MSS. έμπρήσεται. τετιμωρήσεαι Hdt. IX 78, all recent editors following Süvern (MSS. τετιμώρησαι).

Passive.

688.] Future Passive.

1. Examples of the future passive formed from the aorist passive stem are rare in early Greek. In Homer there is no future passive built from the first sorist stem, and only one (μιγήσεσθαι) from that of the second agrist. In the Attic dialect, when there exists a future 'middle,' from intransitive aorists in $-\theta\eta\nu$ or $-\eta\nu$ (so-called aorist passives) a future 'passive' may be formed, which differs essentially from the future 'middle,' not in its voice relations (though the one tense may be intransitive, the other transitive), but in its tense meaning. The future passive is acristic (ingressive, complexive, &c.), the future middle is durative. That is to say, the signification of the stem as an instrument to denote the character of the action is carried from aorist and present respectively into the two futures. It is not a matter of great consequence in Attic whether both the future 'passive' and the future 'middle' are attested in the monuments. See Blass' Demosthenische Studien in R. M. XLVII 269 ff. In Attic the passive forms are used much more extensively than in Herodotos. Ionic has so few instances to show of the coexistence of both future passive and future middle, that it is impossible to subject the dialect to the test that yields important results in Attic. The future middle in Ionic did duty for the former; indeed, the language did not seek to mark passiveness as a thing distinct from reflexiveness.

In Herodotos occur the following instances of the future passive from the first agrist stem:—alρεθήσονται II 13 (in all MSS., aoristic) gives support to ἀπαιρεθήσεσθαι V 35 (aoristic), the reading of A Bver, where CPz have -ήσεσθαι. απαιρήσεαι in I 71, άπαιρησόμενος in IX 82 are middle, as may be the case in Attic, though Euripides used αφαιρήσομαι and Lysias αίρήσομαι as passives. The natural interpretation of the two future middles in Hdt. is that they are agristic. ελασσωθήσεσθαι is adopted by Stein in VI 11 on the authority of A B etc. Here I would read έλασσώσεσ θ αι with $B^2 Prz$ (έλασσώσ θ αι R, έλ ϕ σωσ θ αι ϕ). The action is aoristic. συγκεντηθήσεσθαι VI 29 (-τήσεσθαι Krüger), acristic. συλλυπηθησόμενοι VI 39 (-πησόμενοι Cobet) join in an expression of sympathy. In Attic, which uses λυπήσομαι as the passive, λυπηθήσομαι does not appear before Aristotle. μυησθήσομαι will mention VI 19, επιμυησθήσομαι II 3 (επιμυήσομαι van Herwerden). Cf. ἐπιμνήσομαι I 5, 177, II 101, Lukian Syr. dea 36, ἀναμνήσομαι Hippokr. II 650, V 98, μνήσεαι Theog. 100 (epic). μνήσομαι is so rare in Attic prose that its correctness has been disputed.

2. In Hippokrates, Aretaios, and Arrian we have noticed the following cases of the future passive from the first aorist passive stem.

αὶωρέω ΙΙΙ 468, IV 294, 382, 390; ἀλείφω in καταλειφθήσεσθαι IX 320; ἀνδραποδίζω Arrian Ind. 28₆ (ἀνδραποδισθησομένην); δάκνω VII 386 (δήξομαι is of course active); δέω ΙΙΙ 444; εἴρω II 362 (ῥηθήσεται) and as v.l. in many MSS., III 516 (Littré εἰρησομένων), epist. 27₄₁; εὖρίσκω I 572, III 436; καθαρίζω VIII 330; καίω VII 422 (the future middle appears in C, VI 302—the only occurrence in early prose); κενόω Aretaios 204 (κεινώσομαι in Empedokles is passive); κινέω VII 332, VIII 484 (passive or reflexive; cf. κινήσεται VII 90); κρατέω III 482; λύω VIII 484 (cf. καταλύσονται Hdt. IX 11 come to terms); δμολογέω VI 6 (a doubtful instance because Δ has δμολογήσεται); δξύνω II 426; δρθόω in κατορθώσεται III 446 (perhaps passive); πνέω Aretaios 200; σώζω II 112; ψύχω II 424; ὑγιάζω VIII 34 (in C); ἀφελέω VII 256 (Attie generally prefers the middle form).

Of these examples only ρηθήσεται and σωθησομέτους occur in the genuine writings of Hippokrates (cf. § 1). Future passives from both of these verbs occur in Attic, but not in Herodotos; and σώσομαι was never used as a passive. From the above it is evident that the genuine Hippokrates is as little fond of this

formation as Herodotos.

3. From the second acrist passive stem are formed, e.g. ἀπαλλαγήσομαι Hdt. II 120, Hippokr. VII 174, 234 as in Attic prose (in tragedy and comedy -χθήσομαι); γραφησόμενος Hippokr. II 278; ρνήσεται VI 42; ἀποτακησόμεναι VI 110, according to the vulgate reading adopted by Ermerins (τηξόμεναι Α, Littré). [τήξεται, transitive, is now abandoned, VII 478.] It is noteworthy that Hippokrates has ἐτήχθην, not ἐτάκην; φανήσομαι Hdt. IV 97, VIII 108 etc., five times as frequent as φανοῦμαι; σαπήσομαι Hippokr. IX 6; φθαρήσομαι Hippokr. I 598; καταρραγήσομαι V 732.

In an Hellenistic inscription from Smyrna in Dittenberger's Sylloge 1712, from 246-226 B. c. we find διαλεγήσονται. Cf. [δια]λεγείς Lampsakos, t. l. 20071. διαλεγήσομαι does not seem to occur elsewhere (συλλεγησόμενος in Aischines). Attic inscriptions have διελέχθην, never διελέγην. The latter form first appears in Aristotle.

4. Ordinarily the future middle supplies the place of the future passive, passive and middle not being differentiated. Of the following instances a few may be reflexive, and in others the pure passive force is doubtful.

ἀγόρεω in παρηγορήσομαι Hippokr. V 478, Aretaios 341; ἀγωνίζω Hdt. III 83; ἀθέλγω Aretaios 108 (cf. ἀθέλγεται passive in Hippokr. V 478); αΙρέω in ἀπαιρήσεσθαι a reading in Hdt. V 35 (but see above under 1); ἀμβλώνω Hippokr. IV 464; ἀνδραποδίζω Hdt. VI 9, 17 (I 66 is not passive; cf. above under 2); ἀνασκολαπίζω Hdt. III 132, IV 43; βιάω Hippokr. VIII 280; ἔπω in περιέψομαι

Hdt. II 115, VII 149; ζημιόω Hdt. VII 39; θυμιάω Hippokr. VIII 272 (passive ?); θύω Hdt. VII 197 (?); ໃημι Hdt. V 35 (μετήσεσθαι); Ινόω Hippokr. VI 318 (?), middle VIII 112, 258; καθαίρω Hippokr. VII 24, 330, VIII 338 (middle VII 54); κινέω Hippokr. VII 90 (reflexive?; see above under 2); κλονέω Hippokr. VII 474 (reflexive or passive); λέγω, say, Aretaics 304; λείπω Hdt. VII 8 (a), 48, IX 56 (passive?); νομίζω Hippokr. VI 352; ξτραίνω Hippokr. VI 236; δμοιόω Hdt. VII 158 (shall be like); δμολογόω (see above under 2); δρίζω Hippokr. IV 102 (active in VI 4, IX 264); πήγνυμι Hippokr. II 36 (shall freeze or be frezen), the only occurrence of milional in early Greek; insignment Hdt. VI 9 (εμπεπρήσεται A B Pm and Stein); αποπληρόω Hippokr. VIII 12; ποιέω Hippokr. IX 238 (middle Hdt. VIII 4); πολιορκόω Hdt. V 34, VIII 49, IX 58, 97; onualre Hippokr. VII 276 (?), middle II 228; rerie Archil. 31; τελέω Hdt. VI 140 ; τρέφω Hippokr. VII 482, 518 ; δω Hdt. II 14 ; φέρω Hdt. VIII 49, 76, Hippokr. VII 580 (oloopat is also middle as in Hdt. VI 100, 132).

634. First Aorist.

1. The endings of First and Second Aorist.

The third plural always ends in prose in -θησαν (-ησαν second sorist) not in $-\theta \in \nu$ ($-\epsilon \nu$). The occurrence of the latter (primitive) form in Homer led to its being called Ionic by the grammarians, though they more frequently refer it to Aiolic and Doric.

2. εω remains open in the subjunctive, e.g. ἀπαιρεθέω Hdt. III 65, έσσωθέωμεν IV 97, ήλιωθέωσι Hippokr. II 18, μιγέωσιν VIII 62. Out of line are ἀποδεχθώ Hdt. I 124, ἐπιμνησθώ II 3, συμπιεχθώσιν Hippokr. VI 292, ξηρανθώσιν VI 280 etc. πειρηθώ

Theog. 506, or -εω, was a necessity.

en is always contracted2, e.g. μνησθής Hdt. VII 159, διδαχθής Theog. 565, τερφθη̂ς 594, ασηθη̂ς 989; εξενειχθη̂ Hdt. II 90, έξενιχθηι Κεοs 43₂₄, διαρανθηι 43₁₇, άδικηθεί Oropos 18₁₄ (§ 239), φανηι Zeleia 113₂₀, μεθυσθη Herakl. 73, συμμιγη 36, ἀπαλλαχθη Diog. Apoll. 5, ἀναταραχθη Hippokr. III 42, πιεσθη Solon 13₂₇, τρεφθή Theog. 379; μυησθήτε Hdt. I 36, πεισθήτε Hrd. 782. In the optative Hdt. has απαιρεθείησαν I 70, δφθείησαν VIII

24 (cf. είδείησαν III 61) with the ingression of in from the

The shorter form appears in αλισθείεν I 63. singular.

3. ἡρπάσθην is the form to be adopted in Hdt., though -χθην is supported by good MS. evidence in II 90 (-σθείς Rd), VII 169 $(-\sigma\theta\hat{\epsilon}\hat{i}\sigma av\ R)$, VIII 115 (all MSS.). The form with $-\sigma\theta\eta v$ occurs I 1, 4, VII 191; and in the future and sorist active σ is correct.

Hippokr. II 34 has ἀρπασθη. Cf. § 593, 2.
πιέζω varies between ἐπιέσθην Hdt. IV 11, Hippokr. VI 368, Solon 1327, and ἐπιέχθην Hippokr. III 324, 434, VI 292. In Hippokr. V 430 occurs συμπιασθήναι, which is a surprising form

An. Ox. I 9, refers it to Ionic, Doric, and Aiolic; An. Par. III 343 to Ionic and Doric; An. Ox. I 429, to Doric or Aiolic; as also An. Par. III 3237, 363π. πέλασθεν Μ 420, φέθηθεν Π 290 are called Ionic by Schol. Ven. A, rather on account of the omitted augment. A, rather on account or the control of Bekker's Sently Hdt. IV 154 is an error.

because Hippokrates does not make use of the Doric πιάζω. Cf. πιεσθη VI 368 and § 136. Littré refers the form to συμπιαίνω, but it may have forced its way in from late Greek. πιαίνω yields ἐπιάνθην VII 242, not ἐπιάσθην.

4. In Zeleia No. 1137, one of the latest inscriptions to preserve the character of the dialect (it dates after 334 B.C.), we read κατελάφθη, a form which agrees in its construction with λελάβηκε Hdt. IV 79, ἀναλελάφθαι Hippokr. III 108. Hdt. has ἀπολελαμμένοι IX 51, ἐλάμφθησαν IX 119, λαμφθεῖσαι VI 92; Hippokr. ἐλήφθη V 112. The forms devoid of the μ do not render impossible λάμψομαι or ἐλάμφθην, which contain the nasal of the

present stem. See §§ 130, 615.

- Despite ἐτρώθην Hippokr. VI 146 etc., we find in the vulgate τιτρωθώσιν V 698 for which we must read τρωθώσιν. ξυνεξερευθείη Hippokr. II 176, adopted by Littré, is noteworthy because of the retention of the diphthong. Two MSS, have -ερυθεί. For Attic ἐτύχθην we find in Hippokr. IX 242 ἐτεύχθην. κατηναλώθην Hippokr. V 122, 126 is an unusual form. εξεράθείς Hippokr. VIII 262 has the a commented on in § 593, 4. On ήρθην, ἀέρθην, see § 305 and appendix. On the agrist passive of φέρω (ἢνείχθην), see § 608, 2. ἐσσυθῆ Hippokr. VII 502 cannot be correct though preserved in all MSS. (ἐκσυθῆ?). Aretaios 96 ἐσσύθη is the only certain occurrence of the simple verb in prose. εἰρέθην, the regular form in Ionic (Hdt. IV 77, 156, VI 15 etc.), is from *ἐΓερέθην, ἐρρήθην, the strict Attic form, from *εξρήθην. Ionic and Attic εξρηκα, εξρημαι are from *ξεξέρηκα, *FeFéphuai. In Hippokrates we meet with the mixed form $\epsilon \rho \rho \epsilon \theta \eta \nu$, e. g. V 166, where J has $\pi \rho \rho \epsilon \rho \rho \eta \theta \eta$. $\epsilon \rho \rho \epsilon \theta \eta \nu$ also appears in the MSS. of Plato, &c., but is rarely adopted by the editors of the classic authors. In the indicative only we find the ε; in the other moods η, e. g. ρηθείς, ρηθήναι. αἰνέω also refuses (as in Attic) to lengthen the stem vowel in this tense: almθείs Hdt. V 102, with which cf. ἐπήνηται Hippokr. II 334. A difficult form from εὐνάω would be ξυνευνεθή adopted by Kühn in Hippokr. VIII 338. θ has however -ηθη. Some rare forms are κλουηθείς Hippokr. VII 532 (only in Ionic prose), ἐσκέφθην Hippokr. VI 18, περιέφθην Hdt. VI 15, VIII 27.
- 6. An interesting case of the survival of the use of the agrist 'passive' in the transitive sense occurs in Archil. 12:
- εί κείνου κεφαλήν καὶ χαρίεντα μέλεα | "Ηφαιστος καθαροίσιν ἐν είμασιν ἀμφεπονήθη.

With which we may compare an inscription from Korkyra, C. D. I. 3188:

Πραξιμένης δ' αὐτῶι γ[αία]ς ἀπὸ πατρίδος ἐνθῶν | σὺν δάμωι τόδε σᾶμα κασιγνήτοιο πονήθη.

πονήθη may be taken as a representative of the original indifference of the $\theta\eta$ forms towards the transitive-active use, on the one hand, and, on the other, the intransitive meaning, out of which grew the passive. Originally $\ell\pi$ ονήθη was no more passive than $\ell\rho$ ρύην. In Attic $\ell\pi$ ονήθην became intransitive; but in Plutarch, Perikles 4, 1, δ ιαπονηθῆναι is 'middle.' We rarely find in Ionic examples of the aorist passive used, now as a passive, now as a middle; e.g. $\ell\pi$ ενοήθην, which is active in Hdt. III 122, VI 115, Hippokr. VI δ 12 (π ρονοηθείς), passive in Hippokr. IV 184. Occasionally Attic and Ionic vary in this respect.

635.]

1. Aorist passives with σ .

The following list follows the lines laid down in the consideration of the perfect middle or passive:

(1) Sigmatic Stems.

afδομαι Hdt. VII 141, IX 7; άλθομαι Hippokr. IV 126 (τὸ άλθος Et. M., Hesychios); άχθομαι Hdt. II 103; ἐρόω, ἔραμαι Hdt. I 8, II 131; ζέω Aretaios 213; κορέννυμι (late present) Homer, Theog. 1249, but κεκόρημαι Hom., Theog. 751, Hdt. III 80, Peace 1285 (epic parody). Attic κεκόρομαι in Xenophon; κρούω Hippokr. III 148; λεύω Hdt. I 167, Hippokr. IX 412; σβέννυμι Hdt. I 87, Hippokr. II 446; σείω (?) Hdt. VI 98; τελέω Hdt. IV 79. Perhaps from sigmatic stems are κναίω Hippokr. VIII 132, 262; πρίω Archil. 122, Hippokr. V 214, 226 (πρίζω occurs first in Plato, Theag. 124 B); σπάω Hdt. VI 134, Hippokr. VII 173.

(2) -σθην by analogy occurs in france Solon 33; defer Hippokr. VII 524, 526; βιάω Hippokr. VIII 96 (Hdt. ἐβιήθην VII 83); βοάω Hdt. VI 131, VIII 124 (ἐβώσθην), but βεβωμένα III 39; γιγνώσκω Hdt. IV 42, 154; δύναμαι Hdt. II 19, 140, VII 106 (-ηθ- in s), Hippokr. IV 214, where most of the MSS. have δυνηθείη or the like; 18 m Hippokr. VI 558 rulgo; [Alasew yields hadovay according to the better tradition. The best support for the other form, which is that in use among the Attics, is Hdt. VII 165 where all MSS. have \$2.46pp. In IV 145 haddyr bis is attested by ABds in the first case, Ad Bcorr. s in the second, in V 42 by Pr, in V 97 by all but A CP, in VII 6 by all except C. The testimony in favour of ηλάθην is weakest in I 168, 173, III 46, 51, 54, IV 4. ἡλάσθην is to be adopted against Veitch. It is best to regard the stem as έλαδ-, cf. έληλάδατο η 86]; έλαύω Hdt. I 140, Hippokr. V 152; έλύω Archil. 103; έρύω (είρύω) Hippokr. V 234 (έρωσθ-), III 26, VI 194, VIII 84 (είρωσθ-); θλάω Hippokr. VI 406; [καλέω. ἐκλήθην Archil. 78, Hdt. I 173, Hippokr. II 344 etc., render προσεκαλέσθη the vulgate reading in Hippokr. V 330 extremely suspicious. Littré adopts *posenaleisy on the authority of four MSS.]; neleis Hdt. VII 9 (a); κλάω Hippokr. VII 516; κλείω (κληίω) always with σ; κρεμάντυμι Hdt. VII 26, 194, IX 122; μεθόω Herakl. 73, Hdt. II 121 (8), Hippokr. VI 636; μιμιτήσκω Hdt. II 3 (μιτησθήσομαι VI 19; 200 § 632); δυομαι Hdt. II 136; παύω Hdt. I 130, V 94, VI 66. Of these occurrences I 130 offers the best support for ἐπαίθην (Δ corr. R d s); elsewhere d has the -θην form; wieles Hippokr. V. 430 (?) but -1841 VII 242; nrów Hippokr. VI 194, 198; sneldw Hdt. V 101; στορέννυμ (a late form) Hippokr. I 618; σχέω Hippokr. VI 428

(but perhaps from σχάζω which is Hippokratic); ὕω Hdt. III 10; φλάω Hippokr. III 200, 218, 220, VI 306, 402; χόω Hdt. II 11, 137; χράομαι Hdt. VII 144, IX 120 (but κέχρημαι I 42); χράω Hdt. VI 19, VII 178, IX 94.

2. Aorist passives of verbs in -νω. See § 614, 3.

A. Verbs in -αίνω, which form their perfects in -σμαι, have -νθην. ὑγιαίνω shows the regular ὑγιάνθην in Hippokr. V 174, VIII 410; ὑγιάσθην in V 678, VI 8 (ter in Littré)¹ is from

ύγιάζω.

B. Verbs in -ύνω. $al\sigma\chi\acute{v}νω$, $lθ\acute{v}νω$ have -νθην. $lδρ\acute{v}ω$ ($lδρ\acute{v}νω$) has $iδρ\acute{v}θην$ in Hdt. I 172, II 44 (-νθ- in CPz), 118, IV 203 (-νθ- in Apr., B), and Hippokr. V 150 (-νθ- in CD), VIII 314 (-νθ- vulgo, -θ- in C, θ). Littré adopts $iδρ\acute{v}νθην$ in III 144, 146 (-θ- in FGHIK), 556, IV 118 (-θ- in C and seven other MSS.), V 652 (-θ- in AD). I would reject the -νθ- forms. Epic is $iδρ\acute{v}νθησαν$ Γ 78, H 56; cf. $\mathring{η}ρτ\acute{v}νθην$.

C. Verbs in -ίνω. In Archilochos 34 ἐκλίνθησαν is Toup's conjecture for ἐκινήθησαν. In Homer we find both ἐκλίθην and ἐκλίνθην, in Ionic prose only ἐκλίθην. Homer has also the pair ἐκρίνθην and ἐκρίθην (Β 815), later Ionic only the latter. Archilochos, it may be noted, has ἀποκριθείς in frag. 893. In ἐλάμφθην Hdt. VI 92, IX 119 we meet with the nasal intruded

from the present as in the Homeric ἐκλίνθην, ἐκρίνθην.

D. Schneidewin's κατεκτάνθη, Hipponax 132, is wide of the mark. ἐκτάνθην, if correct, occurs only in late authors.

636.] Second Aorist.

 Coexistence of First and Second Aorists. The following instances in the New Ionic may serve to illustrate the two forms²:—

άλλάχθην³ Hdt. I 170, II 2 (-γ- in C), 152, V 4, 65, VIII 18, Diog. Apoll. 5. ήλλάγην Hdt. VIII 84, Hippokr. V 206.

₹θάφθην Hdt. II 81, VII 228.

ἐτάφην Hdt. III 10, 55, IX 85. In II 81 R d have ταφῆνα, which is due to the well-known substitution in later times of the light for the heavy form.

ἐκαύθην Hdt. I 19, IV 69, VI 101, Hippokr. V 146, 208; cf. νεοκαύτοις Smyrna, D. S. 17148 (late). ἐκάην Hdt. I 51, II 107, 180, IV 79, Hippokr. V 214, VI 330.

In two of the three cases there is authority for -νθην.

² ἡγγέλην is poorly supported (Rd) in Hdt. II 121 (3). R has δγγέλτο in VII 37.

² See Valckenaer on Phoin. 972 (D), Veitch p. 50, Headlam On Editing Aeschylus, p. 104.

VII 534.

in Attic).

ἐκλίθην Hdt. I 211, Hippokr. II 682, III 40, 94, 140, 146, VIII 312. On ἐκλίνθην, 800 635, 2, C.

 δκλίνθην, 200 635, 2, C.
 Herwerden, κλίναι

 δμίχθην Hdt. I 199, IV 9, Hippokr.
 δμίχθην Hdt. II 131, V

δρρήχθην (?) Hippokr. VII 242.

έστράφθην Hdt. I 130 (-φησαν CRds).

συνελέχθην Hdt. I 97 and often (rare

dσφάχθην Hdt. V 5 (not in Attic prose).

έτρίφθην Hippokr. V 206, VIII 380.

ἐφάνθην Hippokr. VIII 50.

daλίσης Hippokr. V 444, the only place (v.l.-iθης), Hdt. IX 16 Dindorf and Herwerden, κλίσει Stein.

dμίγην Hdt. II 131, VIII 38, Hippokr. VII 180, VIII 62.

dppdγην Hdt. II 173, Hippokr. III 214, V 424, VII 20, 534, VIII 68.

dотрафии Hdt. III 129, Solon 37e, Hippokr. V 426, VII 514, 534.

συνελόγην Hdt. VII 173, IX 27, 29, 32 (rare in Ionic).

έσφάγην Hdt. IV 62.

erplβqv Hdt. VII 120.

dφάσην Hdt. I 36, and often (perhaps also I 165 for ἀναφήναι intrans.), Hippokr. II 658, V 186.

2. In the following list of those examples of second acrist passives which we have observed in the post-Homeric Ionista, we have pointed out those cases which are Homeric in order to show the growth of this tense in the later dialect. Homer has twenty-two or twenty-three examples of the second acrist passive forms, most of which do not recur in Ionic prose; and this number is about one-sixth as large as that of the first acrist passive. Of the forms here included some belong only to late Ionic writers. On the forms in $-\eta$ - which coexist with those in $-\eta$ -, see above under 1.

άγνυμι, see § 582; ἀλλάσσω above; βάπνω Hippokr. V 664; βλάπνω Hom., Hippokr. V 418, 460; βρέχω Hippokr. VIII 200; γπρείε in γπρέντες Kenophanes 8, from γήρημι. Hdn. II 266, cites γηρείε de eleisaus from an unknown source: otherwise there is no further trace of γήρημι. The form γπρείε is remarkable not only on account of the long vowel (cf. however γπρελέες by the side of γεραιός), but because of the existence of a γήρημι whence comes γηρά P 197. Pairs such as γήρημι and γήρημι are strange. On this verb cf. Lobeck on Buttmann II 138, Brugmann, M. U. I 76, III 87. It does not suffice to say that γηρείε is constructed like δείε or βυείε. We need definite analogues. I do not find κιρεείε given as a parallel to κιρεείε in Buttmann II 13, but we have πιμπλάε (Plato) and ἐμππλείε (Hippokr.). It is unlikely that Xenophanes should have employed an Aiolic form (γήρημι from γπρέω); γράφω Hdt. IV 91; δάκνω Arctaios 134; *δάω Hom., Lukian Syria des I; δάρω Hdt. VII 26; δώω? (for διεκδυῆναι in Hippokr. VI 374, Veitch suggests that διεκδῦναι is to be read). Cf. ἐφόην, ἐρρόην; δάπνω above; κείω

Hdt. IV 127; κλίνω above; κόπτω Hdt. VIII 92; λανθάνω (?), Hippokr. VII 532, διελήθησαν vulgo (διελελήθεσαν Veitch) for which Littré adopts διεβλήθησαν from CE; -λέγω above; μαίνω Hdt. III 30 &c., Hippokr. III 140, V 186; μήγ νυμι above ; πείρω Hdt. IV 94 ; πήγνυμι Hom., Hippokr. V 222, VI 194 (Hom., has also πῆχθεν); πλέκω Hdt. VIII 84, Hippokr. IX 194; πλήσσω: ἐπλήγην Hom., Hdt. V 120, έξεπλάγην Hdt. I 119; πνίγω Hippokr. VII 150; πτύσσω Hippokr. VII 284; πτύω Hippokr. V 106; βάπτω Hippokr. III 524; βέω Hom., Hdt. VIII 138, Hippokr. II 658, V 114; βήγνυμι above; σήπω Hom., Hdt. III 66, VI 136, Hippokr. VII 190; σκάπτω Hdt. VI 72; στέλλω Hdt. IV 159, V 126; στρέφω above; σφάζω above; σφάλλω Hdt. IV 140, VII 168; τήκω Hippokr. III 330; τρέφω Hom., Hdt. III 111 &c.; τρίβω above; φαίνω above; φθείρω Hdt. VII 10 (ε), Hippokr. VIII 66; φλίβω Hippokr. VI 292 (here C has ἐκθλιβῆ); φράσσω Aretaios 13; φρύγω Hippokr. VI 414; φύρω Aretaios 241; φύω (?), Hippokr. VI 182 (in θ), VII 514 (now rejected in III 286 by Littré). Cobet and Nauck brand ἐφύην as a product of the decline; χαίρω Hom., Hdt. VIII 101.

Contract Verbs.

Forms of $\mu \iota$ verbs inflected like Contract Verbs will be found \$ 691 ff.

637.] 1. Denominative verbs formed by the addition of -40-, -16- to the nominal stem lost their -1- in the primitive period of the language1. The vowels thus brought into contact are treated as follows in Ionic.

(I) -aω verbs.

 $a+\epsilon=\bar{a}$ $a+o=\omega$ $a+\eta=\bar{a}$ $a + \omega = \omega$ $a+\eta=q$ $a + oi = \varphi$ a + ov (spurious) = ω $a + \epsilon \iota = a$

The inscriptions and the lyric poets without exception adopt this scheme of contraction. The prose writers follow it in the main. The differences consist (1) in the contraction of $a + \epsilon$ to η chiefly in Hippokrates², (2) in the contraction of a + o, $a + \omega$,

1 Between vowels t was retained only when it was preceded by v (w).

¹ Between vowels \$\epsilon\$ was retained only when it was preceded by \$\nu(\nu)\$.
2 Only one example occurs in the MSS. of \$Hdt\$. (θνμάῆται IV 75, where \$A^*R\$ have -ιᾶται). In \$Demokritos Phys. 1, Sextus Empiricus has δρῆν, but in \$Melissos 17 Simplicius has δρᾶν (Mullach δρῆν). In \$Hippokrates (but chiefly in the supposititious treatises) there are numerous examples according to \$Littré\$. Good MSS. often have the correct forms: \$aloνῆν VIII 342 (-ᾶν in θ); \$alvῆται IX 384 (-ιᾶται VI 388); \$apιστῆν II 478 (-ᾶν in A), VII 220 (θ); \$aνῆται IX 384, clâται VI 388); \$apιστῆν II 478 (-ᾶν in A), VII 220 (θ); \$aνῆ (?) VII 252, \$aνῆται IX 384, but \$aσαται VI 388, VIII 78; \$βιῆται VIII 328 (C, vulgo, -ιᾶται Littré), 560 bis; γελῆ IX 336 (-ᾶ CD, and γελᾶι 338), γελῆν 338 (-ᾶν CD). Cf. also ν. l. 322, 356, 360 &c. It would be possible to refer γελῆν to γελήω, since γελᾶω occurs in Doric (C. D. I. 3339251 122);

a + ov in some twenty verbs to ϵo , ϵov in the Parisinus (P) of Hdt., and to ϵov in the Florentinus (C). See on these points § 688, where the instances of $-\epsilon ov$ for -aov verbs are collected. Examples of the 'distracted' verbs are suspicious in Hdt. Stein adopts ηγορόωντο VI 11 (- \hat{o} ντο AB^1), κομόωσι IV 191 (- \hat{o} σι R).

(2) -εω verbs.

Lyric poets and inscriptions agree with Herodotos and Hippokrates in their treatment of dissimilar vowels in contact, but differ from them in respect of the contraction of like vowels. In the lyric poets and inscriptions we find:—

$$\epsilon + \epsilon = \epsilon i$$
 $\epsilon + 0 = \epsilon 0$, ϵv
 $\epsilon + \eta = \eta$ $\epsilon + \omega = \epsilon \omega$, $\epsilon \omega$
 $\epsilon + \epsilon i = \epsilon i$ ($\epsilon \epsilon j$) $\epsilon + 0 = \epsilon 0 i$, $\epsilon \omega$
 $\epsilon + 0 = \epsilon 0 v$, ϵv .

Thus the inflection of $\phi \iota \lambda \ell \omega$ was the following, as early as the seventh century, in all respects except perhaps $-\epsilon v$ - for $-\epsilon o$ - in the poets; certainly by the time of Herodotos.

Indic.	Subj.	Imperf.			
φιλέω (-έω)	φιλέω (-έω)	έφίλεου (-εου, -ευν)			
φιλείς	φιλής	έφίλεις			
φιλεῖ	φιλή	έφίλει			
φιλέομεν (-έομεν, -εθμεν)	φιλέωμεν (-έω-)	έφιλέομεν (-έομεν, -εθμεν)			
φιλείτε	φιλήτε	έφιλεῖτε			
φιλέουσι (-εῦσι)	φιλέωσι (-έω-)	έφίλεου (-εου, -ευν)			

A noteworthy difference between Herodotos and Hippokrates is the avoidance by the former of the forms of the optative in -ounv, and their frequent use by the latter. The infinitive is φιλείν, the participle φιλέων, -έουσα (-εῦσα), -έον (-εῦν), φιλέοντος (-εῦντος), -εούσης (-εύσης), -έοντος (-εῦντος).

In the MSS. of the prose writers ee, en are generally retained

(especially after consonants) and $\epsilon\epsilon\iota$ is very frequent.

It is certain that the Ionic of the fifth century contracted $\epsilon + \epsilon$. $\epsilon + \eta$, $\epsilon + \epsilon \iota$. Unless we admit that Herodotos and Hippokrates consciously adopted a system of inflection antiquated in their time, we are forced to the conclusion that the introduction of open ee, en, eet in the texts of the early prose writers is due to the μεταγραψάμενοι. The cause of their error was the belief that the New Ionic did not contract e with a following vowel. Meeting with εω in Ionic where Attic had ω, the grammarians opined that the difference between the two dialects consisted solely in the possession by the former of a 'pleonastic' ϵ^1 . Again they observed that so, even if contracted in Ionic, did not lose its ε as it did in Attic, and that ε was often preserved before a. Furthermore, though $\epsilon F \epsilon$ may become $\epsilon \iota$, $\epsilon F \eta$ is actually uncontracted in -εFω verbs. Thus unable to distinguish Ionic from Attic, and New Ionic from Old Ionic, and possessed of the belief that Herodotos was a species of prose Homer, it is not surprising that the grammarians or copyists were led to change δοκεί to δοκέει2 and reinstate the ε everywhere before a following vowel (§ 108). The inflection thus seemed to them to gain in coherence and to approximate more closely to that of Homer who was the main source of their knowledge of the dialect.

The MSS, of the other prosaists anterior to the pseudo-Ionists have fared better than those of Herodotos and Hippokrates. In the pseudo-Ionists the open forms may claim a species of genuineness (§ 107).

The contraction of so and sov. Dindorf 3 was an adherent of

3 Hdt. Praefatio p. xxix.

¹ Cf. χρέωμαι from χρώμαι in Eust. on Ψ 834. From this source of error may have sprung some of the hyper-Ionic verbs in -εω. See under 3.
² The citation by Greg. Kor. (§ 14) of δοκέει and λαλέειν is inapposite. Both forms occur in a pseudo-Anakreontic fragment (no. 62).
³ Hdt. Profestion a residence of the second control of the profestion of the second control of the se

the view that, while the ordinary speech of the Ionians may have preferred the closed to the open forms, in their literature some verbs were written with ϵ_0 , others with ϵ_0 , and still others indifferently, and that certainty in so elusive a matter was to be despaired of. Bredow appears to have been of the same opinion. Abicht1 first sought to bring order into a chaos which he conceived as foreign to the language of Herodotos. In those verbs in which ϵ was preceded by a vowel, ϵo and ϵov , he contended, became ev; in those in which e followed a consonant eo and eou were retained. The former contention has some support, the latter may readily be disproved. Thus in verbs ending in a consonant we find -cov, but also -cvu-, -cvv-. Stein refuses to adopt the innumerable changes necessary to the carrying out of Abicht's theory, and prefers to edit that form which he thinks the MSS. in each case show to have existed in the archetype. Spreer³ is an adherent of Abicht so far as the five verbs mentioned in note 2 are concerned, but joins issue with him in respect of that part of his theory which demands co after a consonant. In the case of αγινέω, αινέω, αιτέω, δοκέω, σιτέομαι, φρονέω and χωρέω he thinks Hdt. adopted co. His attempt at differentiating between various portions of the text as regards the preference of the scribes for one or the other writing leads to no important results. We present below a table, taken from Spreer's treatise, of verbs employed by Hdt. at least five times in present and imperfect, in order to show the affinities of the MSS. for eo or ev, eov or ev.

The views of the scholars above mentioned are all vitiated by the fact that they assume a radical difference between ϵo and ϵv , i, e, that ϵo is a dissyllable, ϵv a diphthong. While it may seem

De verbis contractis apud Herodotum.

	60	eu.	€00	ev		40	en	ton	40
dywie	13		-		olicéu	73	1	36	
alvéw	11		5		δμολογέω	73	100	9	
alpiw	24	- 1	5		πολιορπέω	28	2	1 5	
altéw	21		2		προθυμέσμαι	. 5	1		
ἀπορέω	4	1			σιτέσμαι	17	100		10
aprious	4	1			τελέω	11	.2	16	1
βοηθέω	.21		2	1	τιμωρέω	7	1	3	
Banésa	50	1.	9		φορέω	15	3	20	
ψγέσμαι	50 16	7			φρονέω	11	100	8	
Ικνέομαι	25	5			Xwpéw	10		2	
Ιστορέω	5	1	-	1	erfona.	4	I		
Kalen	172	19 or 21	33	1		1 3			

M m

¹ Quaest, de dial. Herod. spec, primum, 1859, Usbersicht des herod. Dialekts, p. 39.
2 δηθομαι, διανοδομαι, άγνοδω always avoid ee, rodu has recevers VIII 3, διανοεύνται IX 54, but δτενόεον V 65, rodows: III 81, rodows VIII 101. ποιδυ has about 243 ev forms to 41 in eo, and ev is much preferred to eeu.

harsh to hold that nothing is indicated by the distinct preferences, indicated in the MSS., of many of the verbs in question for the one or the other writing, the evidence of the inscriptions (§§ 246, 287) is conclusive that no great difference in pronunciation existed between so and sv (i.e. eii) on the one hand, and sov and sv (i.e. čū) on the other. The difference is not phonetical, but orthographical, as Merzdorf¹ first recognized. With the material at our command it is impossible to reconstruct the exact system of orthography adopted by Herodotos or any other Ionic writer2. In Herodotos the preponderance in favour of so over sv is very great, except in the case of four of Abicht's five verbs; in Hippokrates, the other early Ionic prose writers and in the pseudo-Ionists to prevails over to, as is natural in literary monuments, which are conservative. The inscriptions have so, never sv. In the lyric poets there is not a single case, except Mimn. 143 (see § 661), of dissyllabic εο. Herodas prefers ευ, perhaps because the Alexandrians regarded εο as dissyllabie 3. The contraction of so to ov is an Atticism which has no place in any portion of Ionic so long as the dialect retained its native vigour4.

The writing cov is generally preserved in the inscriptions. In a document from Kos (Paton 3757, 61) coloured by Ionisms, we find κυέοσα = κυέουσα, Hippokr. VIII 484; but a like spelling we do not recollect to have encountered on any inscription from Ionia or the Ionic islands. cov rarely usurps the place of ev < co, e.g. Εὐρυσθένεους Samos 217, 'Αριστοκλέους Thasos 7215. Strictly speaking sov is not contracted to ev. When, as in moisson, the one writing is substituted for the other, the dialect merely fails

¹ Curtius' Studien, VIII 167.

¹ Curtius' Studien, VIII 167.
2 ev before μ is a favourite spelling. When an -αω verb appears under the form of one in -εω (§ 688), the evidence points to εο, not εν, except in a comparatively few cases. These are εἰρώτευν ν.ἰ. δ 251, Hdt. I 158, III 140, 156, IX 89, 93 generally in CPdz, εἰρωτεῦντα III 62, ἀνιεῦνται VII 236, φυσεὑμενος IV 2 in P, πειρεὑμενος Ηippokr. IX 354, δρεῦντες IX 358, 376, Aret. 42 and in Theokritos (Ahrens II 310), δρεῦνα Ηrd. 414, κυκεὑμενος Solon 374, μωμεῦνται Theog. 369, μωμεὑμενος 169, λωβεῦμαι Hrd. 369, πηδεῦντα 366. πλανεὑμενος Arrian 72 is a bad conjecture. On -εν- in -οω verbs, see § 690, and on πιμπλεῦσαι in Hesiod, see § 691, note 4. Cf. also Theokr. χασμεὑμενος IV 53, δπτεὑμενος VII 55, XXIII 34, συλεὑμενος XIX 2, γελεῦνα ν. ἰ. I 36, σπαργεῦνα (?) Quint. Smyrn. XIV 283, σκιρτεῦνοι Opp. Kyn. IV 342, διψεῦναν Anthol. Pal. VI 217. When a verb in -οω is incorrectly inflected like one in -εω (§ 690), εο is very rare. Hence σταθμεύμενος Hdt. VIII 130 is probably correct.

Hence σταθμεύμενος Hdt. VIII 130 is probably correct.

3 so which was copied from the earlier monuments by the pseudo-Ionists was regarded by them as more Ionic than ev, and perhaps classed as dis-

The confusion between ev and ov, starting from a comparison of bixarous and ποιούσι produced such forms as δικαιεύσι in the MSS. Hrd. has χασκεύση

^{442,} τεμεῦσα 489, δραμεῦσα 584, which are unique of their kind.

⁵ ρεούμενοι in the oracle, Hdt. VII 140, should give way to ρεεύμενοι (Clemens Alex.), and be referred to an otherwise unattested ρεέω.

to differentiate between $\epsilon v = \tilde{\epsilon} \tilde{\nu}$ and $\epsilon v = \tilde{\epsilon} \tilde{v}$. In the lyric poets $\epsilon o v$ is almost always a monosyllable. In Hdt. it is preferred to ϵv , except in the case of $\pi o \iota \ell \omega$; Herodas prefers ϵv . The later prose literature generally adopts $\epsilon o v$.

εω is open about 190 times in Hdt. There are only three or

four cases of the Attic ω.

(3) -oω verbs.

$$o + o = ov$$
, never ϵv $o + \epsilon i = oi$
 $o + \epsilon = i$, $o + oi = oi$
 $o + \omega = \omega$ $o + ov$ (spurious) $= ov$

All the witnesses for the dialect agree to these contractions. On $-\epsilon v$ - for -ov- erroneously introduced into certain forms of this inflection, see § 690.

2. Verbs in -εf-ω.

In dissyllabic verbs in $-\epsilon f - \omega$ the contraction of like vowels is not imperative, as it is in the case of verbs in $-\epsilon - \iota \omega$ and $-\epsilon \sigma - \omega$, which are inflected like those in $-\epsilon - \iota \omega$. The prose writers vary between $\epsilon \epsilon$ $\epsilon \epsilon \iota$, and $\epsilon \iota$, with the exception that $\delta \epsilon \hat{\imath}$ is always contracted. In the lyric poets $\epsilon f \epsilon$, $\epsilon f \epsilon \iota$ generally become $\epsilon \iota$ (in Herodas always), but $\epsilon \eta$ remains open. $\epsilon \omega$ is never contracted, $\epsilon \sigma$ only once (in Herodas), and $\epsilon \sigma \nu$ is so written (except once, in Herodas), even when it may be monosyllabic.

86ω: in the poets we find δεῖ, Hipponax 6 (trim.', Anakr. 98 (eleg.), Herodas 3ω, 5ω, 6μ, 6μ, 17, 7μμ. The only occurrence of the word in Homer (Πρεσβεία Ι 337] takes this form, for which 86ω should not be substituted (ε.g. πίδεω with omitted 86). In Herodotos there are about 50 cases of 8εῖ to 3 of δεω III 127, VIII 68 ω', 143). Hippokrates uses 8εῖ, ε.g. II 52, 374, 376, VIII 190 (next to ποιδεω), so too Herakleitos 94, Melissos 16, Demokritos 20, 47, 70, 73, 205, 219 (κία Stobaios, Mullach 86ω), Ion 1, Euseb. Mynd. 1, 21, Aretaios, ε.g. 55. Eberhard's 86ω in Arrian 43, has no MS. support (8εῖ οτ δεῖτοι?). δεῖν occurs in Hdt. I 129, II 133, VI 135, IX 33, Hippokr. II 248, 302 ἀc., δέων but once in Hdt. (VIII 62). A much used word would tend to contract (cf. Boiotian τῶν ἀc.). δέψ Zeleia 113ω, Hdt. I 90, Hippokr. II 246,

III 258, Aret. 198, Arrian 12,. So too1 in Clouds 493 and in Attic inscriptions: II Sog B 32 (δέει with ει from ηι). The contracted form δη, which occurs sporadically in Attic literature, appears in Lebadeia (Ditt. Syll. 353ca), and in the form \$\eal_{\text{e}}^2\$ Teos 158, and B. C. H. 1890, p. 393. In the imperfect in Herodotos we find #5ee 15, #5et 7 times by consensus of the MSS. Stein changes to toes four times where the MSS. have toes, but leaves toes in three passages with the MSS. ἔδεε was perhaps the Herodoteian form. In Hippokrates we find ἔδει II 46. Herodas has ἔδει 6₇₉, 80, 921 Lukian, Syr. dea 25 ἔδεεν (cf. πῶς δεῖ ἰστ. συγγρ. § 18 citing from an anonymous writer in Ionic). δεθμαι Hrd. 518 is an instance of the rare contraction of εσ. δέεαι Hdt. VII 161 is probably incorrect (cf. δέη in R). δέσται is found in Hdt. I 31 &c., Hippokr. II 36 (-ei- vulgo), 256 (-ei- vulgo), 348 and 372 (-ei- A), VII 288, and occasionally in Attic ; δείται in I 616, II 356, III 210, 212, 232 bis, Arrian 36, Herodas 179, 641, 749. δέεσθε Hdt. VIII 22. In the subjunctive we find δέγται Olynthos 8 B 4, Arkesine (Mitth. XI 107, late), Hdt. III 96, Hippokr. III 104 (δεί same line), as in Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 40 A 13, 54 B 15), and with the glide ι (δείηται ΙΙ 167, 43, 48) *, δέωνται Hdt. ΙΙ 173, IV 94 (Attic δείωνται C. I. A. II 119, 14). δεοίατο Hdt. V 73, Hippokr. III 230; δείσθω appears in Hippokr. VIII 340, Hrd. 438, δέεσθαι Hippokr. II 28 (-ει- rulgo), IX 334, Hdt. IV 145 &c. (also Attic), δεῖσθαι IX 8 (in all MSS. except R), and in MSS. Arrian 317, and Hippokr. VII 176. Sedueros Hdt. IV 11, Euseb. Mynd. 1, δειομ- Oropos 1836. Theokr. XXX 32 has δεύμενον, which is not, as G. Meyer, Gramm. § 485, note 1, states, an unthematic form. In the imperfect : ἐδεόμην Hdt. III 36, ¿δέο VII 161 (Bredow, MSS. ¿δέου), ¿δέστο Hdt. IV 162, &c. (also Attic), εδέοντο Ι 196. θέω yields θεί Hdt. I 181; θέειν VIII 140 (a), but θείν III 105, both in all MSS.; θέοντες Hippokr. epist. IX 350; έθεε Hdt. I 43. €θεον I 82. νέω swim has νέειν Hdt. VIII 89 (νείν VI 44 A B' Cd); ένεων VIII 89. πλέω yields πλεί Hekat. 284, Aret. 69, Hrd. 2m, πλέουσι Hdt. II 60, Hippokr. II 60, IX 368 epist., Kallimachos frag. 94 (choliambie); πλέμ Hdt. III 138, πλέωμεν VIII 109, πλέωσι IX 98; πλέοι II 115; πλέειν VIII 109 but πλείν Arrian 63, Vita Hom. 6, 7; πλέοντες Hdt. II 60, πλεούσας VIII 10; έπλες Theog. 12, Hdt. IV 43, but έπλει Ion 1, έπλεον Hdt. I 164. www.yields πνέει Hippokr. II 62, VII 486, but πνεί VI 384 (θ), VII 16, πνέουσι Aret. 102; πνέη Hrd. 190, Aretaios 5; πνέειν Hippokr. V 204, πνείν VII 50; πνέοντες Hdt. II 22, πνέοντα Diog. Apoll. 5 ; έπνεεν Sim. Keos 1152; πνεόμενος Hippokr. II 122. βέω yields βέει Mimn. 51 (=Theog. 1017), Hdt. I 51, 72, 180, 185, &c., Hippokr. III 252, VII 12, 562, 570, VIII 260, Aret. 109, Herakl. 41 (but \$ei 42) according to Bywater. \$\rightarrow\$e\$\text{i}\$ is found in Hippokr. II 658, VII 12, VII 34. Arrian 8, bén Hdt. I 193, II 149, Hippokr. VI 314, VII 34, Aret. 98, 271 (but \$\hat{p}_0 303); \$\hat{p}\equiv \text{Hdt. II 22}; \$\hat{p}\equiv \text{Hdt. II 21}, \text{Hekat. 278, Hippokr. II 38. 136, Aret. 248, peîv Theog. 639 (eð peiv for A's eupeiv, vulgo ebpeir), Hippokr. VII 12; ρέων Hdt. I 6, Hekat. 202, ρέοντα Hdt. II 121 (δ); έρρεε II 121 (δ), έρρει

¹ Cf. also δεησόμενος, δεηθείς, περιδεής, ενδεής.

² In Hort. Adon. p. 187 B & is given as the Attic subjunctive. Cf. Demokr. 188 where Stobaios has δεῖ.

èπιδεύεαι B 229 is Aiolic rather than Ionic. An. Ox. I 109, calls it Ionic because Homeric.

^{*} προσδεῖται Ditt. Syll. 337,1-12 (320 B. c.) is an indicative form used in Attie as a subjunctive, a substitution made easier after δέη had become δή, then δεῖ (above). Cf. also δηλοῖ indicative and subjunctive.

⁵ Eust. 1892₃₈, cf. 882₃.

⁶ Cf. Eust

⁶ Cf. Eust, 1892 ss.

Hippokr. V 226; ἐρρεῖτο Aret. 180; ρεόμενος Hippokr. I 572, VII 320, VIII 48. From χέω we have χέει Hdt. III 96, χέουσι IV 195, χέμ Hrd. 71; χεότω Sim. Keos 1674; ἐκχεῖτ Keos 4322, Aret. 184, but χέειν Hdt. IV 127, Hippokr. II 356; χέουσα Hdt. I 185, χεῦσα Hrd. 677; χέεται Herakl. 23, Hippokr. VII 570, but χεῖται Arrian 324, Aret. 296; χεέσθω Aret. 202, but χείσθων Anakr. 42; ἐχεῖτο Hippokr. III 54.

3. Variation in the Present between -w and -ew (-aw) verbs.

This list includes only such verbs as show both forms in the same dialect. Omitted are cases analogous to $\delta\iota\nu\ell\omega$ in Hippokr. $=\delta\iota\nu\omega$ in Hesiod and Herakleian, and also variations of the epic dialect, e.g. $\ell\lambda\kappa\omega$, $\ell\lambda\kappa\ell\omega$, aldo $\mu\alpha\iota$, aldo $\mu\alpha\iota$. This section does not treat of the addition of an ϵ to the stem in other tenses than the present. Some of the undermentioned verbs are due to the error by which Ionic was thought to have $\epsilon\omega$ in place of ω , an error assisted perhaps, but not directly caused, by the analogy of $l\alpha\chi\ell\omega$, $\pi o\rho\phi\nu\rho\ell\omega$, $\mu\epsilon\lambda\alpha\nu\ell\omega$, &c. The genuine forms recall the causatives in $-\delta\gamma\alpha\ell$ in Sanskrit, which in Greek were confused with the denominatives. The Greek representatives of $-\delta\gamma\alpha\ell$ are either causatives or iteratives (intensives and frequentatives), but in most cases the original signification has been lost.

dγεόμενος Hdt. III 14 in qz cannot stand. It is a confusion between λγέσμαι and άγω, parallel to ἐπειρεόμενος below. axeonat Hdt., Aret. 183, dxθέει Aret. 183. βαλλέω does not exist. Επερβαλλέειν Hdt. III 23, συμβαλλεόμενος I 68, III 95, &c., are stupid blunders of the Aldine edition. Cf. υπερβαλλέειν, the vulgate reading in Hippokr. IV 92. The existence of βαλλήσω (not attested in Ionic) may have furthered the error, but it is more probable that the false -terr of the second agrist induced the mistake. Cf. also breeθορέοντα Hdt. VI 134 (sz) from θορέειν. βουλέωνται Teos, Mitth. XVI 293, 1. 20; cf. δυνέωνται and § 618. Notice also βουλήσομαι, έβουλήσην. βρόχαμαι in βρύχωνται, a doubtful reading of Littré VI 360. Hippokrates has usually (δια βύνεται Hdt. II 96, but διαβυνέσνται IV 71. In the Peace Sewei Hdt. IV 64 ABC is a mistake for Sewei Rs 646 we read ¿βύνουν. Sure 16 times in Hdt., Surle once, in desertours III 98 (desertours R. Cf. burlo in Hesiod's Scutum 210, 257 with Skt. dhun-aya-ti by the side of dhū-nā-ti. είλω perhaps in ἡλσάμην Sim. Amorg. 17, elλέω Hdt., Hippokr. esponar Hdt., exceptoperos Hdt. III 64 in ABds, expetoperos C. Road exceptmeros with s, r. Confusion between espense and doler led to the incorrect form. έψω is Herodoteian (II 94, III 100, IV 61, IX 118) and Hippokratic, a.g. in the following cases: — हंभूबार II 32, III 236, हंभूब VII 158, 160, 374, VIII 174, 3Q2, łψέτω VIII 182, έψων VIII 162, έψοντα VIII 138, ἐψέμενος VII 276. Since we have the testimony of a grammarian (wrongly supposed by Hermann (de emend, rat p. 313 to be Herodian, to the effect that no ancient author used hyour, thee or here in Helt I 48 has been abandoned by the editors. The best support for this form in Hippokrates is II 518, where the occurs twice. In the first case A has Ipe, in the second Ipe is the vulgate reading and the majority of the MSS, have Itee. This example is however from the spurious appendix to the wepl Scalings delws. Other cases in the supposititious works are épeir V 244, VII 85, 156 (épei same page), 196, 254 (6), 276, 374, VIII 82

(-ειν C), 92, 174, 194, 200, 338 (εψειν C), 366 (θ, Littré εψην), 392. Instead of έψων, which appears VII 48, 160, 222, 266, 276, 420, we have traces of the early form in εψοντα VI 566 (θ), ἀφέψοντα VIII 138 (θ), and ἀπέψων VII 402 (C). Aretaios has έψεῖν 250, έψεΙσθω 331, έψεΙσθωσαν 256 (Kühn), συνεψεΙσθω 170, 13 (Ermerins). The future, aorist, and perfect έψη- started the -εω form. That κύρω and κυρέω coexisted in post-Homeric Ionic may be inferred from κύρσω in Demokritos, ἐνέκυρσα in Hdt., ἐγκυρέω Herakleitos, κυρήσω Hdt., κύω Hdt., Hippokr., κυέω Hdt. (κυήσω ἐκύρησα Archil., Hdt., Hippokr. μαρτύρομαι Hdt. I 44, V 92 (η), μαρτυρεί VIII 94 (bear witness), Hippokr.). έπεμαρτυρέοντο (?) V 93. μαρτυροῦμαι is late, and due to a confusion between μαρτυρῶ (ἐγώ) and μαρτύρομαί ($\sigma \epsilon$). The only testimony to μαχέσμαι coccurs in Hdt. VII 104 (ABCdz, µaxou-Rvs), 225 (Rz), 239 (Suidas), IX 67 (AB, µaxou-PR), 75 (z). In VII 104 occurs μουνομαχέσιμι which is formed like συμμαχέω and must be considered apart from μαχέσμαι. The -ε-form in the simple verb μέλομαι is Herodoteian (I 98, II appears in the future μαχέσομαι in Hdt. 2, 174) and Hippokratic (ἐπιμελόμενος III 522, τωίσο -εο-). μεταμελήται Hdt. III 36, in all MSS., should be read -nras. In Hippokr. III 476 we find ἐπιμελῆται (as in Demokr. 41), in III 492, IX 256, 420 -ἐεσθαι. On inscriptions we find both forms : ἐπιμέλωνται Thasos 71, ἐπιμέλεσθαι 71, ἐπιμελεῖσθαι μινύθω Hippokr. IV 360, μινυθέω III 330. μύζω Hippokr. Oropos 187. VIII 592, 594, μυζέω VII 252. ξύρω and ξυρέω are both Hippokratic. Cf. έξυρα VII 118 (aorist, not imperf. of ξυράω), έξύρησα VI 212. Hdt. has only δμίχω in Hipponax 55 A ωμιξεν; cf. δμιχέω in Hesiod. Hdt. II 75 renders καταπετεωμένας III 111 (C) impossible. Rend -πετομένας with AB. πιέζω Hdt. V 35, Hippokr. II 18, 92, III 334, 504, 522, 524, VII 190, 276, 496. πιεζέω in πιεζεύμενος Hdt. III 146 (ABR), VI 108 (πιεζομ- Cz), VIII 142 (πιεζομ- B Cz). In these passages we adopt the contracted form, but in IX 21 πιεζόμενος (πιεζευ- R), and elsewhere (I 142, II 25, IV 13, 105, 118, VI 139, VII 121, IX 60, 61), πιέζομαι is undisputed. Bredow and Dindorf would read this form throughout. Hippokr. has πιεζέω in πιεζεύνται Η 184. πιεζεύντα ΙΙΙ 450, πιεζεύμενος VII 566, VIII 262. Aretaios has πιέζω 77, 107. πιεζεύμενος 107. Apio adopted πιεζέω in Homer, Aristarchos and Herodian πιέζω2. πινέω in πινεύμενος (?) Hippokr. II 38. ρίπτω Hdt. III 41, IV 61 &c., βιπτέω IV 94, 188, VII 50, VIII 53. Of σινέομαι (cf. IV 123, IX 13. 49, 73, 87) there is now no reading accepted in Herodotos. Even in V 81 ξσίνοντο or ξσικνέοντο is adopted. In all other passages except those referred to, the MSS. have σίνομαι. Hippokrates has σινεόμενος VII 552, 562, 592 twice and σινόμενος once, σίνοιτο III 482, VII 550. (περι)σπερχέω is correct in Hdt. VII 207, since it is derived from περισπερχής. Hdt. elsewhere has σπέρχω, σπέρχομαι, &c., and in the passage cited Abicht adopts Valckenaer's περισπερχθέντων. σπέρχνω in the sense of σπέρχω is mentioned by Erotian (Lex. Hippokr.). φθινεύσιν, dat. pl. Hippokr. II 674 (-ουσιν A), cf. φθινήσας φυράω Hdt. II 36; cf. έφύρησα Hippokr. VI 460, &c., πεφύρημαι VI V 468. 540, but πέφυρμαι Hdt. III 157.

² πιέζω Ionic (Homeric), Attic, Aiolic, πιάζω Doric, Hdn. II 348₃, cf. I 443₁₈, II 949₂₁. In II 140₂₃ Herodian reports that Apio read (incorrectly, as he thinks) πιέζευν in μ 174.

¹ Gram. Vat. 698 μαχόμενος, μαχεόμενος, but Meerm. 652 μαχούμενος, μαχεόμενος; in each tractate in conjunction with a present (λυπεόμενος). The reference, we think, has in mind the epic μαχειόμενος and μαχεούμενον rather than a New Ionic μαχέομαι.

In this list we have not included such monstrosities as evely ee, in all MSS. Hdt. I 118, ωφλεε (Rz) VIII 26.

4. -εω varies with -ευω as in other dialects. deθλέω and dθλεύω both occur in Hdt., but Hdt. has always τυραννεύω, never τυραννέω; δινέω is rare in prose (Hippokr. V 274, VI 494, Hdt. II 14), while δινεύω is epic and tragic.

dvaλόω appears in Hippokrates II 50, VII 588; elsewhere it

is mainly older Attic. Aretaios has ἀναλίσκω 198.

κρεμάομαι in Hippokr. I 592, II 288 is suspicious. κρέμαμαι is certain in II 152.

λούω and λόω. The existence of a present $\lambda o v \omega$, $\lambda o v \omega \omega$ in Homer is open to grave doubt. Verbs whose stems ended originally in -ous (ἀκούω, κρούω) reinstate in the present their ov from future and agrist; but verbs whose stems did not end in -our regularly lost their v < f in primitive Greek. Homeric ἀπολούσομαι and λοῦσα have as their present, not λούω, but λόω. For λούεσθαι in Z 508=O 265, which is merely an Aiolism (=λόδεσθαι), λοέεσθαι is the older form. έλούεου Hymn to Demeter 290 is also an Aiolism, or it is a confusion between λοίω and λούω (Gemoll reads with Bücheler έλουον). λούω itself was formed from λούσω after the principle regulating the movement of the ov had passed into abeyance.

λόομαι occurs in the following forms: - λοῦται Sim. Amorg. 763 (first foot); λοῦνται Hdt. I 198, II 37; λούσθω Hippokr. VII 24, 26, 78, VIII 162, 260 (C θ); λοῦσθαι Hdt. III 124 (λούεσθαι AB), Hippokr. VII 74, VIII 298 (θ, λούεσθαι vulgo, Littré); έλοῦτο Hdt. III 125. All these are formed directly from λο+e or $\lambda o + o$. It is not true that the present and imperfect 'generally drop ϵ and o in their terminations' (Veitch, p. 424).

Veitch cites the inf. λοῦν from Hippokrates in Galen. λούω is found in λοῦς Hippokr. VIII 162; λούς Hdt. VI 52; λούειν Hippokr. II 374, 376, VII 26, 34, 90; λούοις Hippokr. II 372, as in Attic; λούονται Hdt. IV 75 ABR, Stein, but λούνται is better; λουέσθω Hippokr. VII 276, 334, 380, VIII 198, 242, 420; λούεσθω Hippokr. II 376, V 244, VI 252, VII 330, Aretaios 301; λουόμενος Hdt. III 23 (Dindorf λούμενος). The last form appears in Hippokr. VII 276, Hellen. VII 2, 22 (Dindorf λουμ-), &c.2 It is certain in the comparatively late inscription from Andania (Cauer 47₁₀₀).

¹ This form cannot be resolved into areas/sepan as can 35 occurrences of the sorist (Assey # 7, Assert (210 resist resolution). ² Cf. Rutherford, New Phrymichus, p. 274.

Present Indicative.

On -εω instead of -αω see § 688. Verbs in -εFω are omitted (§ 637, 2).

638. Singular First Person.

-aω is always contracted¹, e.g. Anakr. 19₂ κολυμβώ, Hrd.

386 σιωπῶ, 524 ὁρῶ, Hdt. VI 130 ἐγγυῶ, IV 36 γελῶ.

2. $-\epsilon \omega^2$, though thus written, is always monosyllabic in the lyric poets of Ionic birth. φιλέω Archil. 58, (tetr.), Anan. 42, Anakr. 72 B, 941 (eleg.), Herodas $\mathbf{1}_{66}$ and so 74 where φιλώ has slipped in; δοκέω³ Anan. 59, Solon 324 (iamb. tetram., δοκώ Fick), Hrd. $\mathbf{1}_{10}$, δ_{34} , 7_{42} ; alvέω Theog. 873 in n alone, Hrd. 3_{62} ; οἰκέω Hrd. 1_{13} , 2_{22} (Theog. οἰκῶ 1210 in all MSS.). Anakreon has also διοσκέω 3_3 , μ ισέω 74_1 , Theognis οἰνοβαρέω 503 (A0), Hrd. τελέω 204, μετρέω 65, ύλακτέω 614, φωνέω 547, 75.

In the spurious Anakreontics we find δοκέω 287, ποθέω 401, φιλέω 403 (00-).

-εω is the ending in Ionic prose: δοκέω Hdt. I 8, &c., Hekat. 331, Hippokr. V 196, 714, Lukian V. A. § 14, Hdt. ποιέω I 38, νοέω VII 8 (a), ἐπινοέω III 134, &c., Hippokr. ἐπαινέω II 244. 3. -οω4 = ω: δικαιῶ Hdt. III 142, &c.

639. Singular Second Person.

 δρậs 5 Archil. 871, 882, Anakr. 16, Vit. Auct. 4; Hipponax άρειᾶς 65, περνᾶς 52 (conj.), Anakr. ήβᾶς 182, Herodas γελᾶς 271,

έρᾶς 279, Hdt. νικᾶς Ι 40, χρᾶς IV 155, Vit. Auct. 13 έρωτᾶς. 2. κοεῖς Anakr. 42, δοκέεις 752, φιλεῖς Theog. 88, ὁμιλεῖς 1377 (-έειs here impossible); Herodas has δοκείς 165, 342, 517, φαμαρτείς (?) 5_{43} , ποείς 6_9 , φιλείς 6_{43} , ἀμιθρείς 6_8 . In Hdt. the incorrect -έεις is more frequent than -είς: δοκέεις I 27, 207, III 34, IV 126, VII 237, voécis VII 38 (εὐνοεῖ VII 237), but ζητείς I 32 in all MSS. and in Stobaios, φλυηρείς VII 103 (R). Good MS. evidence supports ἀριθμεῖς and δοκεῖς Vit. Auct. § 4,

¹ Vat. 694 cites as Ionic βοάω parallel to the open ποιέω and χρυσόω. An open -αω is unknown in post-Homeric Ionic. The Doric λῶ is called Ionic in

ορεί - Δω is απκλονια η ροσε τοιπείτε τοιπε. Ττο Σοτίο λω is επικα τοιπείτε τοιπε. Ττο Σοτίο λω is επικα τοιπείτε τοιπε

Agamem. 147.
* χρυσόω Vat. 694 does not exist.
* κατορᾶς (Anakr.) Joh. Gr. 240, ἀτιμᾶς An. Par. III 350, (ἀτιμεῖς Aiolic,

ποιεῖς § 6 (in C). In Hippokr. ep. 14 (IX 338) we find θεομαχεῖς, but -έεις is more common (e.g. δοκέεις IX 360).

3. δικαιοίς Hdt. VII 159.

640.] Singular Third Person.

- 1. δρφ¹ Sim. Amorg. 7₁₅, 80, Theog. 168, Solon 13₁₇, Hdt. I 10, Diog. Apoll. 6, Ion 1; Hippon. 76 λαμμφ (conj.), Theog. 320 τολμφ, Solon 13₁₅ τελευτφ, Hrd. 1₇₇ ἐνγελφ, 3₆ δρμφ, 7₅₉ φοιτφ, 7₆₁ ἐρφ, Hdt. I 55, &c. χρφ, VIII 69 ἐφ, Demokr. 15 νικφ, 71 ἀνιφ, Ηippokr. VII 578 ἐξερφ, II 40 λιθιφ.
- 2. The only case of open -έει in the post-Homeric authors here investigated is δοκέει Theog. 221, which is a reproduction of the epic form in Z 338, Ψ 470, α 376, ε 360, &c. (nine times in all). Homer employs also δοκεί Μ 215, ν 154, &c., but never δοκέει. This δοκέει appears at the end of a trimeter in Hipponax 74, though Sim. Amorg. 7108, and Solon 1342, have δοκεί in the same place. The form with synizesis in the former poet (1,) is also improbable. Solon has δοκεί έμμεναι in 1359, but the passage is spurious, and Herodas the same form V 3 (δόκει Bergk). The only other trace of a possible -έει is φιλέει Anakr. 70, where the dactylo-epitritic permits φιλέει (cf. the metre of 71). -εῖ is found at the verse end in Archil. 110 epod. (καθαιρεῖ), 69 tetr. (ἐπικρατεῖ), Sim. Amorg. 765 (φορεῖ), 7π (νοεῖ as Sim. Keos (?) 852), Theog. 1270, 1368 (φιλεῖ)², Anakr. 2113 (φορεῖ). Other cases of -εῖ are ἐπαρκεῖ Solon 51 (-έει impossible), ἀρκεῖ Hrd. 52, ἀπαρκεῖ 363, εὖτυχεῖ Sim. Amorg. 783, ἀγρεῖ Theog. 294, φρονεῖ Theog. 395. Herodas has αἰνεῖ 447, αἰτεῖ 310, ἡθεῖ 333, καλεῖ 556, ποιεῖ 786.

Herodas has alveî 447, alreî 310, ήθεῖ 333, καλεῖ 556, ποιεῖ 786.

On an Hellenistic inscription (Ephesos 1478) dating about 300 B.C. we find διατελεῖ, and τελεῖ on one from Teos [Mitth. XVI

292 (l. 8, 12)] from the fourth century.

Herodotos: (1) -έει preceded by a consonant is left uncontracted in χωρέει I 192, ἀγηλατέει V 72 (only occurrence of the present in classic Greek), but the correct form appears in κινεί III 80, ἀποστερεί VI 65, μαρτυρεί VIII 94 in all MSS., and in some: κινεί II 68 (PRdz), ἀπωθεί II 25 (CRd), ἀδικεί VII 10, η (PR), μαρτυρεί II 18 (d), χωρεί II 96 (C), δοκεί III 5 (AB). (2) -έει, preceded by οι, is retained in the MSS. in ποιέει I 142, II 25, III 47, IV 26, &c. (cf. ποιέειν in IIdt.). Preceded by ο, -έει contracts in εὐνοεί VII 237 (but νοέεις VII 38!). Cf. the forms after o in the infinitive and in the imperfect. The contracted forms are correct.

In the editions of other Ionic prosaists we find the open forms where the MSS, often pronounce in favour of the contraction.

¹ Joh. Gr. 240.

² pile? Theog. 1255 is possibly Solonian.

άγνοει Euseb. Mynd. 54; άδικει Demokr. 203; αlμορροει Hippokr. V 606, 618, 626, 726; ἀλγεῖ Melissos 4, 11 (Mullach ἀλγέοι), 13 (Mullach -έει) -έει, Aret. 69; ἀλυκτεί Hippokr. VIII 30 (an epic verb: near by is ἀμενηνά); ἀναιρεί Pherekyd. of Leros 48, Hippokr. V 624; ἀρκεῖ Hippokr. VI 210 (θ); γαμεῖ Pherek. Leros 22, 40, 48, 55 (Atticized fragments), 85; Sone? Hekat. 332, Melissos 17, Demokr. 184, 185, 188, 208, Diog. Apoll. 2, 3, 6 bis, Arrian 9, 1; open δοκέει in Demokr. 25, 161 (Demokrates), Diogen. Apoll. 1 (Diog. Laert.), Lukian V. A. 13, Hippokr. II 38, 52, 56, 60, 76, 78, 128, 244, 250, 288, III 228, V 696. The vulgate of Hippokr. sometimes has -e?. In VI 110 A, in 276 C has δοκεί; έξανθεί Hippokr. V 710; έξαρκεί Herakl. 91; ἐπιδημεί Hippokr. II 20; ἐπιθυμεῖ Demokr. 71; κρατεῖ Anax. 6, Herakl. 91, -έει Hippokr, II 38; μαρτυρεί Herakl. 3 (Clemens, Theod.); ματαιοπονέει Demokr. 59; οίκεί Demokr. 1, Pherek. Leros 16, 20; δμολογεί Melissos 17, -έει Herakl. 45 (in Hippol. -έειν); παρακολουθεί Hippokr. V 632; ποιεί Anax. 11, Demokr. 35, 88, 133, Hippokr. II 256 (in A) Arrian 478; moiés: Demokr. 24, Hippokr. II 20, 298, 358, 374, III 220 bis, 242, 258, V 656, 726 (-poel same page); συμφωνεί Hekat. 144; ταλαιπωρεί Demokr. 184; φιλεί Herakl. 10 (-έει 117), Demokr. 20, 235; χωρεί Meliss. 14, Diog. 2, Anax. 6 (-έει Hippokr. VIII 30 and often); ἀφελεῖ Hippokr. V 646, 650, 708, 720, but -έει II 128, 138, V 196 (ἀχλεῖτο same page), 622 blis 710.

In a majority of cases Hippokrates has -έει. ἀλλοφρονέει VII 30 is an interesting use of an epic verb. Aretaios has about 130 cases of -έει to 20 of -εῖ. An unusual form in Aret. is νέει 274 = the poetical νέεται. Lukian's Syr. dea has only open forms, Arrian 14 cases of -έει to 4 of -εῖ.

σαοῖ Theog. 868, ἀμανροῖ Solon 435, ἐπιλοξοῖ Hrd. 471,
 πληροῖ Hdt. II 7, δηλοῖ II 44, Hippokr. V 634, Vit. Hom. 37.

δρθοί Demokr. 128.

641.] Plural First Person.

1. Hdt. $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ II 114 as in Homer, B 236, K 344, besides $\hat{\epsilon}\hat{\iota}\hat{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ σ 420, ϕ 260. Cf. Schmidt Neutra, p. 326. $\hat{\delta}p\hat{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$ is the reading of all MSS. Hdt. I 120 (as regards $-\hat{\omega}\mu\epsilon\nu$); elsewhere ABR have the contracted form, Cd $-\hat{\epsilon}\omega$ -, P $-\hat{\epsilon}\sigma$ -.

καλέομεν Hdt. V 49, Hippokr. ep. 17₁₂, Aret. 25, νοεῦμεν Solon 13₈₃ (Attic καλοῦμεν Theog. 1207), Hrd. ἀντλεῦμεν 4₁₄ν τελεῦμεν Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 2₁. On ὁρέομεν see § 688.

3. δηλούμεν, &c.

642.] Plural Second Person.

Γ. δράτε Solon 117, διαιτάτε Hrd. 286.

Kall. δοκεῖτε 13, αἰδεῖσθε 12 (where εε is metrically impossible), Hdt. θαρσέετε IX 18, ποιέετε IV 136, &c.¹, but αὐχεῖτε VII 103 (in all MSS.), a reading rejected by Stein. We require the contracted form.

3. ἀξιοῦτε Hdt. IV 115.

¹ Cf. also dπιστέετε.

648.] Plural Third Person.

1. δρῶσιν Kall. 1₂₀, Solon 34₂, τιμῶσι Tyrt. 12₃₇, Theog. 169, Hdt. II 50 (*CP* -έωσι, cf. § 688), Herakl. 102. Hdt. has also σῶσι I 200 from σάω sift¹, ἐῶσι II 36, βοῶσι III 117 (Sim. Keos 114₆), νικῶσι VIII 94, Hippokr. τελευτῶσι V 598, 624, ἡβῶσι II 22.

κομόωσι Hdt. IV 191, adopted by Stein from all MSS. except R, is an epic form here out of place. So κομόωντες in Arrian 347, 352, and ἀμφαφόωσι Aret. 141. σταλάουσιν Astrol. 19 is an error cf. Lobeck Rhemat. 175).

2. Open forms in -ℓουσι (৩-0) are very rare in the lyric poets: δοκέουσι Phokyl. 9 (hex.), καλέουσι Xenoph. 2₈—the only instances in poets of Ionic birth—and στυγέουσ' Theog. 278. -εῦσι occurs in φρονεῦσι Archil. 70₃ (tetr.). It is interesting to observe that Herakleitos 5, where he states a belief in opposition to that expressed in the fragment of Archilochos, employs φρονέουσι. Theog. has φιλεῦσιν 169, 337, 871, Anakr. (?) χωρεῦσι 108₃ eleg., Hrd. ἀπαρκεῦσιν 3₆, κατοικεῦσιν 4₁₀, ποιεῦσι 6₆₀, πορθεῦ[σιν] 6₁₀₁, Kallim. II 82 ἀγινεῦσι. εἰσοιχνεῦσιν Prometà. 122 (anap.) is from ι 120.

Solon's verse (151' containing πλουτεῦσιν is reproduced in Theog. 315 where πλουτοῦσιν is read. The existence of Κυπρογενοῦς 261, and Ικνοῦνται 421, make it probable that Solon used here the genuine Attic form in -οῦσιν, which was expelled on the ground that he was entirely dependent upon Ionic models. πλουτοῦσιν stands in Solon 241 = Theognis 719, ἐδικοῦσι in 422 (reading ἐν συνέδοις θ΄ οἱς ἐδικοῦσι φίλους for Bergk's ἐν συνόδοις τῆς ἔδιν' ἐστὶ φίλα). Forms in οῦσιν οccur elsewhere: φρονοῦσιν ΙΙΙρροπαχ 73 tr., φαγοῦσι 82 tetr. are clearly due to an Attic copyist; Theognis has τελοῦσι 142, (πτοῦσιν 684. Perhaps we should read παταγεῦσιν for Eustathios' παταγοῦσιν in Anakr. 6₄. διατελοῦσιν Ερhesos 1472 is Attic also.

Hdt. has -εου- over 260 times in the 3rd plural and participle in other verbs than ποιέω. In the case of ποιέω, ποιεῦσι² is so much more frequent, that ποιέουσι in I 71, II 121, where there is no support for -ευ-, should perhaps be corrected. So too νοέουσι III 81 (but cf. νοέουσα VIII 101). Exceptional, on the other hand, in having -ευ- are καλεῦσι II 94 (with ν. /. -έουσι in C), λεηλατεῦσι II 152, ἡνιοχεῦσι IV 193, πωλεῦσι V 6, ἐπιτελεῦσι V 49, διατελεῦσι VII 111, all these verbs having a consonant before ε. -οῦσι is best supported in κοσμοῦσι III 24 (all MSS. except R).

-lovoi is very frequent in the other monuments of Ionic proce, e.g. Demokr. φιλέουσι 70, πουθουσι 87, ἐπιθυμέουσι 47, ἀσκέουσι

¹ Hippokr. has both $\sigma d\omega$ and $\sigma i \theta \omega$ (corquires and corquires).

² Scarcely any passage has not the v.L.-love, which occurs most frequently in R, often also in Pd, rarely in ABC (II 49, 60, VI 138). Twice at least B alone has -ever VI 146, VII 148).

103, τηρέουσι 126, σωφρονέουσι 137, ἀπορέουσι 168, εὐδαιμονέουσι 5 (MSS. -ου-); Hekat. οἰκέουσι 67, 78, 114, 175 (Steph. Byz.), but οἰκοῦσιν 173 (Athenaios and Steph. Byz.), ὁμουρέουσι 190, 195, φορέουσιν 189, καταλέουσιν 290 (Athen.); Anaxag. ἐκχωρέουσι 9; Herakleitos δοκέουσι 5, 122, φρονέουσι 5, ἐγκυρέουσι 5 (MSS. -ου-), ποιέουσιν 2 (MSS. -ου-), ὁμιλέουσι 93 (MSS. -ου-); Charon of Lampsakos 2 has ἐπαναχωροῦσι though Plutarch has in the same fragment βασιληΐου; Hellanikos ἀνθέουσι. A thorough investigation of Hippokrates does not exist. Our impression is that -έουσι is more frequent than ευ for εο. Examples may be found II 28, 76, 78, 86, 110, 128, 130, 132, 154, 158, 166, 176 (ποιέουσι), 178, 184, 262, 290, 312, VI 100 (the poetic τρομέω), 294 (ἀκέω, the only occurrence of the present active), 494 (δινέω, a rare verb in prose), IV 192 (ἀποπληρέουσιν, if not from πληρόω), V 656.

In Arrian the MSS. generally have the Attic form. δοκέουσι

Aret. 248.

Forms in -εῦσι are rare: ποιεῦσι Demokr. 66 in Stobaios (with which cf. ποιέουσι Hippokr. II 18, 76, 296), διουρεῦσι Hippokr. II 38, with οὐρέουσιν on the same page, μισεῦσιν IX 364, ταλαιπωρεῦσιν II 64, οἰκεῦσιν II 68, διατελεῦσιν II 238, καλεῦσιν II 410.

3. ἀξιοῦσι Priene 1449, Hdt. III 20, ὀρθοῦσιν Archil. 569, tetr.,

σαούσι Tyrt. 1113, αμαυρούσιν Hippokr. II 84.

Subjunctive.

644.] Singular First Person.

1. ποιέω Hdt. IX 79 (hence είδῶ II 114 is probably incorrect).

645.] Singular Second Person.

1. τιμάς, &c.

Herodotos has στρατηλατέης VII 14, the contracted and correct form in ποιῆς III 36, VII 235 (so in the archetype MS.).
 Demokr. 24 has ἐπιθυμέης, Hippokr. II 256 ἀφαιρέης, Lukian Syr. dea 32 ἐσορέης (§ 688). In the plural ἀγινῆτε Hrd. 355.

646.] Singular Third Person.

εἰρωτῷ Theog. 519, ὁρῷ Theog. 932, Sim. Amorg. 715.

On inscriptions we find ἐπικαλῆι Halik. 238₂₃, δοκῆι Olynth.
 B 14, ἀμφισβατῆι Zeleia 113₁₈, ποιῆι Chios 174 C 9, ἰεροποιῆι Miletos 100₆, συνχωρεῖ Orop. 18₁₉₋₂₀, παρεῖ 18₂₆, εῖ 18₃₄ = ῆι Halik. 238₂₇. On ει < ηι, see § 239, 2. In the poets we observe only -ῆ:—δοκῆ Sim. Amorg. 7₁₀₃, προεκπουῆ 22, γαμῆ Hippon.

292. In Theog. 1166 A has όδοὺς τελεῆι, the other MSS. όδοῦ τελέῃ (Ο τελέοις). Neither reading makes sense and Bergk edits στέλλῃ. In 929 the MSS. have εἰ μὲν ... πλουτεῖς ... ἦν δὲ πένηαι where there is no reason to change to ἢν πλουτῆς. In 96 we have φρονῆ, 609 προσομαρτῆ, 1008 νοῆ (Mimn.) In the last instance a vowel precedes the contracted syllable, as in νοεῖ (indic.) Sim. Amorg. 7_{21} . Solon has κινῆ 12_2 , γεγωνῆ 42_4 , Herodas $aἰτῆ 2_{88}$, λαλῆ 6_{61} .

The MSS. of Herodotos vary between $-\epsilon \eta$ and $-\hat{\eta}$. The former occurs, if we exclude the subjunctives from $-\epsilon F \omega$ verbs (§ 637, 2), seven times: $\pi o \iota \epsilon \eta I 206^{\circ}$, $\delta \iota a \tau \epsilon \lambda \epsilon \eta I 32$, $\delta o \kappa \epsilon \eta I 122$, IV 120, $\sigma u \nu o \iota \kappa \epsilon \eta I I 120$, $o \iota \kappa \epsilon \eta V III 106$, $d \pi a \iota \tau \epsilon \eta V I 86$ (a), the contracted seven times: $o \iota \kappa o \delta o \omega \hat{\eta} I 21$, $\pi o \iota \hat{\eta} III 69$, $d \pi \iota \zeta \eta \tau \hat{\eta} III 36$, $\pi o \theta \hat{\eta} III 36$, $a \iota \rho \hat{\eta} IV 127$, $\delta o \kappa \hat{\eta} V II 10$ (8) in ABCd, and IX 48. There is no support for the view that after vowels $-\hat{\eta}$, after consonants $-\epsilon \eta$ was the Herodoteian form. In the aorist passive $-\epsilon \eta$ is invariably contracted, and $-\hat{\eta}$ is the only correct form here.

In the texts of other Ionic prosaists we usually find -έη, oftentimes against the MSS. Demokr. ἀδικέη 213 (Stob. -ῆ), δοκέη 188 (Stob. -ῆ). Hippokrates has very many examples of -έη (e.g. II 38, 114, 122, 146, 156, 158, 160, 180, 186, III 102, 216, 232, 238, 254, 258, 260, VII 74, 76, V 618, 660). Forms in -ῆ are very rare: ποθῆ II 360, παρακολουθῆ V 668, δχλῆ V 704, ρίγῆ V 706.

Luk. loropén Syr. dea 32, énaivén 36, but $\delta \rho \hat{n}$ 31, 32, 48. Arctaios $\partial_{\chi} \theta \dot{\epsilon} \eta$ 134 (rare and late use of this form of the present; cf. 183 when $\partial_{\chi} \theta \dot{\epsilon} \iota$ and $\partial_{\chi} \theta \dot{\epsilon} \iota$ accur in close proximity). We have noted in Arctaios $-\hat{\eta}$ on pp. 91, 92, 101, 114, 165, 168, 245, 270, 279, $-\hat{\epsilon} \eta$ on 10, 22, 68, 69, 70, 71, 270.

3. Hdt. IX 93 δικαιοί.

647.] Plural First Person.

1. Anakr. 6310 μελετώμεν.

2. Theog. 1134 ζητώμεν in the first foot, Hdt. ποιέωμεν I 159.

648.] Plural Third Person.

- 1. τιμῶσιν in the MSS. of Solon 1311 is now generally read μετίωσιν. Bergk's suggestion of μώωσι is not in keeping with the dialect of the elegiac poets, who do not adopt the epic distraction of vowels. Hdt. φυρῶσι II 36, &c.
- 2. Archil. εγκυρέωσιν 703 tetr., Ananias τραπέωσι 54, πατέωσιν 54 tetr. Hence δοκώσιν Sim. Amorg. 797 is to be read δοκέωσιν. παραπιτνώσι Samos 22020 is Attic, but πωλέωσιν Teos, Mitth. XVI 292, l. 8 (and έωσι l. 4) is the regular Ionic form.

¹ This is the only instance where eq in the verb works is supported by all the MSS.

In Hdt. εω is not contracted in the MSS. except in the case of περιποιῶσι VIII 76, where the contraction may be due to the influence of the neighbouring διαφθείρωσι. Cf. ποιέωσι IV 111. In Hippokr. -έωσι is without exception, e.g. II 142, 156, 162, 186.

Optative.

649. | Singular First Person.

Verbs in -aω always contract. From -εω verbs we have δοκέσιμι Theog. 339, but πσισῖμι Hdt. V 106 (PR -έσιμι). εσι after a vowel probably contracts in this verb in Hdt. In pseudo-Ionic sources open forms are common, e.g. Euseb. Mynd. I ἐπιθυμέσιμι, ἐπαρκέσιμι, ἀσκέσιμι, αΙνέσιμι, but alsο ἐρψην, νικψην, τιμψην, κρατοίην, προθυμοίην, ἀποστυγοίην. Hippokrates makes frequent use of -σιην, whereas Herodotos prefers the -σιμι ending. See § 651.

650.] Singular Second Person.

1. The only possible case of the open form in the later poetical monuments is $\dot{\eta}\beta\dot{a}o\iota s$ Theog. 877, which is now abandoned for $\ddot{\eta}\beta a\ \mu o\iota$. The $v.\ l.\ \dot{\eta}\beta\dot{\omega}o\iota s$ is not to be defended, since the distracted verbs form no part of the linguistic apparatus of the elegy. In 107 Theognis has $\dot{a}\mu\dot{\phi}s$.

Theog. has τελέοις 926 and v. l. (in O) 1166. Lukian has δοκέοις Syr. dea 46, Hippokr. τηροίης I 634, ἐννοοίης III 254, αλωροίης VII 524, διαρροίης VI 84, but ἀφελέοις VII 34 (θ).

651. Singular Third Person.

1. - $\varphi\eta$ in νικ $\psi\eta$ Tyrt. 124, $\partial\pi\tau\psi\eta$ Hdt. VIII 137, $\dot{\epsilon}$ νορ $\psi\eta$ I 89, διαιτ $\psi\eta$ Hippokr. II 254, - φ in νικ $\dot{\varphi}$ Xenoph. 221. No case of - ϵ 01 for - φ 0 occurs in the active.

 $\sigma a f o \hat{\imath}$ (= $\sigma \psi \{o i\}$), the reading of Roehl and Roberts, is not adopted by Bechtel (No. 5). He adopts $\delta \sigma \sigma a$ for on the ground that $\sigma d \sigma s$, $\sigma \hat{\omega} s$ never contained a f. For this view, cf. § 277, Philol. Ans. 1886, 14 note 8. Fick explains the ω in $\sigma \omega \phi \rho \rho \sigma e \hat{\imath} v$ Sim. Amorg. γ_{108} &c., as originating from aso. Phokylides (9_1) alone has the open $\sigma a \delta \phi \rho \rho \sigma v e s$.

2. Teos 156 A 2 ποιοῖ, but ἀνωθεοίη, l. 11 (whose εοι is a legal archaism); in l. 4 of 156 B, Roehl supplies [ἀπειθεο]ίη, Boeckh [ἀπειθο]ίη; συντελοίη Teos 15829 (Attic)², ὁδοίη (?) Roberts I 159 (Amorgos). Theog. φιλοῖ 1119, Tyrt. πλουτοίη 126, Solon συμμαρτυροίη 36 trim., a form suspected by Renner (p. 42) on the

¹ ἀγαπφην Et. M. 6_n Et. Gud. 3₁₆, An. Ox. II 338₂₀.
² ἐπιορκο Γην C. I. A. II 578₁₂ is the only example of the optative of a contract verb we have met with on a purely Attic inscription.

ground that it is not in line with the Ionisms of vv. 11 and 12, and of 37. It may however be regarded as the earliest proof in Attic of the transferring of the -ιη of non-thematic verbs to the verba contracta, a phenomenon that grew apace in the Attic dialect though it was but sparingly adopted by Herodotos, and old-fashioned in the Ionic of the fifth century. See Rutherford's Phrynichus, p. 442 ff. on the optatives in -ιη in Attic. Tyrtaios' πλουτοίη may be regarded as an imitation of φοροίη ι 320 (though this is the only case in Homer of this class of new forms) and not as a Dorism (cf. δδικοίη in Kretan, C. I. G. 2556₄₇).

In Hdt. -εοι is not contracted after consonants: καλέοι I 11, δοκέοι I 24; after vowels, to avoid hiatus, ποιοῖ II 169, ποιοῖ οr ποιοίη VI 35 as Stein reads. This would be the only case of -οιη in Hdt. In VI 35 Dobree read ποιῆ. The first person is

ποιοίμι V 106 (§ 649).

The coexistence of καλέοι and ποιοῖ in Herodotos is paralleled by that of ἀνωθεοίη and ποιοῖ in the Teian inscription of the fifth century. Merzdorf, Stein, G. Meyer and others accept the contraction of εοι to οι after vowels as genuine Ionic, but hold the uncontracted forms to be equally genuine. While this is not disputed, the uncontracted καλέοι, &c., represent an antiquated

orthography. Cf. § 637, 1 (2), end.

Hippokrates and the other writers of prose often have -εοι, but -οιη is preferred, at least by Hippokrates. Thus ευνωφελοίη IV 132, προσωφελοίη II 356, but εμποιεοι είναι according to Littre, where Λ has -νοίη. ποιοίη is correct; cf. IV 82. επιχειροίη I 572, αλωροίη VII 522 (an unusual verb in classic Greek). επιχειροίη VI 82, αἰμορραγοίη IV 112, ἀγρυπνοίη II 136, ἀπωθοίη IV 226, 304 (in BMN, Littré -εοι) but ἀντωθείοι IV 82 on the same page with ποιοίη. Cf. ροφοίη and χωρέοι VII 608. ἀφελεοι is certain in III 524, εμέοι II 144, εκχωρέοι II 160, δοκεοι II 14, IV 92, whereas Herakleitos R. Μ. XV 605 has δοκοίη. Melissos I3 has ἀλγέοι twice according to Simplicius, and also in 4 according to Mullach; Lukian Syr. dea 19 ἀπειθείοι.

3. -oω verbs have -oι and -oιη.

652.] Plural First Person.

1. - φμεν e.g. νικφμεν. έρφμεν Sim. Amorg. 123 (others εροίμεν).

2. Sim. Amorg. φρονοίμεν 22, 1713 ξυνεργοίμεν.

3. -οίμεν in δηλοίμεν, &c.

653.] Plural Third Person.

1. Theog. 81 τολμφεν, Hdt. IX 69 νικφεν.

2. Anakr. φιλοΐεν 451, Hrd. τελοΐεν 357. Such forms as Herodotos' φρουέσιεν Ι 46, VIII 34, ποιέσιεν VII 103, 208, IX 1C4 represent conservative spellings of the fifth century, if

indeed they may claim admittance into the text at all; cf. θεωροῦεν VIII 26 (R has θεωρέοιεν), ἀδικοῦεν I 196, V 84, ἐπιχειροῦεν IX 54 (AB), ποιοῦεν V 75. Anaxag. 17 has καλοῦεν, Herakl. R. M. XV 605 ἀπατοῦεν (sic, -ῷεν?), Hippokr. V 662 δοκοῦεν. The longer forms of this conjugation are still in their infancy in Homer.

Imperative.

654.] Archil. eleg. φοίτα 4_2 , tetram. ξα 51, ὅρα 54, ἀσχάλα 66_6 , Theog. 1151 ἐρεύνα, 877 (cf. 1070) ἥβα μοι by conjecture for ἡβάοις or ἡβώοις. Hrd. ξα 1_{76} , εἰρώτα 3_{78} , κυβερνᾶτε 2_{100} , Hdt. ὅρα III 134, προσδόκα I 42, &c.

655.] Upon inscriptions we find τελείτω Erythr. 2049 and hence ἐπικαλ[εί]τω Halik. 23817; συντελείτωσαν Teos 15813 and

èπι- 1. 25 are Attic.

(a) Forms in -εε. δμίλεε Theog. 37. (β) Forms in -ει. Archil ἄγρει 43 eleg., in the first thesis; Theog. προσομίλει || 31, δμίλει || 597, 1243, δμάρτει || 1165, ἐπιχείρει || 75; πένθει 830, ὅχθει 1032, αὔλει 1056 have their ει in the first thesis; δόκει 63, second thesis, 310 || where $\circ \circ \circ$ was metrically impossible. Solon κράτει || 36₁₃ tr. (Blass with one MS. κράτη), Tyrt. κινείτω 11₂₅, Theog. οἰνοχοείτω 473, Tyrt. θαρσεῖτ' 112, φιλοψυχεῖτε 10₁₈. In the case of κινείτω and θαρσεῖτ' the open forms were metrically possible, but as in Homer the contract forms are written. Hrd. has εὐτύχει 1₈₈, κάλει 52, χώρει 174, &c., τελείτω 243, δοκεῖτε 222. The proportion of open to contract forms in Homer is somewhat greater than that in the lyric poets. Homer has 32 forms in -ει, three in -εε (η 303, K 249, Φ 288), -ειτω 5 times, ει in the dual 3 times, -ειτε 6 times in plural.

It is to be lamented that we have no example of the imperative in an early iambic fragment, otherwise we might estimate the value of the Herodoteian forms in -εε, which, if genuine, stand in sharp contrast at least to the elegiac use. But if the elegy has -ει, except in a single instance, it is highly probable that iambic poetry would have only -ει. Herodotos has στρατηλάτεε I 124, V 31, VII 5, 10 (θ), λιπάρεε V 19, παραίνεε VIII 143, συνοίκεε IX 111 (bis), ποίεε I 124 (bis), 209, V 40, VII 18, VIII 100, IX 91, ποιέετε IV 98, but ποίει I 8, 206 (ABP), VIII 140 a (AB). Other forms are read with -εε by Stein (θάρσει I 9, 120, IX 76 though in all the MSS., III 85 ABR, i.e. in the archetypal MS. according to Stein; ὅθει III 78, χώρει V 72, βοήθει VII 157, 159 (as Hippokr. IX 350), δυσθύμει VIII 100). In the plural Hdt. has αὐγεῖτε VII 103 in all MSS., rejected

by those who hold that the evidence of θαρσέετε IX 18, &c., is all-conclusive. Merzdorf 1 (p. 148) attempts fruitlessly to find a reason why Hdt. should use the imperative in -ει in one instance, that in -εε in another. The former only is correct 2.

In Hippokrates we find ποίει VII 428, VIII 162 (ποιεί θ), ροφείτω II 276 (Δ), VIII 92 (θ), VII 328 (υπίσο, -εε- J), ἐμεέτω VII 74. Demokritos (Demokrates) 177 ἀσκεέτω, Euseb. Mynd. ξυγχωρεέτω 20, κυρεέτω 44. In the plural: φοβεόντων Hdt. VII 235.

656.] στρέβλου Hrd. 2₈₀, ἀφιδρούτω Hippokr. II 516, **Oropos** 18₁₀ ζημιούτω.

Infinitive.

657.] δρᾶν Samos 2152, Xenoph. 26, Hdt. I 33, φοιτᾶν Oropos 182, Hdt. I 182, νικᾶν Solon 56, Demokr. 75, ήβᾶν Anakr. 242, 44.

658.] In the inscriptions occur: ἐπικαλεῖν Halik. 23845, a form unjustly suspected by Renner, p. 39, who assumes that one E might have been omitted from EΠΙΚΑΛΕΝ³. But the contraction is supported not only by ἐπικαλῆι 23823, &c., but also by ἀδικεῖν Mylasa 248 A 9, B 8, 9, C 11, and σκοπεῖν Orop. 1843, ἐπιτιθεῖν Orop. 1826, ἐκτιθεῖν 1842, ἐκχεῖν Κεοs 4322, ἐπιτελεῖν Ετγthr. 20429, not to speak of other inscriptional forms such as ἐπεστ]ἀτει Zeleia 114 B 1, τελείτω Erythr. 2042. I. G. A. 489 (Didyma) has ποιΕ(ν) = ποιεῖν. An Ionic - ἐειν is not to be defended by ἀποσινέειν C. I. A. II 83427 (330–300 B. C.), the only example.

Lyric poets: Sim. Amorg. ἀφελεῖν 7₀₇, θυμήδεῖν 7₁₀₃, σωφρονεῖν 7₁₀₈; Hippon. ῥυφεῖν 132; Hrd. κινεῖν 5₂; Solon κοσμεῖν 4₁₀, ζητεῖν 27₁₀; Xenoph. αἰνεῖν 1₁₉; Theog. δοκεῖν 405, φιλεῖν 874, 1092, 1094, 1258 (MSS.), 1364, πονεῖν 919, εὐδοκιμεῖν 587; Anakr. δισκεῖν 403.

In but two instances does the ill-famed form - ϵεω appear: Archil. 64 κερτομέειν and φιλέειν 80, where the shorter forms are required by the metre. In the first instance κερτομέειν is found in Clem. Alex. and Schol. Odyssey χ 412; Stobaios has -εῖν. The longer forms may have been introduced by scribes who had the epic and supposed Herodoteian - ϵεω in mind.

¹ After alluding to the fact that the quick utterance of the imperative demands the contraction, he says: Accedit, quod practer δυσθέμει brevious tantum rocabula contractam prac se ferunt formam θάρσει, δθει et quod non nepligendum βαβθει, com in longioribus στρατηλάτει ήτι, quas ipea natura ad vocandum et ad calorius pronuntiandum minus apia sunt itaque in lentiors quoque orations assumi possumi, semper es appareat.

νόει, φρόνει Joh. Gr. 240 B.
 A supposed [ἀμ]όνεεν Roberts I 2614 (Naxos) gives no support to this assumption.

Herodotos: -έειν occurs (1) after consonants e.g. in alτέειν I 2, 3, àπαιτέειν I 2, 3, &c. But the correct forms in -εῖν are not infrequent. We find the following cases in which all the MSS. agree:—ἐνδεῖν I 11, εὐφημεῖν III 38, ἐνεμεῖν II 172, πολεμεῖν V 120, τηρεῖν IX 104. In seven other cases there is some support for -εῖν in the MSS. (2) After the diphthong or, εει holds its place in ποιέειν¹, which is attested as the sole Herodoteian form in over a hundred passages. After ο, εει suffers contraction in κατανοεῖν II 28 (d), 93 (PR d), ὰγνοεῖν II 162 in all MSS., εὐνοεῖν IX 79 (PR). The contracted forms are correct.

Other prose writers: Herakleitos ὁμολογέειν 1 is due to Bernays, μοχθεῖν 82, ποιεῖν 94, 107, σωφρονεῖν 106, 107, φρονεῖν 91 (vulgo); Demokritos, according to Stobaios and other excerptors, in the following forms has -εῖν: ποιεῖν 100, 208, 235, ἐμποιεῖν 204 (in A), ἐπικαινουργεῖν 2017, ὑπουργεῖν 215, ἐπιθυμεῖν 47, φρονεῖν 73, 139, δοκεῖν 92, ἐπαινεῖν 120, εὐεργετεῖν 197, τιμωρεῖν 202, ἀδικεῖν 206, προτελεῖν 215, ὀξυκερδεῖν 14, ποδηγεῖν 11, ὀχεῖν 11, πονεῖν 235, -έειν in ἀδικέειν 107, 109, 112, 205, ἀσκέειν 141, ἐπιθυμέειν 83, μετανοέειν 227, ἀγνοέειν 95, κρατέειν 77, θεωρέειν 2011, ξυγχωρέειν 44, κακοπαθέειν 2014; Anaxag. κρατεῖν 6, κινεῖν 7, δοκεῖν 3, 4 in Simpl., who read κρατεῖν in Diog. Apoll. 6;

Hekat. ἐκχωρείν 353, Ion στρατηγείν and ποιείν 1.

In Hippokrates, Littré edits -έειν even when -εῖν has the better support, though such cases, we think, are not frequent. It is common to find -εῖν in the vulgate, but the -έειν forms preponderate over those in -εῖν. There is no genuine treatise in which -έειν is not more frequent. We believe this to be true also of the spurious tractates. We cite from Littré's text: II 12 ζητέειν (-εῖν ?), 14 σκοπέειν (-εῖν ?), ἀναμετρέειν 36 (νυίζο -εῖν), 82 κινέειν, 124 νοέειν, 136 χωρέειν, 138 and 708 πονέειν, 138 φρονέειν, 142 αἰνέειν, 272 ἀκνέειν (νυίζο -εῖν), 290 and 368 λυσιτελέειν (but A has -εῖν in 290), 356 (and III 58) ἀφελέειν, 642 νοσέειν : III 32 ἀλγέειν, 242 ξέειν, 248, 258 αἰρέειν. ποιέειν occurs in II 12, 42 (Galen -εῖν), 264, III 234, 236, αἰμορροεῖν V 656, 724, 726, ἀχλεῖν 626, φλυηρεῖν, ἀνεμεῖν 660, εὐοδεῖν 664, θεωρεῖν 692, ψοφεῖν 696, ἐμεῖν 710, ἀρρωστεῖν 718, with 12 cases of -έειν in the προγν. κωακαί. IV 640 shows ἀγνοεῖν by the side of ποιέει.

Lukian V. A. 3 λαλέειν, 4 ἀριθμέειν (v.l. -εῖν)², -ἐειν 17 times in the Syria dea, twice in the Astrol., Abydenos εὐτυχέειν. Aretaios has 106 cases of -ἐειν, about 20 of -εῖν. Arrian has -ἐειν 10, -εῖν

5 times.

¹ Joh. Gr. 235, Gram. Leid. 628.

It is interesting to note that in § 4 the tendency to hyper-Ionize changed in MS. Ψ the ἀριθμεῖν of the 'Ωνητής to ἀριθμέειν. Or the -έειν might have been caused by the previous ἀριθμέειν (where Ω has -εῖν).

659.] Verbs in -οω contract o + ε or ει (spurious) to ου; in Hdt. καινοῦν, ἐξορκοῦν (as Halik. 238₂₀), χοῦν, νεοχμοῦν IV 201 (the only occurrence of this tense in classic Greek); ἀροῦν Tyrt. 5₃, Theog. 582; βεβαιοῦν Halik. 240₄, 5, and so διδοῦν Orop. 18₂₁, 32

Participle.

660.] Verbs in -αω always contract. ναιετάοντες Sim. Keos 84, is not Later Ionic. αἰσυμνΩΙ Teos 156 B 8-9 has been read as -ῶν, and hence νι[κῶν] Samos I. G. A. 388 A. εἰσορῶν Archil. 748, ἐσορῶν Mimn. 52, προσορῶν ibid. 18, ὁρῶντι Theog. 1059, ὁρῶντες Sim. Amorg. 7111, Archil. νικῶν 664, δρῶντα 652, Hipponax μαδῶντα 23, Theog. βοῶντος 887, Anakr. σκιρτῶσα 755, Solon σιγῶσα 415.

In Herodas we find $\delta \rho \hat{\omega} \nu \tau a \ 5_{28}$, $\phi \nu \sigma \hat{\omega} \nu \tau \epsilon s \ 2_{32}$, $\hat{a} \pi a \nu \tau \hat{\omega} \sigma a \ 5_{78}$, $\gamma \epsilon \lambda \hat{\omega} \sigma a \ 6_{44}$, $\delta i \phi \hat{\omega} \sigma a' \ 6_{73}$, $\kappa a \tau a \psi \hat{\omega} \sigma a \ 6_{76}$, $\pi \rho \eta \mu o \nu \hat{\omega} \sigma a \nu \ 6_{28}$, $\pi \eta \delta \hat{\omega} \sigma a \ 4_{61}$.

In Ionic prose we encounter the variation between -aω and -εω verbs, on which see § 688. Certain examples of the former are τελευτῶν Hdt. III 65, &c., -ῶντος I 24, &c., τιμῶν III 21, IV 43, τιμῶσαν VI 52, προσδοκῶν VII 235, τολμῶντας IV 150 (all MSS.), all of which verbs show in other forms or in other places variants from -εω verbs. The following verbs never have such variants: θυμιῶντες III 107, ἐῶν VII 47, &c., ἐῶντες V 96, &c., ἐῶσα VIII 101, βοῶντας III 78, πεινῶντας I 133, νικῶν I 207, &c., ἀπαντώσας II 75, μελετῶν III 115, νωμῶντες IV 128, σιγῶν VII 26, σιγώντων IX 42, σιωπώντων VII 10, καταψῶσαν VI 61, ἐρευνῶν VII 19, λευσσῶντα IX 71, ἀπτῶντι IX 120, ἐλῶν II 162, &c. In Hippokrates we have e.g. σιγῶσα III 52, 142, 144, τελευτῶσα III 184, μυδῶσαν III 242, χαλῶντες V 590; ἐστιῶντος Ion I.

ρυπόωνται Arrian 34, is an error; cf. Hippokr. IX 374.

661.] Verbs in -εω1.

1. On inscriptions: ὑποτελέων Chalkis 16 A 16, τελέουσι Olynth. 8 B 8, τελέοντας 8 B 6, γεγωνέοντες Chios 174 B 13, ψφορβίοντι βουκολέοντι Chios, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1195, l. 10, μισθαριεόντων, ξυληγεόντων Teos, Mitth. XVI 292, l. 7, τιμουχέοντες Teos 156 B 29, μεδεούσης Samos 216, μεδεούσηι Phanag 164, Latyschev II 1912, 28 (Pantikap.)², ἀρκέων Styra 1911, τοικέων Rhegion 5 is not Ionic. On βασιλέοντος, c. 248. It is to be observed

 ⁻lων Joh. Gr. 240 B, 242, Moerm. 652, Birnb. 678, Et. M. 524, An. Oz. I
 23213, An. Par. IV 383; -lower An. Ox. I 3603.
 3 Cf. μεδίουσαν, δύνευν Hippolytos 168, and see § 74.

that in the epigraphical monuments we have no case of ev for eo, and none of ev for eov.

Attic contractions:--à[στυ]νομοῦντος Olbia 131, 2 and 14. ἐνοικοῦντα Κοος 473, κατοικοῦντες Samos 2211s (after 322 B.C.); ποι[οῦ]ντας has been restored by Roehl (I. G. A. 395 B 9) and adopted by Cauer (530 B) in an addition (of a later date) to a Keian inscription whose first part dates before 400 B.C. ποιούντων is found in Teos 15818.

2. In the lyric poets we find -έων, -ῶν, and -έων in Theognis and once in an Ionic elegist. - έων appears in Phokyl. ἀπαιτέων 162, Anakr. όμιλέων 217, φορέων 2112, Hrd. κινέων 155, θαρσέων 278, ολκέων 652, ενπολέων 663.

-ων: Theog. δοκών 138, κεντών 371, τελών 914, ποθών 1251.

 $\theta \eta \pi \hat{\omega} \nu$ is improbable in Hippon. 14.

-έων (U-): Theog. φρονέων 27, δοκέων 137, εὐσεβέων 145, 1144. οχέων 534. These examples from the elegy are not surprising. Remarkable however is τελέων Mimn. 113, the only example of open εω in the poets of Ionic birth. Meineke proposed τε έλών, Fick τελέσων, τελείων (cf. διετέλειε Eresos)¹, or perhaps τελήων, Meister τε λέων i.e.=Homer λάων τ 229. But if one instance of open εο (κλονέοντα, see below) is certain, no objection is possible on the score of an isolated case of open -έων. With the phrase τελέων ἄεθλον in Mimnermos, cf. τελέοντες ἀέθλους y 262. On διψέων Archil. 68, see § 687.

In the feminine occur -ξουσα and -εῦσα.

δολοφρονέουσα Archil. 932 (epod.), οἰκεῦσα Phokyl. 52 (-έουσα Fick), δοκεῦσ' Hrd. 300 and seven other forms in -εῦσα.

In tragedy we have δμινεῦσαι Medea 422 (see Verrall's note), μυθεῦσαι Ι. Α. 789: both choric passages.

Variation between -co-, -co-, -ev-. In only one case is co a dissyllable in a poet of Ionic birth : κλονέοντα φάλαγγας Mimn. 1431 the phrase of E 962. Theog. has φρονέοντα 625, φορέοντας 827, φιλέουτες 739, δοκέου 162.

-εο- is found in αγρυπνέοντα Theog. 471 (or v before πν may

be short).

-ευ-3 was certainly used by the time of Theognis: φιλεύντος 385. νοεθντες 737, ποιεθντι 589, πλουτεθντι 1153 (Brunck; MSS. -ουas 315 πλουτοῦσι; see § 643, 2), φωνεῦντες 495 (K has φονέοντες). But whether it was employed by Sim. Amorg. 786 (φιλεῦντι in MSS.) may be doubted. Herodas has δεῦντα 524 (bind), κινεῦντα

Cf. Bechtel, Gött. Nachr. 1886, p. 375.
 κλονέω, which is poetical in the active, reappears in Arctaios 232 (κλονέουσαι).

λωτεῦντα (M 283) is called Doric or Ionic by Hdn. II 33615, 7771 (Choirob. 39530).

 3_{67} , νοεῦνθ' 3_{55} , ψοφεῦντα 7_{11} , δοκεῦντες 4_{65} , σκοπεῦντες 2_{26} , ποιεῦντες Class. Rev. V 480, frag. 1_{18} , κινεῦσι 7_{73} , οἰκεῦσι 2_{26} , ἀνθεῦντας 1_{52} . The only non-Ionic form in Hrd. is φρονοῦντα 7_{129} .

3. -ίων remains open in Herodotos in the present, as it does in the future, participle. Exceptions are (ητῶν VI 62 (R), οἰκο-δομῶν II 121 (a) in A B C, σκοπῶν I 117 (in all MSS.).

In the feminine - έουσα is the usual form. In νοέουσα VIII 101, ποιέουσαι I 93 (as ποιέουσαν Arrian 316), κυέουσαν VI 68 a vowel precedes. - εῦσα appears in lστορεύση I 61, λυπεῦσα VII 190, βοηθεῦσαν I II 118, ἀνθεύσης IV 1, κεντεύσας V 87; and in ποιεῦσα III 119, IV 9 (-έουσα CPR), VI 52 bis.

-εο- preponderates generally over -ευ- in Hdt. Some interesting examples are: ἀελπτέοντες VII 168 (elsewhere only H 310), ἀλλοφρονέοντες VII 205 (an epic and Ionic verb: cf. Hippokr. VII 30), ἀτέοντες VII 223 (epic), τειχέοντος V 23 (Ionic τειχέω and τειχίζω, Attic τειχίζω). Examples of -ευ- are exceedingly rare in the case of verbs other than ποιέω: II 34 Ιστορεῦντα, IV 156 ἀγνοεῦντες, 157 οἰκεῦντες, the only case, in 74 occurrences of οἰκέω, of the contraction (-εο- ΑΒ, οἰκέοντες above in same chapter), VIII 3 νοεῦντες. The -ευ- forms are, however, far more frequent in the case of ποιέω (ποιεῦντι VII 29, ποιεῦντες II 36, IV 98, V 81, &c.) But in the following cases -εο- is attested without any variant: I 140 (ποιεῦνται same chapter), VII 8 (δ).

The archetypal MS. of Hdt. rarely had -ou-: wescorres I 90, elsewres I 175.

In the other Ionic prosaists the contraction of εο to ευ is very rare. εω remains open. Demokr. has νουθετέων 59, φθονέων 30, κρατέων 76 (Stob. -ων), ἀδικέων 205, θεωρεῦσα 147, ἀδικέοντι, ἀμελέοντι 213, ἐπιθυμέοντι 20₁₃, σωφρονέοντος 42, ποιεῦντι 205, φιλονεικέοντα 212, ἀδικέοντα 112, 206, εὐθηλέοντα 185, μυθοπλαστέοντες 119, δοκέοντες 151, δυστυχέοντες 137, ξυμφωνέοντες 152, ταλαιπωρεόντων 20₁₀, φρονεόντων 79, ἀμελέοντας 213, ἀδικέοντας 205; Herakl. διαιρέων 2, δοκεόντων 118; Melissos ἀλγέοντι 13; Pherek. οἰκέοντες 85; Ion ἀφαιρετέοντα, δοκέον 1: Κτεσίας φωνέοντι; Lukian V.A. 5 δοκέοντα, Syr. dea 26 εὐνοέοντας; Vila Hom. ἱστορέων 6, but ποιῶν 15. Simplicius has Atticized Anaxagoras' περιχωρεόντων 11. Aret. has ἀφελεῦντα 312, &c.

We note the following cases of -ev- in Hippokrates, who has -έων, -έοντος, &c., in almost every instance: ἀλγεῦντα II 132, διηθεῦντες II 240, ἐκπυεῦντα V 626, ἐξαιρεῦντα III 258, φθινεῦσι II 674 (φθινέω here only, § 637, 3), ποιεῦντα VI 210 (θ, -εο-

Littré), cf. II 278, IX 362, οἰκεῦντα IX 354, cf. 360, πατεῦντα and ὁμιλεῦντα IX 382, ἀγρυπνεῦντα V 590, ἐπιρριγεῦντα V 592 (-έοντες 588). Usually we find -εο-. In the feminine: ποιέουσαι II 66, φιλέουσα Syr. dea 26.

662.] Verbs in -οω.

άξιο(ύ)ντων Priene 1443, κηροῦσ' Hrd. 3_{15} , χῶν Hdt. I 162, κακοῦντες III 82. On δικαιεῦντος IX 42, see § 690. For δμοῦντες Hdt. I 153, as if from an unheard-of δμόω, δμνύντες is to be substituted.

Imperfect Active.

663.] Singular First Person.

-aω verbs contract -aov to -ων (ἐνίκων Samos 215). Occasionally we have -εον for -aoν, and this -εον may become -ενν (§§ 637, I (2), 688). Verbs in -εω have -εον, not -ενν so far as we are aware in Ionic literature. In Hippolytos 168 we have however an Ionic ἀύτευν. ἐδόκουν Hrd. 469 is an Atticism (᾿δόκεον Hrd. in Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 26). Verbs in -οω have -ουν, not -ενν (§ 690).

664.] Singular Second Person.

ηλάστρεις Theog. 600.

665.] Singular Third Person.

1. ἐφόρα (ἐκοία Fick in G. G. A. 1883, 125), I. G. A. 370, generally referred to Euboia, but perhaps Asiatic Ionic. Hdt. has ὥρα I 11, &c., ἐφοίτα III 90, ηὕδα II 57 (a rare verb in prose;

cf. ἀπηύδηκε Hippokr. VIII 570).

2. -ει² is the correct form. On inscriptions: ἐποίει Eretria 14, Samos I. G. A. 388 a, Amorgos I. G. A. 390, Naukratis I 342, Klazomenai, Head H. N. 491, ἐπόει Samos 222 (pre-Roman), Delos 57 (middle of second century). ἐποίειν Miletos 95 resembles ἤσκειν Γ 388 in adopting the -ν after a contracted εε, contrary to the ordinary rule. Other forms are ἐπεστάτει Iasos, J. H. S. IX 341, Nos. 2 and 3, 342 No. 4, Zeleia 114 B 1 and perhaps in the Parian inscription, C. I. G. 2384 g, add. l. 2-3; ὑμολόγει Mykonos 9224. In Bechtel's No. 6 ἐποίη is Eleian. The testimony of the inscriptions is unanimous in favour of -ει.

In the lyric poets, exclusive of ἐπλεε Theog. 12 (cf. Ξ 251),

When the Gram. Vat. 699 cites νόει, ποίει it is for the purpose of showing the omission of the augment.

¹ In Hrd. 6₉₂ ἐλιπάρεον we may have synizesis; but the tribrach is permitted in the second foot.

we find only -ει: ἐδόκει Theog. 960, ἐφόρει Archil. 93, where σοσο would have been the alternative; Hippon. tr. 47 φκει in the MSS. (Schneid. and Bergk οἴκει, Meineke οἶκεῖ). At the period of Hipponax it was not usual for the first foot of the iambic measure to consist of -σο. Sim. Amorg. 28 ἐκίνει (σω was not admissible in the arsis of the trimeter); Anakr. ψνοχόει 321; ἐπο[ί]ει Hrd. 422.

In by far the greater number of instances Herodotos has -εε. Thus ἐδόκεε, ἐχώρεε, ἐκάλεε and even after o in the case of νοέω (ἐνόεε Ι 155, VIII 103, ἐπενόεε Ι 27, III 31, but ἐπενόει ΙΙ 152 Δ B C d), and oι in ποιέω (ἐποίεε ΙΙΙ 9, VII 156). Forms in -ει occur as follows: ἡπόρει ΙΙΙ 78, ὡφέλει ΙΙΙ 126, ἐξήρκει VII 161.

See also on the imperfect of - u verbs.

In Hippokrates, both Littré and Ermerins contract -εε in νοίω but after consonants we find now -εε now -ει. Thus κατενόει II 686, 690, 692, 702, 706 (bis), 714, III 34, 40 (bis) 42 (quater), 44, 48, 50, 62, 64, 110, 112, 122, 140, 142; παρενόει III 140; διενόει rejected by Littré III 42. Other examples of -ει are: ἐλήρει II 688, 706, 712; ὥκει II 666 (bis), 682, 684, 702, III 24; ἐδυσφόρει III 40; ἡρρώστει II 290; παρηκολούθει V 370; διετέλει I 626; ἐξεπύει II 706; ἡφώνει II 714; ούρει II 686, 692, 708 and many other forms in the genuine tractates. Littré edits -εε in ἥλγεε II 690 (ν.λ. -ει), 704 (-ει νιλίο), 708 bis (-ει ν.λ.), III 52 (-ει ν.λ.), 64 (-ει νιλίο); ἐπόνεε II 290 (-ει Λ.), III 44 (-ει ν.λ.), 50 (-ει ν.λ.); ἐδόκεε V 204; ἡμορράγειν II 600 (-ει Λ.). Aretaios 201 has ἐπόθεε.

The MSS. of the excerptors of the other prosaists have -ει, σ.g., ὑπεχώρει Melissos 14, ἐδόκει 17, ἐποίει Anaxag. 6 (περιχώρεε in 6 is due to Mullach), ϣκει Pherek. Leros 55. In Protagoras ἐδόκεε has been read.

The iteratives appear in our texts with the form -terror, which is open to suspicion. In Hdt. I 186 Rds only have drespectator, in IV 200 all the MSS. have fixedre, a fixedre, which recent editors change to the fixedre (Brodow dresses). Asios in Athen. 525 F used potresser, from Ionic course—portes. In the middle the forms with hyphaeresis are better supported, but in the following occurrences of the active -terror is the uniform MS. reading: which I 196, welledre I 36. In Herodotos iteratives from contract verbs are confined to those in -ew, while Homer had -agree and -agree.

3. Hdt. ηξίου, εδικαίου (εδικαίευ, un hyper-Ionism, r. l. III 118, IV 154; ef. § 690).

666.] Plural First Person.

- 1. -αομέν = ωμέν except when it passes into -εομέν.
- 2. -comes is either retained or becomes -evmen.
- 3. -oω verbs always have -oυμεν.

667.] Plural Second Person.

I. -aT€.

2. - eute, not - eete as often in the prose monuments.

3. -ουτε from -οω verbs.

668.] Plural Third Person.

1. -aov = -ων, e.g. ἐθυμίων Hdt. VIII 99, κατέκλων ΙΧ 62.

2. - cov is generally retained. - cvv is very rare. The inscrip-

tions have -εον in ἐθόρεον Thasos (L.) 7 A 2, 8 A 6, 97.

Herodotos has $\epsilon \pi o i \epsilon o v^1$ VII 36, IX 6, 8, 11, 104, $\epsilon \pi \epsilon v o \epsilon o v$ 65, $\delta \epsilon \theta \lambda \epsilon o v$ I 67, VII 212 (Xenophanes 291 has $\delta \epsilon \theta \lambda \epsilon v \omega$ as Hdt. V 22), $\epsilon \pi \lambda o v \tau \epsilon o v$ III 57 (Greg. Kor. § 14), $\epsilon \phi \rho o v \epsilon o v$ II 162, κατηγόρεον II 113 (though there is a notable number of ϵv 's in its vicinity (113, 115, 118). $\epsilon l \rho \omega \tau \epsilon v v$ I 158 (§ 637, 1 (2)) contracts $-\epsilon o v < -a o v$. Cf. $\epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \rho \omega \tau \epsilon o v$ I 67.

Herakl. has ὕμνεον 127, Hippokrates διετέλεον II 640, ἐπερρίγεον II 642 bis (cf. § 687, 3), ἐπενόσεον II 646, ἤρεον V 88 (else-

where in the late epic).

Menekrates has ἐδόκεον, ἐπολέμεον, Vita Hom. ὑλάκτεον.

In the poets -εον is never open. Cf. εφρόνεον Archil. 112, -ενν in εφίλευν Theog. 786, εσύλευν <-αον, Hrd., Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 3, επορνοβόσκευν 277.

Atticisms are εδόκουν Theog. 1381 (where it may be original), εκέλουν Hdt. IX 11.

3. -ουν in ἐπλήρουν Hdt. I 171, ἐδηίουν V 89 (ἐδικαίευν III 79 is an hyper-Ionism; § 690). On ἐπερρίγουν Hippokr. II 642 (Λ, Littré -εον), see § 637, 6.

PRESENT, MIDDLE AND PASSIVE.

Indicative.

669.] Singular First Person.

1. ἀρριχῶμαι Hippon. 104, πτοιῶμαι Mimn. 52, ἐσσῶμαι Hrd. 810.

2. φορεθμαι Anakr. 38, ἀλεθμαι Theog. 575, αίδεθμαι Solon tetr. 324 (vulgo -οθμαι, which may be correct), ἀπαρνεθμαι Hrd. 274, παραιτεθμαι 572.

Examples of -ενμαι in prose are διηγενμαι Herakl. 2 (in the Vit. auct. 14 Herakl. uses -έομαι), Hippokr. III 100, ποιενμαι Hdt. IX 111, Hippokr. VII 490. Hdt. has elsewhere εο

^{1 €}molevy is called Doric and Ionic Hdn. II 3306 (Choirob. 528,5).

generally, but ευ in προαιδεθμαι III 140, αίρεθμαι III 142, the only case of any contraction in this verb (cf. αίρεονται, αίρεοντο and even αίρεομενος), and also ἀξιεθμαι V 106 (§ 690).

Lukian Vit. auct. 6 has σιτέσμαι.

3. γουνοῦμαι Anakr. 11, 26.

670.] Singular Second Person.

In verbs in $-\epsilon \omega$ we may admit $-\epsilon a\iota$ from $-\epsilon \epsilon a\iota$ by hyphaeresis. Cf. Homer's $\pi \omega \lambda \epsilon'$ δ 811, $\mu \nu \theta \epsilon a\iota$ β 202, $\mu \nu \theta \epsilon \hat{\imath} a\iota$ θ 180. As it stands, $\mu \nu \theta \epsilon \hat{\imath} a\iota$ is an old form (=-\epsilon \epsilon a\text{, which might be read)} though preserved in a very late book. In Anakr. 12 we find $\delta \iota \nu \epsilon a\iota$, in Hdt. III 34 $\epsilon \pi a\iota \nu \epsilon a\iota$ (not $-\epsilon \epsilon a\iota$ as Pz), $\phi \circ \beta \epsilon a\iota$ I 39 (-\epsilon \epsilon \epsilon). Here $A C^2$ have $\phi \circ \beta \epsilon a\iota$ with superscribed ϵ between ϵ and $a\iota$.

671.] Singular Third Person.

1. leρâται Miletos 1004; πλανᾶται Archil. 565, μνᾶται Anakr. 68, βιᾶται Solon 1341, ἀλᾶται 1343. Hdt. has μηχανᾶται Ι 21, &c., ἐπαιτιᾶται ΙΙ 121 (β), βιᾶται ΙΙΙ 80, σμᾶται ΙΧ 110 (σμῆται Antiph. com. frag. III 81), Demokritos κτᾶται 184 (§ 687, 2), Hellanikos ἀναρριχᾶται 178. ἀνιᾶται occurs in Demokr. 184, Melissos 4, 11 (Simplicius). Hippokr. III 204 has ἐσφλᾶται.

21. Ικυείται Halikarn. 238₂₆ (fifth century); Sim. Amorg. ποιείται 7₆₂, κινείται 7₇₅. Even if the forms had been properly open, synizesis was not permitted in the arsis of the iambic measure. προκαλείται Anakr. 144, δρχείται 20₂; Hrd. has

αίρεῖται 3_{64} , δωρεῖται 6_{30} , ώθεῖται 4_{64} .

Herodotos: ποιέεται, &c., with -εε- everywhere, except μυεῖται in all MSS., VIII 65. In all these forms -εε- is out of date in the fifth century. Lukian puts μυθέεται into the mouth of Hdt., De Domo 20. In other writers of Ionic prose: Herakl. ἀφικνεῖται 18 (Stob., -έεται is conjectural), ἐξικνεῖται 12 (Plut.), διαχέεται (§ 637, 2), and μετρέεται 23 (Clem. Alex.), ἀνέεται 105 (Iamblichos); Demokr. ἐρέεται 6=ἐρᾶται (Demokrates), ἀκέεται 280 (where Clem. Alex. has ἀφαιρεῖται in the same frag.), ποιέεται 123 (Stob.); Melissos συγχωρεῖται (Simpl.) 1, κινεῖται 5, 14 (bis), 15, according to Simpl.; Hekat. κινεῖται 284 (Steph. Byz.), μυθεῖται 332, καλεῖται 260. Pherekydes of Leros has ποιεῖται 44, a fragment containing several genuine Ionisms. All the cases of καλεῖται (16, 85, 89, 114 A) are in Atticized fragments. So too ἀφικνεῖται 34; Hellanikos has καλέεται in 160, which contains ἐνοικοῦντες.

In Hippokrates there are many examples of the correct form,

Hippokrates VI 294 used the active defense.

¹ πωλεῖται is called Ionic in contrast to a supposed Aiolic πωλῆται in An. Ox. I 362m.

e.g. καλείται V 656, ἀφικνείται 664, οὐρείται 720. The resolved form appears in Littré, e.g. in ἀφικνέεται II 70 (vulgo -ει-), οὖρέεται II 38, VII 160 (80 θ, vulgo -ει-), καλέεται III 84, 208, V 588, VIII 366 (θ), ποιέεται II 128 bis, V 644, κρατέεται II 638, εὖπορέεται III 102 (vulgo -ει-), ἐμέεται II 184 (vulgo -ει-).

Euseb. Mynd. 59 has ἀποστερέεται, 63 ἡγέεται, Aretaios 32 cases of -εε- to 3 of -ει- (ἐμεῖται Ι, καλεῖται 102, παρωθεῖται 297).

In Arrian we have 12 cases of -εε-; Abydenos δωρέεται 9.

3. τρυχοῦται Mimn. 2₁₂, λαχνοῦται Solon 27₆, λοῦται Sim. Amorg. 7₆₃, στεφανοῦται Anakr. 41₂, ἀλλοτριοῦται Hdt. I 120, βιούται II 177, άλλοιούται Herakl. 36, έτεροιούται Meliss. 12, καρπούται Demokr. 236, αμαυρούται Hippokr. V 644, μισθούται Vita Hom. 4.

672. Plural First and Second Persons.

Α. 1. διαιτώμεθα Hdt. IV 114.

2. - εόμεθα and - εῦμεθα.

3. -ούμεθα. On ἀντιεύμεθα Hdt. IX 26, see § 690.

 Β. 1. πειρᾶσθε Hdt. IV 127.
 2. ἡγεῖσθε Herakl. in R. M. XV 605, where Neumann read -εε- in order to accommodate the form to Hdt.'s ποιέεσθε IX 7. 3. -οῦσθε.

673. Plural Third Person.

1. αἰτιῶνται Hdt. IV 94, Hippokr. II 78, ὀσμῶνται Herakl. 38, ιωνται Hippokr. II 78, έπισπώνται II 312, δριγνώνται Hrd. 737.

2. Theog. 290 ήγέονται but μωμεθνται 369, as if from μωμέσμαι (cf. μωμεύμενος 169); Solon 424 has preserved the Attic εκνούνται.

φορεύνται Parmenides 48.

In Hdt. we expect, and find, ποιεύνται I 132, 140, IV 70, &c., except IV 180, where all MSS. have -co-. Elsewhere we have -έονται, except ήγεθνται IV 2 (-εο- PRz), καλεθνται V 108 (-εο-CPz), and διανοεθνται IX 54 in all MSS. [cf. § 637, 1 (2)]. ανιεθνται VII 236, if correct, is used in a future sense and as an analogue of κομιεύνται, &c. Stein accepts ἀκεύνται in his school edition.

Herakl. αίρεθνται 111, μυεθνται 125; Demokr. δωρέονται 13 (Stob. -ov-), ποιέονται 47, 126, αlτέονται 461; Pherek. καλέονται 85; Hippokr. διαιτεῦνται ΙΙ 68, 72, καλεῦνται ΙΙ 68, 76, ἀσθενεῦνται ΙΙ 316, ὀχεῦνται ΙΙ 68, δυσαρεστεῦνται ΙΧ 368, ήγεῦνται ΙΙ 240 (Λ), ἀφικνέονται ΙΙ 50, 150, ποιέονται ΙΙ 56, &c. Vita Hom. has ἀπικνέονται 5, 6, Luk. V. Λ. κινέονται 4, συνειλέουται 14.

¹ νεῦνται Mullach I 371, cited sometimes from Demokritos, does not exist (MSS. vouvras). The fragment is hard to restore.

3. αποχωλούνται Hippokr. II 78, δυσμούνται Demokr. 16. λούνται Hdt. I 198, τοξούνται Aret. 10.

Subjunctive.

674.] -aw verbs are inflected as in Attic.

675.] From -εω verbs we have ποιήται Chios 174 C 11 (cf. προθήται Halikarn. 23833). This exemplifies the contraction supported in the MSS. of Hdt. in δηλήται IV 187, εξηγήται VI 74 all MSS. (- $\epsilon\eta$ - V 23), IX 66 (- $\epsilon\eta$ - R), $\pi \circ \iota \tilde{\eta} \tau \alpha \iota$ IX 45, VI 57 (A B C d), III 8 and IV 65 (A B R, i.e. Stein's archetype), $\phi \circ \beta \tilde{\eta}$ ται VII 36 (ABR). Herodas has ἡγῆται 543, θεωρῆται 546.

Demokritos has ἐπιμελῆται (?) and μετρῆται 41, ποιῆται 188. In Hippokrates the hyper-Ionic -εη- is very frequent, e.g. ωφελέηται

II 374, κινέηται III 258, ποιέηται VII 514. Lukian has ἀπηγέηται Astrol. 22, Euseb. Mynd. 53 ἀπαιτέηται, Aretaios ακέηται 25, εμέηται 31, μετακινέηται 62, but ανεμήται

In the third plural we have κινίωνται Hippokr. II 126, ποιίων-

rai, e.g. Philip of Pergamum, B. C. H. II 273.

676.] -oω verbs are inflected as in Attic.

Optative.

- 677.] χολφτο Theog. 325, σιγφτο Hdt. III 82, νικφτο IX 13, κοιμφτο III 38, δπτφτο VIII 137, &c., δουνφτο Hippokr. III 256, ανιφτο Melissos 4 and 11, according to Mullach (Diels with Simplicius duiarai). duigro Hdt. III 1, duigaro IV 130.
- 678.] εω verbs: ἐνθυμοίμεθα Sim. Amorg. 2,. In Hdt. after consonants we find both the older and the younger forms: καλέοιτο V 76, απικνέοιτο Ι 29, λυπεοίατο Ι 99, and δωροίτο 11 126 (Rd), φοβοίτο VII 87 (R); after vowels ποιοίτο VII 48, VIII 67 (-οίντο A B, -ἰοιντο C). The rule has been accepted by some that after consonants coi, after vowels oi, is the correct form in Ionic. This is, however, applicable to the MSS, of Hdt., not to the wider horizon of Ionic literature. The testimony of popular and ενθυμοίμεθα in Simonides of Amorgos and of φιλοίεν in Anakreon shows, not that the forms in cor above mentioned are wrong, but that contract forms had been adopted in pre-Herodoteian Ionic. The archaism ἀνωθεοίη Teos 156 A 11 does not invalidate this statement.

Demokr. has according to Stobaios ἀμελέοιτο 213, but ποιοίτο 2. Simplicius has preserved Melissos' μετακοσμέσιτο (11). Hippokr. has ποιέοιτο II 110, λυπέοιτο II 134, αφαιρέοιτο II 356, οὐρέοιτο II 140, απολωφέοιτο ep. 1716. Lukian Syr. dea 26 λυπέοιτο, έξαπατέοιτο 27 as if from - έομαι.

679.] -oω verbs are inflected as in Attic.

Imperative.

680.] πειρώ Theog. 358, κνώ Hrd. 8, πειράσθω Tyrt. 124.

681.] ποιοῦ Theog. 753 and alδοῦ 1179 are Atticisms, even if

the latter is from αἴδομαι (αἴδεο Φ 74, &c.).

Hdt. has -εο¹ in αἰτέο Ι 90, ἀκέο ΙΙΙ 40, λυπέο VIII 100, έξηγέο ΙΙΙ 72, IV 9, απικνέο V 24, φοβέο VII 50, 52, ποιέο VIII 68 (a), Demokr. 142 προθυμέο; -ευ in φοβεῦ I 9, ποιεῦ IV 9, VIII-100. On the hyphaeresis see Fritsch in Curtius Studien VI 128, where it should have been noted that in -εμε-σαι, not in -εfε-σαι, is the loss of one ε permissible in Homer. Cf. μυθέαι by the side of μυθείαι. In the imperative however we do not find -ειο.

In Oropos 1820 we find τελείσθω, in Chalkis 139 αἰρείσθω. Tyrt. 113 has $\phi o \beta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \theta \epsilon$, Hrd. $7_{21} \theta \eta \epsilon \hat{\imath} \sigma \theta \epsilon$, Anakr. 42 ἀναχείσθων. Hippokr. has $-\epsilon \iota$ - in ἐμείσθω V 708 and II 144 (several MSS.)

but ποιεέσθω VII 190. Aret. εὐπορείσθω 279, έψείσθω 202, 331.

682.] -οω verbs are inflected as in Attic. ἀνακοινέο Theog. 73 must come from -κοινέω, not from -κοινόω. Pindar has κοινάω.

Infinitive.

683.] 1. Verbs in -aω have throughout -aσθαι except in πειρήσθαι, διαιτήσθαι, &c., in Hippokrates, § 637, 1 (1). Herodotos has e.g. δράσθαι, ἀνιᾶσθαι, Theognis ἰᾶσθαι 433, ἀγορᾶσθαι 159, Miletos 100₆ προϊερᾶσθαι, Diog. Apoll. 6 κυβερνᾶσθαι. κρεμᾶσθαι Hippokr. I 592, II 288 should be read κρέμασθαι, which occurs in II 152. εὐνᾶσθαι Aret. 272 is the only prose instance of the uncompounded form.

2. Verbs in $-\epsilon \omega^2$. επιμελείσθαι Orop. 18, (cf. επιμέλεσθαι

¹ The Homeric ἀποαιρέο is called Ionic by the interlinear schol. Ven. A on A 275. For å λ ev' ($l\omega v$ ik ω r) Diogen. II 56, read å λ e \widetilde{v} (Schulze, Quaest. epicae, 64).

² Joh. Gr. 235, 240, Greg. Kor. 36, Gram. Leid. 629 π oréeova (π oréeva Meerm. 650, Vat. 694, $\kappa\lambda$ ovéova Meerm. 650, on the view that ϵ might appear in place of ϵ 1 as in δ 6 $\xi\omega$ = δ 6 $\xi\omega$).

Thasos 717); Tyrtaios has μυθεῖσθαι 47, where μυθέεσθαι would have been impossible; Hrd. $\dot{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\hat{\imath}\sigma\theta$ ai I $_{72}$. Herodotos: π oi $\dot{\epsilon}\epsilon\sigma\theta$ ai about twenty times, but R has π oi $\epsilon\hat{\imath}\sigma\theta$ ai II I. Contraction after or in the finite forms of this verb is very rare in the MSS. After o we have διανοέεσθαι II 121 (δ), but διανοείσθαι VI 86 (δ) in ABCd. Cf. the present and imperfect of volu.

Other Ionic prosaists have -et- very often according to the MSS. of their excerptors: Demokrates has alpeiobai 3,92, dareiobai 71, αίδεισθαι 100, 235, ποιείσθαι 128, ἐπαινείσθαι 204, ἡγείσθαι 212. The open forms are ενθυμέεσθαι 20₂₀ (sic Stob., but -ει- in 92), ἀρκέεσθαι 20, (various conj.), μιμέεσθαι 114 (cf. 113), φιλέεσθαι 161 (Demokrates). Diogen. Apoll. εννοείσθαι 4 (Simpl.); Melissos κινείσθαι 5 (Simpl.).

Hippokrates has -εε- in many cases, e.g. ἐνθυμέεσθαι ΙΙ 14, 170 (most MSS.) 188, ποιέεσθαι II 280, III 214, 228, 230, 252, ανειλέεσθαι II 138 (-ει- one MS.), V 694, ταλαιπωρέεσθαι II 72, αλωρέεσθαι III 442, σκοπέεσθαι II 634, 678 (-ει- vulgo), III 100, έκλαλέεσθαι IV 630, πονέεσθαι II 184 bis, αριθμέεσθαι II 170 bis, σιτείσθαι II 246 (A) but -έεσθαι II 288, σκοπείσθαι III 212, 258, Arrian's only case of -ει- is εξικνεῖσθαι 24; Aretaios has -είσθαι only 73, 321. Lukian's Vit. auct. has alpleσθαι 6.

3. Verbs in -οω. ἐπανανεοῦσθαι Eretria 157; Theog. μαυροῦσθαι 192, Hdt. κατορθοῦσθαι, ἐξισοῦσθαι, &c., ἐτεροιοῦσθαι Melissos 17, Diog. Apoll. 2; λοῦσθαι Hdt. III 124, Hippokr. VII 74.

Participle.

684.] 1. - αω verbs have - ώμενος, e.g. κυκώμενος Archil. 66, and MSS. Solon 1361 (κακούμενον Bergk), αλώμενος Tyrt. 1011, στρωφώμενος Theog. 247, πλανώμενος Sim. Amorg. 714, Solon 36₁₀, λωβωμένη Sim. Amorg. 7₁₀₉, αμφιδηριώμενος 7₁₁₀, πειρώμενος Solon 13e7, γεγανώμενος Anakr. 13 A.

Herodotos has -ώμενος, without any variant, in the verbs αλτιάομαι, αλάομαι, ανακτάομαι, βιάω, διαιτάω, εράω, θεάομαι, θηράω, κραυγανάω, λωβάομαι, νικάω, πλανάω, στρωφάω. On other forms

(-εύμετος, -εώμετος) see § 688.

τιμώμενος Hippokr. II 80, Demokr. 231, πειρώμενος Herakl. 2,

Pherekydes of Leros 33h, lώμενος Pherekydes 76.
2. Verbs in -εω¹. In the lyric poets we have unanimous testimony to the contraction of -co-. Archil. trim. 32, november, 44 ποιεύμενος, 46 πολευμένω, 102 σαλευμένη, 128 εξαλεύμενος; Sim. Amorg. κλονεύμενοι 115, μυθεύμενος 718, φορευμένη 740 (Stob.

¹ λυπεόμενο: Joh. Gr. 240 B, Gram. Meerm. 652, Aug. 668, Vat. 698, Birnb. 6784, ποιεόμενο: Aug. 668, μαχεόμενο: Meerm. 652, Vat. 698.

B-ov-), ἀλευμένη 7₆₁; Solon 13₄₅ φορεύμενος, trim. 36₁₂ τρομευμένους, the only contracted form of this poetic (and Hippokratic) verb, trim. 37₅ κυκεύμενος; Mimn. 7₁ δηλεύμενος; Theog. 169 μωμεύμενος. ποιεύμενος occurs in an iambic line preserved by Stobaios 28, 18; ἀνευμένης in Hrd. 7₈₂. The cases of -εν- in the early iambists awaken suspicion, as we elsewhere have ε₀. The writing εν recalls that in vogue in the fifth century.

Attic forms are πονούμενον Theog. 1359, Φιλουμένη Paros 66, ἀδικούμενον C. I. G. 2919 (but the document is a modern forgery). Genuine Ionic is ἀφικνε(ο μένων Oropos 186.

Verbs in $-\epsilon \omega$ usually show $-\epsilon \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$. This is the case even in Herodotos¹ who has the greatest number of cases of $-\epsilon \delta \mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$. These are given in the note below. Before μ there is evident a tendency to write $\epsilon \nu$; as if the scribes thought $\epsilon \sigma$ (which they judged to be dissyllabic) with $-\mu \epsilon \nu \sigma s$ would produce too many short syllables.

alωρέω VII 61, 92; ἀπολογέω VII 161 (-ου- Β); ἀπορέω II 121 (γ); εἰλέω II 76; ἡγέομαι II 93 (ἡγέονται bis same chapter), 113 (κατηγόρεον soon after), 115, VII 161; θηέομαι VII 44, 146, 212, VIII 88; θυμέομαι IX 72; ἐκτέομαι II 105 (-εο- R d), 178, III 9, VI 65, 86 α (-εο- C), cf. VI 65, 84 (-ευ- R); καλέω II 56, 72, 79, 97, 113 (-εο- C), 118, 124, 156 (-εο- CPD), 178 (-εο- CP), III 106 (οἰκεόμενος same chapter), IV 20 (-εο- R), 85, 93, 175, V 31 (-εο- Γ), 108 (-ευ- Α Β C d), VI 79 (-εο- PR ε), VII 77, 170 (-εο- Α Β C d), IX 48; cf. II 41 (-ευ- Α Β), 154 (-ευ- R), καλεόμενος III 13 and elsewhere; καλλιερέω VI 82; λυπέω IX 94; μυθέω II 121 (δ); ναυπηγέω II 96, VI 46; νοέω III 122, V 36; πιεξέω III 140 (-ευ- R), ΚΙ 134 (-ευ- R), ΚΙ 134 (-ευ- R), ΚΙ 134 (-ευ- R), ΙΙΙ 135 (-ευ- CP); τιμωρέω III 150 (-ευ- R); ὑπισχνέομαι II 153, III 134 (-ευ- A B), VIII 106, cf. V 51 (-ευ- α III MSS.); φορέω III 106, 146, VII 10 (θ); ἀθέω VI 83; ἀνέομαι I 165; ἀφελέω II 68, -ευ- PRε (-ευ- same chapter, where d has -ευ-).

In the case of ποιέω, Hdt. has ποιεύμενος very frequently. In a small number of instances we find ποιεόμενος: I 37, 68 (same

chapter -εύμενος), 73. θηέομαι, too, contracts εο to εν.

In other prose writers than Herodotos: Herakl. κινεόμενος 84 (conj.); Demokr. θυμεόμενος 27 bis, -μεύμενος 20₂₂, τελεύμενα 71, λυπεόμενος 29, κινεόμενος 20₅ (Stob. -oυ-), ύπηγεομένης 92, μωμεομένων 123, καλεομένης 211, ἐρεόμενος (?) (with accus.) for ἐρώμενος 6; Anaxag. κινεόμενος bis 7 (Simpl. -oυ-); Diog. Apoll. καλεόμενος 6 (Simpl. -oυ-); Meliss. κινεόμενος 4 (Simpl. -oυ-); Hekat. ποιεόμενος 350 (Longinos -oυ-). Hippokrates has -εόμενος usually, e.g. ἀφικνεόμενος II 14, ἐπιρροφεόμενος II 358, καλεόμενος

¹ Forms in -ov are to be rejected: ἀπολογούμενος VII 161 in B, πολιορκούμενος I 26 in A, III 13 in A B, ἐπιμετρούμενος III 91 in all MSS., ἀφαιρούμενος Hippokr. VI 494, σκοπούμενος III 258, ἡγούμενος I 612 (A) &c.

II 224, but αφικνεύμενος II 76, εμεύμενος II 144 (same page έμεόμενος), ποιεύμενος ΙΙ 362, ΙΙΙ 442, VI 74, 514, ενθυμεύμενος ΙΙ 42, εννοεύμενος ΙΙ 50, σκοπεύμενος ΙΙ 50 (-ου- υπίσο, cf. ΙΙΙ 258), σιτεύμενος VI 54 (A) whereas Hdt. VI 57 as Hippokr. II 282, 288, has -εο-, κλονεύμενος VIII 18, ἀδηλεύμενος VIII 18, ήγεύμενος ΙΙ 110, 242, εναιωρεύμενος ΙΙ 116, φιλοτιμεύμενος ΙΧ 358. Vita Hom. 33 καλεόμενος (only case of -εο-), ποιεύμενος 23, Lukian's V. A. ἀνεόμενος 14, Aret. 313 δινεύμενος. Attic forms sometimes occur in Lukian (Astrol. 19) and Arrian (20,). πωλεύ-

μεναι Prometh. 645 trim. as β 55, ρ 534.
3. Verbs in -oω. Archil. γουνουμένω 7.51, χολούμενος 95, and so Solon 341. In 1361 Bergk follows Lobeck in reading κακού-μενον for the MS. κυκώμενον. Herodotos has ἐσσούμενος, ἀντιούμενος, Hippokr. ἀποκορυφούμενος, &c., Diog. Apoll. 6 ἐτεροιουμένων,

Vita Hom. 5 avopovuevos.

Imperfect.

685.] 1. Verbs in -aω. ἤραο Xenoph. 51, ἐστρωφᾶτο Archil. 33, ἀποτᾶτο 186, ἐκοιμᾶτο Hippokr. III 48, ἀπεπειρᾶτο Hdt. I 46. κατηρώντο Hippon. 11. ηργορόωντο Hdt. VI 11 cannot stand.

2. Verbs in -εω. Hdt. has ἡγεύμην II 115, ἐποιέετο about 30 times, ἐπορθέετο I 84, ἐμιμέετο V 67. Hippokr. has ἀφελέετο V 204, but ἀχλεῖτο V 196 (ἀφελέει same page). -εν- occurs in ἐποιεύμεσθα, Hrd. 417. -εοντο¹ and -ευντο in the third plural: ἡγέοντο Hdt. VII 40, διενοεθντο VI 133, προηγεθντο VII 40, ἐκαλεῦντο VII 74, ἐποιεῦντο V 63, VII 138, Hippokr. IX 348. ἐρριπτεῦντο Hrd. Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 24. Forms that have been Atticized occur, e.g. ἐποιοθντο Herakl. 127.

The inflection of the verb behold presents great difficulties. Two forms are certainly Ionic: θηθομαι, θεάομαι. (1) θηθομαι = Doric θαθομαι *< *θα Γε-μο-μαι, is found in θηείτο η 133, έθηείτο Hdt. I 10 (-ηήτο Rbds), 68, IV 85 (-ηήτο ds), VII 44, 56, 100, 208 (-ηητο d); εθηκώντο III 136, VIII 25; θηκώνθε Hrd. 711; θηεύμενος Hdt. VII 44, 146, 212, VIII 88. Homer has eight forms from θηέσμαι, one from θεδομαι. Hesiod has θηήσομαι, θηητός, Aret. 312 θηητός in G (θεητός H. V.). (2) θεάομαι 4, as in Attic, from "θηάομαι < "θάξά-μο-μαι. Hdt. has

¹ е почесто Joh. Gr. 240.

Cf. Johansson, D. V. C. 149, B. B. XV 173.
 θά/ομαι (Pindar from *64/-ά, Syrakusan θάδ. θάδιτο in Theokr. is not from *θάdero, but from *θάdero, because a becomes a before o, not before a (Schmidt, Neutra, p. 327). θάητός is found in Pindar and Theokritos. With θάτησαν θεατάς < θάα-, cf. Hom. θηντήρ, whose second η is different from that of

θηητός.
 Dindorf, pracf. XXXVII, thinks the forms from δεδομαι in Hdt. are due to a copyist, and doubts even θεηταί, θέητρον. άξιοθέητου he is constrained to accept because of tins his.

θεώμενος III 32, VI 67, VII 208 (as Aret. 91), θεήσεαι, θεησόμενος, -σασθαι (as Hippokr. IX 348), -σάμενος often (I 11 A P, other MSS. -ηησάμενον), I 30 (b -ηησάμενον), ΙΙ 106 (Rd -ειησάμενον), IV 87 (Rd -ηησάμενος), εθεήσατο VII 128 (IV 87 Rdz -ηήσατο), -αντο VI 120 (III 23 PRz, 24 PRdz -ηήσαντο). From the same stem we have θέη < *θήη, in Hdt. I 25, IX 25 (θέαι Hrd. 129) = Attie θέα, θεηταί Hdt. III 139, θέητρον VI 21, θέημα Sim. Amorg. 7 ετ (Doric θάημα < θάΓημα), ἀξιοθέητος Hdt. often. θεη- is contracted to θη- in Tra μιν θησαίατ' σ 191 (Ίνα θηησαίατ' Kirchhoff), θησάμενος Abdera 162 (metrical), θήσεσθε Hrd. 766. We see no reason for accepting an Ionic θάομαι in these contracted forms. The Doric forms (Ahrens II 342) may be referred to θάομαι or to θάμαι, and θεώμενος in Hdt. is not necessarily from θάομαι. θάεο is certain in the Anthology and Hesychios, who has also θάοντα θεωροῦντα, but Roehl's (L. G. A. 409) θάευ τοῦ λίθου in the Naxian inscription must yield to Bentley's [τ]οῦ αΓὐτοῦ λίθου. Two forms cause great difficulty: ἐθηῆτο, the v. l. in Hdt. and έθεῆτο in Hippokr. VII 490 according to Littré (ἐθειῆτο in ε, ἐθεᾶτο in seven MSS.). These forms, if correct, could come only from an hitherto unknown θηήομαι < θάξά-ιο-μαι, and from θεήομαι < θηη-. έθηήτο, we think, has its ηη wrongly transferred from ἐθηήσατο, &c. (a reading adopted by Abicht), and έθεῆτο its εη from έθεήσατο. Johansson suggests the possibility of deriving έθεῆτο from έθηεῖτο, i.e. έθηετο, by metathesis quantitatis. We prefer to regard the forms as simple blunders.

The editors adopt $-\epsilon \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \kappa \epsilon \tau o$, e.g. in $\pi o \iota \epsilon \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \kappa \epsilon \tau o$ Hdt. VII 5, which has the support of only one MS. $(q, \grave{\epsilon} \pi o \iota \acute{\epsilon} \epsilon \tau o \ PRz)$. The preferable form would be $\pi o \iota \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \kappa \epsilon \tau o$ found in ABCd. So in VII 119 z alone has $\pi o \iota \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \kappa \epsilon \tau o$, the MSS. (except R $\grave{\epsilon} \pi o \iota \acute{\epsilon} \sigma \kappa \epsilon \tau o$)

3. Verbs in -οω. ἡντιοῦτο Hdt. Ι 76, ἐκακοῦτο Hippokr. III 74, ἡτεροιοῦτο Diog. Apoll. 2, παρεκνημοῦντο Hippon. 130. On ἐδικαιεῦντο Hdt. III 29, see § 690.

The Contraction of -ee, -eet.

686.] To afford a survey of the usage of Hippokrates, Aretaios and the imitators of Herodotos in respect of their adoption of the obsolete forms in $-\epsilon\epsilon$, $-\epsilon\epsilon$ from $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs, we present the following table. See Lindemann de dialecto Ionica recentiore, pp. 31 ff. The names of Asinius Quadratus and Uranius are omitted from the list, since they present no pertinent forms. Forms of $-\epsilon F\omega$ verbs (§ 637, 2) are included in the enumeration.

	Indic. I	res. Act.	Indic. Pres. Act. Inf. Pres. Act. Ind. Impf. Act. Indic. Pr. Pass. Ind. Impf. Pass. Inf. Pr. Pass. Imperat. Act. Imperat. Pass.	12. Act.	Ind. Im	pf. Act.	Indic. P	r. Pass.	Ind. Im	of. Pass.	Inf. Pr	. Past.	Impera	if. 4d.	Impera	f. Pues.
	Open.	Contr.	Open, Contr. Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.	Open.	Contr.
g (Syria dea	NA II	0	1.	•	25.	0	22	٥	15	•	7	•				
Vit. auct.	m	-	•	•							~	•				
IN Aut.	+	٥	•	0	ю	٥		62 \$ 7.4	-	•	m	0				
Arrian's Indile	15	۰	2	9	*	+	11 or 13	~	+	•	61	~				
Abydenos			-	۰			-	0								
Eusebios					~	۰			-	۰						
Euseb. Mynd.	•	3 33	33	•			~	•			17	0	7	•		
Aretaios	136	. 12	28	25	_	•	32	+	•	-	17	•		_	-	~
Hippokrates: -																
Ä	31	15	13	12			H	m			-	H			•	-
1 1	•	2 (Ber)	15	۰	15	3	-	0			-	-				
III 3	e	3 (Bei)	•	-	m	\$	-	-	0	-	•	-				
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The Inflection of Verbs in -nw, -ww.

687.] 1. -ηιω < -αιω.

διψŷ Hippokr. VI 488, VII 258 (-\$\tilde{\alpha}\$ Ermerins wrongly), as in Pindar, διψῆν Hdt. II 24, διψέων (-\$\sigma -\sigma\) Archil. 68, from διψήων (cf. διψάων λ 584 and Μαχάων, Μαχέων \$ 140, 1). The contracted form appears in διψῶντα Anakr. 57, for which Fick would read διψέωντα, διψῶντες Aret. 134, διψῶσαν Astrol. 24=διψεῦσαν Anthol. Pal. VI 217. In the imperfect, ἐδίψη Hippokr. III 36, 42, ἐδίψων II 652.

The origin of the long vowel in διψάω, πεινάω still remains obscure. Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 269 refers these two verbs to διψάσιω, πεινάσιω, and connects their latter part with √as burn. But διψῆν, as πεινῆν, may be merely

an analogue of verbs with primitive η, ε. g. ψην.

δρῆν Hippokr. III 290, δρῶντα (Attic?) Hrd. 5₁₈, for which we should expect δρέωντα, δρέοντα, οτ δρεῦντα (cf. πηδεῦντα 3₀₆). Verbs in -ηω in Hrd. always contract (cf. under κνάω and ψάω), and the closed forms are known to us from the prose monuments. Attic δρᾶν may be from δρᾶ-ειν.

θυμιήται Hdt. IV 75, ὑποθυμιήσθω Hippokr. VII 320 have been regarded as derived from θυμιήω. We class them with the hyper-Ionisms (§ 637, 1 foot-

note), and in Hdt. read θυμιάται with A2R.

μνάομαι we expect to yield μνεώμενος in Hdt. This is found in I 96, but only in CPz, MSS. which often affect -εω- where it is not in place. In I 205 all MSS. have -ω-. ἐμνᾶτο I 205 and μνᾶται Anakr. 68 are also from μνάομαι, if the other forms in -ω- are correct. Homer has μνώμενος λ 117, but also ἐμνώοντο, μνάασθαι, &c. μνωόμενος is a certain emendation of Wolf in Hymn I 209.

πεινη Hippokr. VI 488, but πεινώντας Hdt. I 133 which would seem to be

Attic, cf. πεινάων Γ 25, &c.

2. -ηξω (with pan-Hellenic η).

Whether pan-Hellenic η exists in all of the following forms, e.g. $\sigma\mu\tilde{\eta}\nu$, $\psi\tilde{\eta}\nu$ ($\psi\tilde{a}\phi$ os), is uncertain.

⟨η̄ < *ζη-ει, Herakl. 25, Diog. Apoll. 6, Hippokr. III 192, VI 42 (subj.). ζωμεν Sim. Amorg. 32 might be from *ζέωμεν < *ζήομεν, could we not assume a weak stem ζα-. Improbable is the derivation from *ζόωμεν < ζώομεν. ζωσι Hdt. II 92, IV 22 (ΔΒ R), 23 (ζώουσι R), 103, Hippokr. II 46, V 672. Bekker, Dindorf, Abicht accept only ζώουσι in Hdt. ζην < *ζη-εν, Hdt. V6 (cf. VII 46 in PR, Stob.), Demokr. 54, Theog. 1156, Aret. 10. Hdt. elsewhere has ζώειν which Merzdorf would, and Stein does, adopt in V 6. ζων Herakl. 78, ζωντος Hippokr. III 246, Aret. 183, ζώντι Hippokr. III 246, Hdt. IV 94, VII 238 (ΔΒ R), ζωντα Hdt. I 86 bis (in one case B²C have ζώουτα; ζωόντων in same chapter), II 162, III 10, IV 14, VII 33, 166, ζωντες Hdt. IV 22, 23, 46 (ζων-Pd), IX 119, Herakl. 67, ζωντα Hippokr. VI 488, ζώντων Herakl. 123 (Bernays), ζωσι Hdt. VI 58, ζωντα II 69 (ζων-C), VII 146, ζωσα IV 205.

On the forms of $\zeta \omega \omega$, see below under 3. The second ablaut form $\zeta \alpha$ -cannot be supported by a supposed Kyprian $\zeta \alpha f \epsilon i \tau \epsilon$, or by $\delta i \alpha \iota \tau \alpha$ (with Schmidt, K. Z. XXV 151). $\zeta \widetilde{\eta}$ is, moreover, not from $\zeta \widetilde{\eta} f - \epsilon \iota$, but

that in -w. (ηθι is an analogue of στηθι (cf. στήτω, ζήτω), and είγω is built on the pattern of εσβην. Cf. Brugmann M. U. I 7. είγω displaced the earlier είγων (Cobet, Misc. Orit. 546).

Hdt. has no trace of the η of **rrhw: rrar VII 239, despite epic $\kappa r \tilde{\eta}$ and $\kappa r \tilde{\eta} r \omega$ Hippokr. III 490. Herodas has $\kappa r \tilde{\omega}$ Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 15. If $\kappa r \tilde{\eta} r$ in Aristophanes is incorrect, as Cobet, Meineke and Dindorf maintain, $\kappa r \tilde{\omega} r$ would be erroneous in Hdt. But in the case of both Ionic and Attie we may assume the existence of $\kappa r \tilde{\omega}$. See below, p. 565.

Hdt. contracts κτάομαι (§ 168) in κτῶντὰι I 135, III 98 (-εω-Ξ), 105, 110, κτόμενος I 29, III 134, IV 80. The contraction to -ω- is also supported by ABR in κτῶνται III 107, where P has κτέονται, Cds--εω-, II 79 (-ευ-P, -εω-CΞ), III 74 ἐκτέωντο (-ευ-P, -εω-CS), Euseb. Mynd. κτόμενος 15, 24; κτᾶσθαι Hdt. I 61, III 21, 73, VII 9; κτᾶται Demokr. 184. ἐκτέατο, imperfect in Hdt. VIII 112 in ABCb (-ευ-PR), is certainly wrong (Dindorf ἐκτῆτο, all the recent editors ἐκτᾶτο); as is -ἐυτο, unless a form κτυ-, parallel to χρυ-, can be shown to exist in this verb. See on χρόμαι below. ἐκτᾶται IV 23 is correct.

 $\lambda \hat{\eta}$ Theognis 299 is not the result of a Doric contraction of $\lambda \hat{u} \epsilon_i$, but of pan-Hellenic $\lambda \hat{\eta} \epsilon_i$. If the Kretan form were $\lambda \hat{\eta} \hat{t} \omega = \lambda \hat{\eta} \hat{\epsilon} \omega$, $\lambda \hat{\eta}$ might also be explained as $= \lambda \hat{\eta} + \epsilon \hat{i}$. It is, however, certain that $\lambda \hat{\epsilon} \omega$ is to be read in Museo Ital. II 678, 6, and this may stand for $\lambda \epsilon(\hat{l})\omega$ (Bechtel, Gitt. Nachr. 1888, p. 400). A $\lambda \hat{\eta} \hat{\epsilon} \omega$ would, however, be a parallel of $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \hat{\epsilon} \omega \omega$ (" $\lambda \hat{\eta} \hat{\epsilon} \sigma$, $\chi \rho \hat{\eta} \hat{\omega} \sigma$).

rhw heap up (rhe: σωρεύει Hesychios) has passed into the inflection of rew in Herodotos: ἐπινέουσι IV 62, περινεῖν VI 80 (so R, -εειν other MSS.), συννενέαται IV 62. Perhaps we should read rηεῖ in the gloss (cf. Hom. rηέω). Photios νῶντος σωρεύοντος would point to reίω. νῶντα: νήθοντα has the same contraction. In Hesiod W. D. 777 we may read rŷ for reῖ and in Hesychios τῆν for reῖν (spin).

σμάω would seem to be Ionic, not σμήω: ἐξέσμων Hdt. III 148 (cf. Hesychios), διασμώντες II 37 (only C's -eω-, P -εο-), σμάται IX 110 (cf. σμωμένην Aristoph. frag. 326 D). σμέονται was a conjecture of Valckenaer in Hdt. VII 209. Hippokr. uses σμήχω.

χρῶς utterest an oracle, Hdt. IV 155 = Attic χρῶς; χρῷ I 55 and 15 times elsewhere; χρῶν IV 155, VIII 135 bis; χρθωσα VII 111 (χρθουσα Ps) fem. of χρέων Hymn I 253 (= II 75), cf. χρήων 6 79; ἔχρη Tyrt. 3, as in Attic.

χρεώμενος consulting an oracle Hdt. IV 151 (P-ee-); χρέσθαι I 157 nll MSS. (χρῶσθαι Stein), χρῶσθαι VII 141 (χρῆσθαι R), χρῆσθαι I 47 nll MSS. (χρῶσθαι Stein); ἐχρέωντο I 53, IV 157 (-eo- BPR), V 82 (-eo- Pr., VII 141 (-eo-P).

χρών (χρή), cf. Epicharmos' ἀτοχρέω, and epic δμακλέω derived from κλή. καταχρῷ Hdt. I 164, ἀτοχρῷ IX 79, ἀτοχρῶσι V 31 (cf. χρεί (χρεί)) δεί in Hesychios, and ἀτοχρέοντι in Archimedes); subj. ἀτοχρῦν (cf. Bekk. An. 4392) Hdt. III 138, VI 137, VII 148, IX 48, 94 (χρείν V 49 (-εών dz), 109 (-εών dz); ἀτόχρα I 66 (-η b dz), κατίχρα VII (στοκτές) αποχρώνος, content, I 37; ἀποχρῶτο I 102 all MSS., VIII 14 (-έστοκτές) - Το other MSS.).

From primitive *\chipf-je-\mu use (\frac{5}{2}\) 167) we have the continuous forme \(\chi\) \(\chi\) \(\chi\) \(\chi\) we have the continuous forme \(\chi\)
¹ Also Kretan: χρεώμεθα Μια. Ital. III 563, l. 32. ⁸χρήρομα may stand for *χρηΓεσιομαι, Kretan χρηθομαι < χρήθοι. Or χρηθομαι may be a causative like the Skt. pylydydfi. It is more probable that we have two distinct forms *χρήμομαι and *χρηείομαι.

χρέονται, ε.g. II 12, 48 (-ω- vulgo), 54, 60, 72, 74, 88 (-ω- vulgo), 246 (-ω- in A, -εω- vulgo), 344 (-ω- A); χρεόμεθα VII 224. Herakleitos 111 has χρέωνται in Bywater, following Bernays, before whose time χρέονται was read. Neither form occurs in the MSS. In Anaxag. 10 Simplicius has χρώνται. χρέωνται is found in Syr. dea 1 (6 MSS., -εο- in E), χρέονται in 4, Arrian 134, 164, Aret. 174. χρώνται is found in Theog. 161, and the MSS. Arrian 2913; χρώμεσθα Herodas 321. χρᾶται occurs 8 times in the MSS. of Hdt. (in I 58 z has -εε-, in III 78 -η-, in IV 50 PR have -εε-); elsewhere there is no variation. χρέσται is found in Aret. 63, 133, 176, 179. The second person singular is χρᾶ, Ionic and κοινή according to the Schol. Ven. A on A 216. Attic is χρῆ.

In the imperfect Herodotos has ἐχρῶτο¹ eight times in all MSS, ἐχρῆτο once (III 41). Variation exists in II 173 (ε. l. -ee-), III 129, VIII 14, 118

(v.l. -ee-), IX 37. έχρητο is found Herodas 6,5, Hippokr. III 106.

Hdt. has $\epsilon \chi \rho \epsilon \omega r \tau_0$, not $\epsilon \chi \rho \epsilon \omega r \tau_0^2$ which is found in P (and in other MSS. occasionally), II 108, III 57, IV 157, V 68, 82, VI 46; Hippokr. has $\epsilon \chi \rho \epsilon \omega r \tau_0$ II 226 ($\epsilon \omega - S^1$, $-\omega$ -gloss, FG). So too Astrol. 7, 23, Euseb. § 4.

In the subjunctive we find χρέωνται, e.g. Hdt. V 87, Hippokr. II 264. The optative is χρέωτο Hippokr. II 346, but (χρῶτο in A and gloss), 358 (χρῶτο

gloss), VII 448.

Imperative χρέω Hdt. I 155 in all MSS, except AB which have χρέο, the reading of Littré in Hippokr. II 516 (χρῶ A), 520 (χρέω AC), VIII 440. Stein and Kallenberg adopt χρέο in Hdt., but the other form is preferable. χρέω is from *χρῆο, *χρήσο. The Attic χρῶ occurs in Herodas 50; χράσθω Hdt. II 123, χρεέσθω Hippokr. VII 176, 182, 184, 216, 234, 244, 246, 288, in VII 168 and VIII 260 (-η- in θ); χρήσθω VII 22 bis, 24 ter, 26, 28, 348 (-ει- v. L), VIII 92 ($C\theta$), 502; χρᾶσθε Hdt. V 92 (α) with -η- in ABd; χράσθων III 81; χρεέσθωσαν

Hippokr. VI 82 is read by Littré (A has χρη-). The ending is late.

χρᾶσθαι appears 22, χρῆσθαι only 6, χρέσσθαι 13 times in all MSS. of Hdt. Elsewhere there is variation (12 times), in 3 of which χρῆσθαι is better attested than χρέσσθαι, and in 3 others better than χρᾶσθαι. [χ]ρΕσθ[αι] Keos 432 may be χρῆσθαι or χρεῖσθαι, of which the former is correct. χρῆσθαι is found in Demokr. 188 (Stobaios, who has χρᾶσθαι in 11), Hippokr. III 236, VI 302, 342, 516, VII 26, 100, 234, VIII 440, to cite passages where Littré adopts this form. In a large number of passages Littré adopts χρέσθαι against the authority of the best MSS. or of the vulgate. A has χρῆσθαι in II 254, 356, 364, 366, VI 72, 74 bis, 78, 80, 84 bis, θ has χρῆσθαι VI 602; chalso III 304, VI 72. The vulgate has -η- in II 78, 180, 268, VI 76. &c. No variant from χρέσσθαι is given in II 30, IV 162, VI 516, 662, VII 168, 176, 190, 330. Littré even reads on the same page (VI 516) χρέσσθαι and χρῆσθαι. Kühn adopts χρέσσθαι in Aretaios 188, 195, 198, 202, 203, 204, 303.

χρεώμενος (cf. χρεώμενος Ψ 834 and Eust. ad loc.) is the correct form in Herodotos. P and sometimes other MSS. have -εο-, ε. g. II 108 PR. χρώμενος is foreign to the dialect of the historian 3. This form in Kallenberg's text I 131 must be an error. χρεώμενος is edited in Herakl. 62 (?), Hippokr. II 62

(-ω- vulgo), IX 404 epist. (vulgo, -εο- v. l.), Abydenos 9 (-εο- v. l.).

χρεόμενος is generally adopted in Hippokrates: II 254 (-ω- A), 260 (-ω- vulgo), 264 (-ω- A), 280 bis (-εω- v. l., -ω- A), 308 (-ω- A, -εω- C), 342 (-εω- τυίςυ,

¹ Cf. Bekk. Anecd. I 42328.

3 It occurs in Sim. Kees 1004.

² Greg. Kor. § 15 cites this form as Ionic: ἐχράοντο ἐχρέοντο τὸ α εἰs ε τρέποντες.

-w-A), 372 (-ew-A, -w-gloss FG), III 102 (-w-v.l.), 364 (D, -ew-S¹, -w-A), VI 72 bis (-ew-vulgo, -w-A, and -ew-GJQ¹, -w-vulgo), 662 (e, where Littre has -w-); Lukian, Syr. dea 55 (-ew-v, A), Astrol. 15, 29 (E), Arrian 122, 282, 2916, Aret. 103, 241, 274, 306, 311.

*ψήςω yields καταψώσα Hdt. VI 61, Hrd. 676 (cf. καταψών Peace 75).

Remarks. On the evidence above adduced we conclude that in the case of ζη-, κνη-, κνη-, κνη-, κνη-, χρη- and ψη-, Ionic builds, with a few exceptions in the forms from χρη-, the inflections from the weak ablant stem in ā. The presence of these stems in ā relieves us of the necessity of regarding the contracted forms in ω as the result of a union of ηω, ηω in ω. The interrelation of the stems χρη-, χρά- and χρε-, and to a less degree that of κτη-, κτά- and κτε- is of extreme difficulty. The most probable explanation is that of the two ablant forms χρη-, χρά- (cf. χραισμέω and κνην, καίω) κτη-, κτά- the γ form appeared originally before ω, that in a before ω sounds a. Thus χρέωνται, ἐχρώωντω, χρώμενω, χρέως ω on the one hand, and χράναι, ἐχράντω, χράνθω, χρόμενως λτίε and he can the original function of the two types. Later on this dichotomy was abandoned and the resulting confusion produced χρόω, χρόμενως Attic and Messenian, χρήνθαι, κτώμενω, κτώνται, &c. r unless we maintain with Schmidt K. Z. XXVII 297 that Attic χρω- is from χρηο- (cf. Ποσειδών <-ηων).

The χρε- forms are historically and morphologically later. They came into existence when χρέομαι, instead of χρήομαι, had established itself in use. From this χρέομαι came Ionic, Rhodian, and Kretan χρέομαι, as δράω became δρέω (§ 688). χρέομαι soon led to χρέεται, έχρέετο, χρέετδαι.

Without the assumption of an original differentiation in use between χρηand χρά-, the shifting between χριώμενοι and χράται in Hdt. cannot be
defended. If we attempt to carry the stem χρη- through the singular present
and imperfect, and infinitive, it is inconceivable why Hdt. does not have
χρῆται and χρῆσθαι. If χρᾶται is not original in Hdt., it was introduced at
a time when Attic χρῆται had been supplanted by χρᾶται.

3. -ωίω.

ζώω theog. 914, ζώεις Hrd. 416, ζώει Hdt. III 22, Hippokr. VI 482, 506. ζώομεν Sim. Amorg. 14 is the traditional form, but the verse will not scan (ζώουσιν Ahrens, Hiller, ζώμεν Bergk). ζώουσι Herakl. 92, Hdt. I 216, II 36,

¹ The existence of an ablaut series η (a), ϵ , ϵ in one and the same verb is not to be accepted with Johansson, who D, C, ρ , 156 (hesitatingly) suggests its possibility. $\pi(\mu\pi\lambda\eta\mu\iota)$ has $\pi\lambda\eta$ -, $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ -, $\pi\lambda\delta$, but of these $\pi\lambda\epsilon$ - is a weakened form of $\pi\lambda\eta$ - before a vowel ($\pi\lambda\epsilon$ -(ων) that was carried into the inflection of the verb by the analogy of $\tau(\theta\eta\mu\iota)$, $\tau(\theta\epsilon\mu\iota\nu)$. See 5.691, note 4.

the verb by the analogy of τίθημι, τίθημεν. See § 691, note 4.

This was not recognized in § 167. The weak point in the above explanation is that original χράται in Attic was supplanted by χράται whereas χράται does not appear in inscriptions till the second century a.c.) and then was driven out by χράται an analogue of τιμάτε. Perhaps χράται was formed like άητο, έγνων.

Meister, Herodas p. 796, thinks that χ_{pq} —became χ_{pq} —before the vowel e when followed by a double consonant. Johansson, B. B. XV 172, suggested (doubtfully) that accent-shifting produced the change (χ_{pq}) heres, χ_{pq}). Neither theory has the support of facts.

Very frequent in Homer. It occurs also in Kretan, Lakonian, Boiotian, North West Greek. Kyprian Zéfηs does not belong here. In Rhodian we find ζώντι, ζώντας, in Lakonian, Delphie, &c., ζώντι, in Boiotian ζώνδι.

III 22; ζώη Thasos, J. H. S. VIII 402, 12; ζώσιμι Theog. 1121, ζώην (?) Hrd. 370, cf. [ζ]ψη 570; ζώων Kallinos 110, ζωύντων Hdt. I 86 (ζώντων Rd), III 119, ζώουσαν Hrd. V 2, ζώοντας Euseb. Mynd. 42; ζώειν Theog. 182, Herakl. 86, Hdt. I 31, VII 46, Hippokr. VIII 70, Hrd. 220, Syr. dea 6, Sim. Amorg. 112 at the verse end (hence Porson's ζόειν); έζωον Hdt. IV 112.

ζώω is well established in the language as early as Homer. From an ablaut perfect # (which chances to occur on a late inscription from Kyzikos C. I. G. 3684, where it is doubtless from (ww), the stem (w- was abstracted. (ώω is not a contracted verb, as πλώω is not. The stem (ω- we find in ζωρός, ζώπυρον, ζώς which was later on enlarged to ζωός [Archil.] 63,, Hdt. I 194, Coor, i.e. Co-10-v, Con (Aret. 41). Con, Coos, Coes, Coes became respectively (6n (Hdt. IV 112, Hrd. I 4, 31), Coos (Archil. 63, Porson), Cour

(Sim. Amorg. 117), Coes Gn Hesychios.

From the stem lδρωσ-1 (epic lδρφ, lδρφ) the denominative lδρωσιω is formed. Cf. epic ίδρώουσα, ίδρώοντας. ίδρώω yields ίδρώει Syr. dea 10, ίδρώη Hippokr. II 34, Ιδρώειν Syr. dea 17, ἐφιδρῶντες Hippokr. V 598 (-ou- vulgo, cf. 594), VI 192 bis (θ, -ov- vulgo). The forms in Lukian may be derived from the future or aorist ίδρω-σ-, but neither Ionic nor Attic admit, in an early period of their existence, such forms as Delphic στεφανώω formed from στεφανώ-σω. From the weaker stem we have ίδροσιω which yields in Hippokr. ίδροῖ II 34, ίδροῦσιν V 610, 626, Ίδρουν ΙΙ 642, Ιδρούτω ΙΙ 516, Ιδροῦν V 588, 596, Ιδροῦντες ΙΙ 612, V 590, 594 ter (A has -ω- once), 596 ter (-ωο- twice in A), 676, 710.

The earlier type of the forms of pryow is derived from the stem prywo- (cf. Latin rigōr-): βιγῶ Hipponax 162, 171, βιγψη Hippokr. VII 190, βιγῶσα Sim. Amorg. 736. βιγέω shows its later origin in the fact that it is constructed in the ordinary fashion from the stem ριγεσ. Examples of ριγέω are ριγοί Hippokr. V 588, βιγέουσι V 624, 626, βιγεῦσι V 112 (Attic βιγοῦσι V 656, 710), βιγή V 706, ριγοῦν Hdt. V 92 (η), ριγέοντες Hippokr. V 588, ριγέοντα V 590, ριγεῦντα V 592 (A), (ριγούντα V 540), ερρίγεον II 642 bis (-our vulgo, -εον C in one case only), 652

(-ovv vulgo).

The Inflection of -aw Verbs.

688.] 1. The original inflection of τιμάω was as follows, e.g. in the present and imperfect indicative:

τιμα-ιω whence τιμέω τιμα-10-μεν whence τιμέσμεν τιμάτε TIMA-IE-IS τιμάς TIMA-IE-TE ** TIMA-IE-I τιμά TIMA-10-VTL τιμέουσι 22 έτιμα-ιο-ν whence έτίμεον έτιμα-10-μεν whence έτιμέσμεν έτιμα-1ε-s €Tlµas έτιμα-ιε-τε etquare. 12 etima-ie **ἐτίμα** ₹T͵€OV " έτιμα-10-ν

Before an o sound, a became e2 in the verb (and noun, § 136) in a very early period of the language3; a substitution of e for a

¹ ίδρώς in post-Homeric is a τ stem. Cf. Hom. γελώω < γελωσίω, γέλω, γέλω. γέλωs is later a τ stem.
² Schmidt, Neutra pp. 326-334.

³ Original α became ε in primitive Greek only before an α sound. In verbs

found in Homeric μενοίνεον (cf. μενοινάαι), δμόκλεον, δμοκλέομεν (cf. δμόκλα), ποτέονται, εκποτέονται (άμφεποτατο), ήντεον, εσύλεον, v. l. E 48, duei- or dupρώτευν, v. l. δ 251. It also appears in many of the dialects known to us only from inscriptions, but has been completely abandoned in Attic, that dialect reinstating the original a by analogy to the other forms (-aet, -aete), and then contracting this a with the following o sound. The process that has thus recalled in Attic the older a forms was also active in the other dialects; and to such an extent that the regular forms with ε0, εω, εου are the exceptions. The impetus towards the reinstatement of ao, aw, aov was vigorous enough and early enough to have left Homer with only a handful of instances in which ϵ has displaced a. The coexistence of such forms as $\tau u d \omega$, τιμέω shows that the original dichotomy has been abandoned. When the dialects diverge in respect of a verb's variation between -aω and -εω, it cannot be said that Ionic always stands on the side of the latter. Hippokrates has aloλάω, Plato aloλέω.

2. The rule appears to be broken in the following forms (see the list given below): alove îν, διαιτέεσθαι, ερέτται (?), ερώτεε (?), μηχανέεσθαι, δρέει, δρέης, δρέης, πηδεῖν, σκορδινέηται, φοιτέεις, φοιτῆ. Of these the only form that may be old is ερέτται (?), which is, however, reported as used by Demokrates, not by Demokritos. The analogy of ερεόμενος, δρέων, &c., introduced the ε in forms where the primitive a was not followed by an o sound. On

(non-Ionic) inscriptions we have timeir and oraveir.

3. In poetry scant traces of ε for a occur: ερέω Archil. 253, 682 (both tetram.), μωμεῦνται Theog. 369, μωμεύμενος 169, κυκεύμενος Solon 375 (trim.), βροντέων Hrd. 765, νικέων 181, φοιτέων 365, πηδεῦντα 366, λωβεῦμαι 366 (cf. -ῆται III 3); διφέω in Krinagoras, Anthol. Pal. IX 559, and σκιρτεῦσι Oppian Kyn. IV 342. While no Ionic inscription has a trace of ε for α in any verbal form, it should be remembered that a φοιτᾶν (Oropos 182) does not disprove a φοιτέω.

4. In the following note are collected from the prose writers those verbs which show any tendency in the MSS. to substitute, before an o sound, ϵ in place of a contracted with that o sound. The examples from Herodotos are complete save that an enumeration of all the MS. variants is not attempted in the case of $\delta \rho \delta \omega$,

in -α-μαι, c. g. δύναμαι, ἐπίσταμαι, ἐπίσταμαι, -εαται (§ 585) is not dissimilated from α-αται, but derived from such perfects as have -εαται <- γεσται (§ 611 ff.). Dissimilation is generally, but wrongly, accepted in ἐπίσται, δύνα-αι, whence δύνη § 605). The 2 sing. follows the analogy of the 3 plur. When δόνα-νται became δύν-ἐσται, δύνα-σαι (Α 393) became δύν-ἐσται. These two persons alone have, or seemed to have, vocalic endings. In Attic both ἐπίσταμαι and δόναμαι contract their 2 sing. (ἐπίστα, ἐδίνω) contrary to the usual practice of μι verba. That the analogy of βούλη helped the formation of δύνη (§ 618, 1) may be doubted.

εlρωτάω and φοιτάω1. All other verbs than those included in the list and those so included in other cases than those specially mentioned, contract ao, aw, and aov to w.

aloveiv Aret. 194, 198. άμιλλεώμενοι Hdt. IV 71 R, -ω- ABCPd. τέοιτο Syr. dea 27. ἀρέομαι Hdt. III 65 Pz, -εω- Cd, other MSS. -ω-, -έονται II 39 Pz, -εω- C, other MSS. -ω-. Kretan ἐπαριόμενον. On ἀρτέομαι, see Veitch βροντέων Hrd. 765. δαπανέωνται Hdt. II 37 CP2, other MSS. --δαπανοΐεν Euseb. Mynd. 6, Aitolian δαπανούμενα (Andania). διαιτέοντο Syr. dea 26, διαιτεομένοισιν Hippokr. II 354, the second hand in R1 (other MSS. -ω-), ἐνδιαιτέεσθαι R in Hdt, VIII 41; -ῶντο VI 514, -ώμενος Aret. 321. διφέω Krinagoras, Anthol. Palat. IX 559. προσδοκίοντας Hdt. VII 156 CPdz, -ω- ABR; προσεδόκεε Aret. 201. έρέω Archil. 253, 682 (both tetram.), a possible form, but not handed down, for épô in Anakr. 31, 89 bis ; épequeros , έρέεται Demokritos (Demokrates) 6. έρεταν v.l. for έρατόν3, Archil. I., έρετή έπιθυμητή Hesychios (without stating the dialect), Delos, 'Αθην. IV 463, Attie in Kumanudes' ἐπιγρ. ἐπιτ. 3037 4, and Arkadian Έρεμένα C. D. I. 1227 are to be derived, not from έρέω, but from έρατός by dissimilation, the α being assailed by an e sound before and after. It is assimilated to the former. elρωτάω in Hdt. shows 6 cases of elρώτων in all MSS., but in I 158, IV 131 no MS. has the contracted form. In 10 other passages there is variation between -ων, -eov or -eov. In the Vita Homeri one MS. has έρώτες, but BPM have ἡρώτα, i. e. Ionic εΙρώτα. In the nom. masc. of the active participle we find -ŵr twice in all the MSS. of Hdt., and twice variation between -ŵr and -έων. -ῶντα VI 86 (γ), IX 55, -ώντων VI 66, -ῶσι I 67, 158, VII 148 occur in all the MSS. Variation exists in V 13, IV 145, 155, III 62, I 47. The statistics of the middle participle are the same as those of the nom. masc. láoμαι yields ἀνιεῦνται Hdt. VII 236, a form constructed on the analogy of the 'Attic' futures. On lyrai, see § 637, I footnote. Hdt. II 95 Pz, -ew- C, -w- other MSS., IV 172 Pd, -ew- Cz, -w- other MSS. κομέουσι Hdt. II 36 ABPC, -oov- R, -ow- d; IV 180 -eov- Pz, -eω- Cd, -ω- ABR (here even Stein accepts κομέουσι). Elsewhere -ω-, except IV 191 -οω- (R -ω-), retained by Stein. In I 82, 195 all MSS. have κομώντες which represents the contraction to be adopted in IV 180, 191, if not in II 36. κομόωσι is as inappropriate as ηγορόωντο VI II (in all MSS, except A B1). KUKÉOVTAS IN three MSS. Hippokr. IX 374 epist.; cf. κυκεύμενος Solon 375 trim. (κυκλευ-Lobeck), but in 1361 eleg. κυκώμενον (κακου- Lobeck and Bergk). λωβέονται Hippokr. IV 158 (-ωνται many MSS.). Cf. λωβεθμαι Hrd. 340. μαργάω (%) in καταμαργέων Hdt. VIII 125. This example may however be a case of variation between μαργέω and -όω (Pindar, Aischylos). Hdt. VIII 6 -ew- d, VIII 52 PR, -w- ABCb, VII 172 CP, -ew- de, -w- ABR, -εόμενοι VII 172 P, -εω- Cdz, -ω- ABR, 176 P, -εω- Rz, -ω- ABC. Cf. έμηχανέατο V 63 (-έοντο Stein). Elsewhere -ω-. -έεσθαι Aret. 192 (-ᾶσθαι Hippokr. IV

On this point, see Spreer p. 13, Merzdorf p. 195. On verbs with long stem vowels such as χρη-, κτη-, see § 687.
 Cod. Pal. ἐρεώμενος, a vicious form. The accus. in δ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγαθὰ

έρεόμενος, τὰ θειότερα έρέεται is suspicious. Orelli conjectured αίρεόμενος, αλρέεται. Cf. Cobet's ήρεθης for ήράσθης in Alkiphron I 18, 3 έρατής Anakr. 94, eleg. Cf. also έραμαι Anakr. 44, έρασμιος Anakr. 20,

Sim. Amorg. 752

⁶ Κληνερέτη l. l. 1648 is an error for -αρέτη.

252, -daova Littré). vikéovou Demokr. 200, vikéov Hrd. 1st. In Aitolian we have runedrous. Hdt. contracts runder 31 times. In respect of Euples, the forms in Hdt. II 36, 37, 65, 66, III 8, 12 are divided between -w, -ev-, -ev-, -ev-. Since Eupda is not classic, the forms with -w- (which are adopted by Stein, Kallenberg) may be explained as derived from Eupdas, abstracted from ξυρήσαι, which seemed to come either from -εω or -εω¹. The only other form of the verb is tupie, on whose -ou- (adopted by Holder), see § 690, 1 (B). δδυνέονται Aret. 141, δδυνέωνται Hippokr. IV 166 in C (-ω- vulgo), but δδυνώνται V 714, δδυνήται II 424 (δδυνάται VII 70, ώδυνάτο V 205). ôpŵ is the better attested reading four times in Hdt. (I 89, 207, V 20, VIII 140 8). In VII 236, only AB support sow. Stein's sow 2 is found only once in all the MSS. (I 111). Hippokr. has ôpie IX 340 (epist.), but ôpie II 314 (in A), Demokr. 185. Hdt. bog correctly, but Lukian, Syr. dea 29, bogen. In the plural (present and imperfect) Hdt. has - ûµer once in all MSS. (I 120), elsewhere (5 times) ABR have -w-, C-ew-, P-eo-. Spéoper occurs in Hippokr. VII 548 (έωρωμεν oulgo), Arrian 1513, but the same form in Melissos 17 is a conjecture of Mullach. In Herakl. 64 it has the authority of Clement. In the third pl. Hdt. has δρώσι I 124 (CP -cw-), 138 (C -cw-). In the subjunctive we find δρέης Syr. dea 32, Aret. 30, spép (?) Hippokr. V 480 (spā A), Syr. dea 32 (elsewhere δρŷ). In the plural we have δρῶσι Hdt. IX 66 (Stein - έωσι with z). δρέωσι appears in Arctaios 187. Imperfect, 1 sing. and 3 pl. in Hdt. 20 times, with Sper to times in all MSS.; elsewhere there is fluctuation between -wr, -twr, -cor, but ABR have Spar 7 times. In the third sing, we have Spa, whereas Hippokr. has tupa II 708; see § 582. Participle: optur, 18 times out of 38 in all MSS. in Hdt. ; sper once (VII 44) in all. Elsewhere A B usually have -ŵr, CP -éwr, while R fluctuates, thus making opéwr attested more frequently than the ew forms elsewhere. Spine Hippokr. III 238 (BMN, -we valgate), IX 332, Astrol. 24, Aret. 10, and Protagoras. Hippokr. has δρών III 256; δρέοντι Aret. 10 (δρ.); δρέοντα is not the better reading in Hdt. (ABR - ωντα, -ew- C, -eo- Pdz), бршта in all MSS. VII 36. бреота Ніррокт. III 214 ВМ, -ew- N, -w- rulgo, and on same page operra; opcorra Aret. 207; the nom. plural (31 times in Hdt.) varies greatly. In VI 68, VII 206 all the MSS, have -wres, and the contraction is well supported in I 82, 96, 99, VII 211. Elsewhere ABR have -w- generally, the other MSS. either -co- (C sometimes -co-), or, when they divide, -eo- Pd and -eo- C. In Demokr. frag. physic. 4 Mullach edits opéorres, but Sextus has -ûrres; opéorres is edited in Hippokr. VI 44, IX 374, -evres IX 358, 376 (-w- many MSS.), and Aret. 42; Speckruw Hdt. III 41 in Pdz only ; ABR-w-, C-ew-; Spert Hdt. I 99 (-ew- CPz) ; Spertax Hdt. IX 37 Pd z, -w- ABR, -ew- C; δρώσα Hdt. I 185, IX 76 in all MSS., VI 61 in A B' Cd; δρώσαν VI 61 in all; δρέουσαι Aret. 167; neuter: δρών Hdt. VII 16 γ (all MSS., Stein opéor), opéerda Astrol. 21; opeoperes Hippokr. IX 382 (epist.), Vit. auct. 5 (-ao- in Ω). Forms with a appear in Alkman, Archytas, and Theokritos. From opude we have - wher Hdt. VII 200 in all MSS., - derto VII 88 in ABR, -ew- Cs, -eo- Pd. Southwest is found 4 times in all except Cs or Cdz, and in 21 other passages - dueres has the support of ABR, -co- of C, -co-

¹ So eldde, abstracted from eldfew, in eldfew Plutarch Mor. 734 E. Sütterlin, Verba denominativa p. 91, suggests that denominative p. 91, suggests that denominative helped the creation of an eldfe. With these late forms in -as, of success in Hippokr., success in Ailian.

³ Greg. Kor. § 15, Et. M. 62120 (dpfw).

It is very unusual for Arrian to accept the e forms.

of P. In 5 other places there is greater variation. Forms in e (or i) occur in Archytas and in Kretan. πειράομαι usually yields -ω- forms in Hdt. except I 46, III 73, 128, IV 3, VII 211, where the MSS. vary between -w-, -co--cwπειρεύμενος appears Hippokr. IX 354 (-ω- many MSS.). In Rhodian we find πηδέων Syr. dea 36, πηδεῦντα Hrd. 326. In Hdt. VIII 118 R has πειρούμενοι. πλανέονται Hdt. II 41 Pz, -εω- C, -ω- other MSS. Elsewhere ἐκπηδέειν. -ω- in Hdt. Astrol. 11, 24 πλανεόμενος, but in Arrian 7, this form is not in the σκορδινέηται Hippokr. VIII 486. Whereas σταθμάω contracts us in Hdt. usually, we have -εύμενος VIII 130, -εόμενος II 150 (-εω- dz), as in Hippokr. VII 532. Since forms from σταθμόω also exist, it is difficult to decide whether the forms in -eo- or -ev- are variations of the -aw verb, or false inflections of a verb in -ow (§ 690, 1 (B)). But so for sw is very rare when from an -ow verb. συλέω appears in a v.l. E 48 (ἐσύλεον ἐσθλοὶ ἐταῖροι for ἐσύλευον θεράποντες). In Xanthos, frag. 1, Müller edits συλοῦσιν which is not in the MSS. We prefer the σιλλοῦσιν of A. Hippokrates IX 406 (epist.) uses συλέοντες of the Krisaians. Cf. the numerous examples of συλέω in Delphic inscriptions. Hrd. has ἐσύλευν Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 31, [Theokr.] XIX 2 συλεύμενον, Quint. Smyrn. I 717 σύλεον. The only evidence in Hdt. for τελευτέω is the reading - έργτας in CPz and Celsus in III 38. Eberhard reads προτελευτέουσιν in Arrian 146, which we think wrong. τιμέων Hdt. VI 39 (all MSS.), but in other passages the open forms are not well attested: -έοντες V 67 Pd, -εω- Cz; -έωντες ΙΙ 37 C; -έωσι ΙΙ 50 CPz; -εόμενος V 20 P, -εω- Cdz. Elsewhere only -ω forms. In 13 Herakl. has τιμέω (Hippolytos), but in 102 τιμώσι. Lukian puts τιμέων into the mouth of Hdt. (de Domo 20), and has τιμέουσιν Astrol. I, τιμέοντες 10. τιμέω is attested in the dialect of Delphi, Phokis, Rhodes, Krete, Agrigentum, and perhaps in Boiotian. τολμέω Hdt. VIII 77 in all MSS., but -ῶντες IV 150, τολμώντων VII 10 in all MSS. Stein edits -co. Hippokr. III 450 and IV 166 (-cw- MN), Aret. 67 have τολμέουσι, Hippokr. IX 332, Aret. 200 τολμέοντα. In the subj. Demokr. 215 φοιτέω occurs in φοιτέεις epist. Thal. 1 (Diog. Laert. I 43), has τολμέωσι. φοιτῶσι Hdt. VII 103 all MSS. (Stein - ϵουσι). In 6 other passages: II 22, 60, 66, III 69, IV 180, 182, the MSS. vary between -έουσι, -έωσι and -ῶσι; φοιτή subj., Aret. 76, 168; φοιτοίη Aret. 285; φοιτέων Syr. dea 15, -έων Hrd. 3es, Hdt. III 6 except in A B, II 174 except BR; φοιτώσα Hdt. IV 116 bis in all MSS.; III 119 -ω- ABR, -εω- C, -εου- Pd; φοιτέον Hippokr. V 646, 652, Arot. 114, but φοιτών Hdt. VII 15 (R -φοιτον); φοιτέοντος Hdt. I 97 (-εω- C); φοιτέοντα Hdt. I 37, VII 126 (-εω- d), Aret. 21 (neut. pl.); φοιτέοντες is certain in Hdt. I 60, but in I 78, 186, II 63, 172, IV 172, VI 49, VII 125 there is variation. In IX 28 - ωντεs is certain; φοιτεόντων Hdt. I 73, VI 125; φοιτέοντας Hdt. I 37. The to forms are therefore well established. It is noteworthy that pointorros, &c. remain open while εΙρωτώντες is closed. έφοίτων Hdt. VII 22 in all MSS., but variation in I 96, IV 1, IX 25, 49; epolreov VI 126 in all MSS. In Asios apud Athen. 525 F we find politernov. pureoview Hdt. IV 2 Pdz, -w- ABR # 10 -εύμενος IV 2 P, -εω- Cdz, -ω- ABR; φυσήται Hippokr. VIII 484, φυσέωνται 320, but -ŵ- in θ; -ŵντες V 598, -ώμενος V 596, 616, φυσῶσι Hdt. IV 2.

 times). Not one of these verbs does not show other forms in which all the MSS. contract a with the following o sound. In general when the MSS. diverge, ABR (Stein's archetype¹, which is however not infrequently deserted by Stein) have -w-, CP the ϵ forms, C having $-\epsilon \omega$ -, P $-\epsilon \omega$ -, $-\epsilon \omega$ - as the case may be.

The problem of the dialect of Herodotos is thus fraught with peculiar difficulties. First it is impossible in certain cases to discover the reading of the archetype, and, secondly, we have to face the question whether the inconsistencies of the archetype reproduce the text of Herodotos. That there should have been such confusion in Herodotos himself as there exists in the archetype in the case of δράω may safely be denied; certainly it would be unparalleled in any other monument of prose literature. Lack of consistency between two different verbs may be admitted, and is a phenomenon known to us from other departments of Greek and from the modern languages. But an absolute diversity of inflection in one and the same verb must be viewed with suspicion. To preserve uniformity tradition must be deserted at some point. Thus if τολμέω is correct in VIII 77, τολμώντες IV 150 and τολμώντων VII 10 would seem to be wrong. Yet both sets of forms have the support of all the MSS. adopts -εo- in the participial forms of τολμάω, while Kallenberg and Holder retain the MS. readings in both cases. In the case of the participle of δράω, all editors would be forced to rely at times upon the slightest MS. support, or to desert the MSS. altogether, in order to adopt a uniform system of inflection.

From a survey of the MS. tradition in reference to the inflection of all the -aw verbs, it will be seen that the burden of proof is thrown on the adherents of the ϵ forms. No less than 38 verbs invariably contract a with a following o sound, and in a large majority of those which show any trace of ϵ (in CPd), the testimony is such that we may fairly conclude that they were contracted. In respect of the others, notably opden, elpurden, φοιτάω, the archetype was in a state of such confusion that we are utterly unable to discover the original readings of an inflection consistent with itself. Thus δρώ, δρώμεν, δρώσα but δρέων, φοιτέοντος, &c., but φοιτώσα would seem to have stood in the

archetype.

With our present evidence it is impossible to demonstrate whether the ϵ forms of CPd are survivals of the original scheme

¹ See footnote, p. 93. We have been unable to compare throughout the

readings of s and r, which undoubtedly deserve a higher place than that accorded them by Stein. Their contractions support those of A B and R.

These are ἐμιλλάομαι, ἐράομαι, δεπανάω, δοκάω, κοιμάω, μνάομαι, πειράομαι, πλανάομαι, τελευτάω, τιμάω, φυσάω. In the case of τολμέω, μηχανάομαι, έρμάω the fluctuation is greater, but the bulk of the evidence tends towards contraction.

of inflection not adopted by the archetypal MS., or whether they are mere errors of $\mu\epsilon\tau a\chi a\rho a\kappa\tau\eta\rho\iota\sigma\mu\delta$. We incline to the belief that the readings in question in P and C (apart from the question of the peculiar $\epsilon\omega$ in C) do not antedate those of AB+Rvs. The attempt has been made to refer C's $\epsilon\omega$ to an original type, but it failed; and was in fact withdrawn (in part) by its author. It is significant, as regards the $\epsilon\omega$ of C, that the hyper-Ionic $\epsilon\omega$ appears in the inflection of nouns in this MS. Cf. § 480. We have little hesitation in regarding the $\epsilon\omega$ as the work of a copyist who thought to give a specially Ionic tone to the inflection of verbal forms. If $\delta\rho\epsilon\omega$ is a genuine form in Hdt, it may have been the exemplar followed in the construction of C's $\epsilon\omega$.

Verbs in -aw in the pseudo-Ionists.

689.] $a + \epsilon$, $\epsilon \iota$ become \bar{a} regularly in the imitators of Herodotos and Hippokrates with but few exceptions (§ 688, 2, 3). In 39 out of 56 verbs a contracts with an o sound to ω . There is no complete agreement between Herodotos and the pseudo-Ionists as to which verbs have ϵ in place of a; nor do the later Ionists agree with each other. Arrian contracts $\delta \rho \delta \omega$, while Aretaios prefers $\delta \rho \epsilon \omega$. When Arrian does not have $-\epsilon \omega$ for $-a\omega$, he contracts. Many of the forms used by him are those which are usually, or invariably, contracted in Herodoteian, as well as in Attic, prose. Arrian has $\delta \rho \omega \omega$ and $\delta \omega$ and $\delta \omega$ of Hdt. The Vita Homeri always contracts. In Herodotos there are 13 contracted verbs which are used in the contracted form by the Ionic writers of the age of Hadrian.

Forms in sv from Verbs in -ow.

690.] In a few $-o\omega$ verbs, and chiefly in those in which the o of the stem is preceded by a vowel or a diphthong, the MSS. of the prose writers contain forms in which oo, oov, and oe are apparently contracted to ϵv . Most of these peccant forms occur in Herodotos, all modern critical editions of whose text are disfigured by their adoption. To cite merely those examples which have the unanimous support of the MSS.²:

^{(1) 00, 00}υ = ευ. (A) A vowel precedes. ἀνδρευμένφ Hdt. I 123, ἀξιεῦμαι V 106, -μεθα IX 26, -μενοs I 199, VII 16 (init.), IX 111, δικαιεῦσι I 133, II 47, III

Johansson, De derivatis verbis contractis pp. 139 ff., but see B. B. XV 174.
 See Spreer p. 17, Merzdorf, Studien VIII 218.

8, IV 186, -εῦντος IX 42, ἐδικαίευν III 79, VI 73, 138, IX 19. -εῦντο III 29, ἐντιεύμεθα IX 26, ἐξομοιεῦντες III 24, ὁμοιεύμενοι VII 50, οἰκηιεύμενοι IV 148, ἐκοσιεύμενοι IV 203. Variations in favour of εν are found in the case of δηιόω (V 89 in r), παρισόομαι (VIII 140 a in R). (B) A consonant procedes. In Hdt. VIII 78 Ps have περικυκλοῦντο, the other MSS. -έοντο (A BCb), οτ -εῦντο (R), and in VIII 16 R has ἐκυκλόοντο, the other MSS. -εύοντο; III 131 μ-σθεῦνται in CPdz, VIII 59 στεφανεῦνται in R. On σταθμεύμενος, ξυρεύμενος, see § 688, 4.

(2) oe = ευ. A vowel always precedes in Hdt. An attempt has been made in certain MSS, to contract oe to ευ: ἐδικαίευ Ι 100 (-ου in A), III 52 and 148 (CPd s, -ου ABR), 118 (C?, s), IV 154 (sz), δικαιεῦν VI 82 (dz). No form has the support of all the MSS.

In Hippokrates we find δικαιέουσι, the vulgate reading, III 524 and 526 (-οῦσιν in 10 MSS.), ἀποπληρέουσιν IV 192 (-οῦσιν gloss F G), πληρεόμενον I 624 (-ου- A), VI 84 (Galen -ω-). Perhaps these forms are from -εω. In VIII 78 Littré edits πλαγιεύμενον where θ has the ου form.

In the pseudo-Ionists we find director Syr. dea 54, dector Euseb. Mynd. 17, 29, deteorras 42, discretiers 63.

All of the above mentioned forms are the result of hyper-Ionizing tendencies which affected even the archetypal MS. of Herodotos. This is certain from the following reasons: (1) Of the verbs in question almost all have many forms, in other passages than those cited, in which oo, oov, oe contract to ov in all the MSS. The remainder show in the acrist or perfect that they are $-\omega$, not $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs. (2) Even if some of these forms can be explained from $-\epsilon\omega$ verbs, this would not apply to such cases as $\delta \delta \iota \kappa \alpha i \epsilon v$ (for $-\omega \epsilon$). (3) In the case where it is known that doublets in $-\omega\omega$, $-\epsilon\omega$ existed, we are prevented by other reasons from assuming the presence of an $-\epsilon\omega$ verb. The rule of Thomas Magister $(\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega)$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$, $\kappa \nu \kappa \lambda i \omega$ $\tau \delta$ $\sigma \tau \rho i \phi \omega$ is not in place. (Cf. Hdt. III 76 and Anakr. 129.)

περιλαμβάνω) is not in place. (Cf. Hdt. III 76 and Anakr. 129.) The forms in εν instead of ov < oo, oov are due to the ignorance of grammarians who did not distinguish between Ionic ov < oo, oov, $o\epsilon$ and Attic ov < oo, oov, $o\epsilon$ and εο. εν thus seemed specifically Ionic. That $ov < o\epsilon$ was not changed to εν in the archetype of Hdt. is evident from the fact that the comparison of an $-\epsilon \omega$ verb deserted the theorist. Εδικαίον had to be compared with $\epsilon \pi o i \epsilon \iota$ ($-\epsilon \epsilon$), δικαιοῦν with $\pi o \iota \epsilon \iota$ ν ($-\epsilon \epsilon \iota$ ν) and not with $*\epsilon \pi o i \epsilon \iota$ ν, $*\pi o \iota \epsilon \iota$ ν. The forms in those MSS, in which $o\epsilon$ is contracted to $\epsilon \nu$, are merely analogues of those in which oo, oov became $\epsilon \nu$ in the archetype.

In three cases in Herodas εν is written for ον: χασκεύση 443, τεμείσα 440, δραμεύσα 564. This εν stands for εον (καλεύσα &c.). The confusion is thus between εν (=εον) and ον, and is different from that discussed above.

MI Conjugation.

In the following §§ attention is directed chiefly to the substitution of the ω inflection for that in $\mu\iota$. This substitution does not occur in the first person present indicative, and in general is such that the older co-exists with the younger conjugation, never abandoning the field to its successor.

691.] Indicative Present. 1. Second Person Singular: διδοῖς (Πίαd Ι 164) Hdt. V 18, VIII 137. Theog. 1162 has the non-epic δίδως, according to the reading of Stobaios (δίδου Bergk). δλλύεις Archil. 272 (the uncompounded verb is poetical in early Greek, and occurs in the present only), προσαπολλύεις Hdt. I 207. περυᾶς is a conjecture for περνάς in Hipponax 52 (cf. frag. 46 and Hesychios' περυᾶς). On εξεπίστεαι Hdt. VII 104, 135, see §§ 605, 688, 1.

2. Third Person Singular: $\tau \ell \theta \eta \sigma \iota$ (Δ 83) Sim. Amorg. 1_2 , Theog. 589, Solon 4_{34} , 13_{62} , 26_2 . $\tau \iota \theta \epsilon \iota$ (N 732) Mimn. 1_6 , 5_7 , Theog. 282, Xenophan. 1_2 (conj.), Hdt. I 113, 133, IV 73 ($\pi a \rho a \tau \iota \theta \epsilon \iota$ in R, other MSS. $-\tau \ell \theta \eta \sigma \iota$ retained by Stein only), V 95, VII 35, Hippokr. I 622. Merzdorf's $\tau \iota \theta \epsilon \epsilon \iota$ is out of place in Hdt. and Homer never has $\tau \iota \theta \epsilon \epsilon \iota$. An uncontracted form is unknown in those forms of $\tau \ell \theta \eta \mu \iota$ which represent the substitution

of the ω for the μι conjugation.

ἴησι (η 130) Xenophan. 17, ἀφίησι Hippokr. II 38, 152, III 256, μεθίησι VIII 310; ἀπίησι Hdt. VI 42 in ABCd (ἀπίει Stein, Abicht, ἀπιεῖ Holder, Kallenberg). ἵει (προΐει Β 752, μεθιεῖ or -ίει Κ 121) occurs in Hdt. as follows: ἀνίει ΙΙ 113, III 109, IV 28, ἀπίει ΙΙ 96, ἐξίει Ι 6, 180¹, 191, II 17, VI 20, VII 124, κατίει V 16, μετίει ΙΙ 70, VI 37, 59. This, the traditional accentuation, is retained by Bekker, Gaisford, Dindorf, Stein, and Abicht. Holder, and Kallenberg (except in II 113) circumflex the forms. The paroxytone accent is often found in the MSS. in the subjunctive. Hippokrates has ἀφίει Ι 616, VI 370, 474 (ἀφίησιν C), VII 56, 572, ἐξανίει VI 46, διίει II 34 (Littré διιεῖ), 38 (διίει ννίσο, διιεῖ Ε, Littré; ἀφίησιν in the preceding line), V 492 (Littré διίει), μεθίει VII 474, 572 ter. ἵστησι Hdt. II 95, V 16, Hippokr. II 28, 32, V 608, 624, 710,

¹ Hence ἀνίη, Cauer 1744 (Abu-Simbel), should not be changed to ἀνίει with Baunack, R. M. XXXVII 472, who sees in this form the verb τω = εξει.

VI 558, 560, 566, 574; lorq Hdt. II 143 (lorara: ABCd, Dindorf, Abicht), IV 103. Bredow would adopt only tornot.

κιρνά (ἐκίρνα η 182) Hdt. IV 52, 66. δίδωσι (ρ 287) Archil. eleg. 16, Solon 13, Theog. 149. Hippokr. V 684, VI 556, Pherek. Leros 48 (?), Hdt. II 2 (-of Rdz), 154, VIII 24. Against 70 occurrences of διδοί, δίδωσι (Dindorf, Stein, Abicht, Holder) cannot maintain its ground in Herodotos 1. debot (I 519, δ 237, ρ 350 2) Miletos 100, Samos 221₁₃, Mimn. 2₁₆, Sim. Amorg. 7₆₄, Hdt. II 29, 48, III 119, and often, Hippokr. II 54, 676 (ἐπαναδίδοι A), VII 8, VIII 282, Pherek. Leros 44, Aretaios 6, 108, Lukian Syr. dea 8 (τίθησι in same chapter).

ρήγνυσι Hippokr. I 616, III 196, VII 486; πήγνυσι II 410, VI 574 (πηγνύουσι same page), ρώννυσι IX 98. σβέννυσι Hippokr.

VII 474 but σβεννύει II 342 (-υσιν R 1, S1, Galen). δεικνύει (Hsd. W. D. 451) Hdt. VII 37.

3. Third Person Plural 3: τιθείσι (Π 262, β 125, and Agamem. 465, ch.) Hdt. I 20, II 91, 96, III 53 (-έασι Stob.), IV 34, 67, VII 197; Attic συντιθέασι IV 23 (-τιθείσι R and the editors), προτιθέασι V 8 (-τιθείσι r). Hippokr. has τιθέασι II 66, 76, 84. In VI 12 A has avarlongs which suggests avarlosies. Lukian Astrol. 7 has τιθέασι.

leîσι (Γ 152) Hdt. I 133, II 36, 87, IV 30 &c., Attie -âσι in àπιâσι I 194 (Rdz) and II 41 in all MSS. (rejected by all later editors except Dindorf). Hippokr. VI 368 has aquaou, 488 ξυνίασιν in θ, and so vulgo IX 332, Lukian Syr. dea 49 ενιάσι, 58 ἀπιᾶσι, 60 bis ἀπιᾶσι or ἀπίασι (in one case ἀπίασι in v, in the other in Aa; Jacobitz edits both forms). In 29 the MSS, have κατίασι. Ιστᾶσι (N 336) Hdt. I 167, II 65, III 24, IV 160, V 16, 27, VI 38, but ἀνιστέασι V 79, in all MSS. (now rejected). Hippokr. V 680 has ἐξιστᾶσι, VI 374 καθιστᾶσι (θ has καθίστασι). Ktesias, Pers. 6, has Ιστώσι, 52 ἀφιστώσι (cf. qz in Hdt. III 24, d in VI 38) with the same transference to the -aw conjugation that we observe in παραπιτυώσι Samos 220 περνάσι Theog. 1215, Hippon. trim. 46, (περνώσι C), cf. 52. On πιμπλάσι see below (note 4).

διδοῦσι (T 265, a 313) Theog. 446, 514, 575, 591, 861, Hdt. II 30, 80 &c., Demokr. 13. The solitary case of -art in Hdt.

Oblet, Mnem. XI 124, says that in compounds we always have so, but the uncompounded or is sometimes found. mapable VIII 14 is one of the few cases of -or, and that in a compound.

^{2 8:807} in Aischylos' Suppliess 1010 is the only occurrence in Attic.

Kirchhoff thinks the verso is interpolated.

3 τιθεῖσι, διδοῦσι, ζευγρῦσι, Ιστῶσι Choirob. 859m (Hdm. II 833m), 8fio. Am. Ox. IV 35622, 35724. Because of the open on the Attionomy in called Ionic by Et. M. 17714, Theodos. Canon. p. 841, Hilgard Bokk. Ancol. 10463). This mistake was not made by Apollonics. by the grammarians as Ionic.

(ἐκδιδόασι I 93 in all MSS.), in view of the occurrence of -οῦσι nineteen times, should not have been retained by Dindorf. διδοῦσι is found in Hippokr. II 80 (ἀποδιδόασιν Littré), VI 60 (διαδίδουσιν A, -όασι vulgo), VII 14, but διδόασι is certain in II 240, VIII 480. The Kowń frequently adopted διδοῦσι (Lobeck on Phrynich. p. 244).

δεικνῦσι Hdt. I 171, IV 8, V 45; δεικνύουσι I 209, II 86 bis (-ύασι ABC1), III 119 (Rdz), IV 168, V 45.

άπολλθσι Hdt. IV 69 but προσαπολλύουσι VI 138. ἐσεργνθσι ΙΙ 86 (-ύουσι Rd; cf. δεικνύουσι ΙΙ 86), κατεργνύσι IV 69. δμνύσι Hdt. IV 105 (-ύουσι Rz), δμνύουσι IV 172, V 7. Cf. δμνυέτω Τ 175, ώμνυε Ξ 278. ώμνυον appears in an Attic inscription after 336 B.C., but our vai is the regular form till the second century B.C. ομνυμι is the only -νυμι verb in Attic inscriptions before 200 B. c. that has passed into the -νω inflection. πηγυύουσι Hdt. IV 72 (-ῦσι R, Dindorf), Hippokr. VI 574-ρηγυῦσι (P 751) Hdt. I 80 (this accent in CP only), -ύουσι Hippokr. V 632. Eurip. Elektra 1323 (anap.) has ζευχνῦσ'. Moiris and Thom. Mag. say that the forms in -vovou are Kouvi.

1. Reference has been made in § 585 to -αται, -ατο for -νται, -ντο, and to -εαται, -εατο. After ν, Hdt. always has -νται, never -αται; -ατο is found once (ἐναπεδεικνύατο IX 58), elsewhere -ντο. ἀπόλλυνται is found in Hippokr. V 676,

Syr. dea 47, διασκεδαννύαται Euseb. Mynd. 63.

2. The accent of the 3 singular Present. In the above list of forms from post-Homeric Ionic the MS. accentuation has been retained. Barytone forms occur only in the compounds of Ιημι, as in Homer?, who has aries E 880, μεθίεις Z 523, δ 372, προίει B 752 (and Hesiod frag. 202), μεθίει K 121 (Ven. A &c.), but τιθεί α 192, N 732 (τίθει has slight support), διδοίs I 164 (Aristarchos), διδοΐ I 519, δ 237, δαμνά λ 221. Later modern editors, where they do not adopt the μι forms, edit -εῖs, -εῖ, except in the case of μεθίειs δ 372 (La Roche, Ludwich).

Though there is no τιθώ or lώ, τιθεῖν in Theog. 286 and συνιεῖν in 565 show that both verbs have passed into the -ew inflection . The perispomenon accent should therefore be introduced in Ionic texts in all cases, even in that of Inu, as there is no good reason why the present should be formed from %, while the imperfect is formed from i.e. The paroxytone forms

¹ Cf. Et. M. 177₁₇. Athenag. and Thom. Mag. support δεικτύασι here.
² La Roche on E 880, H. T. K. 225, Zeitschr. f. oesterr. Gymn. 1876, p. 584 ff., von Bamberg, Zeitschr. f. Gymn.-Wesen XXVIII 28, Ahrens, Conjug. auf μι § 8 (= Kl. Schr. I 14), Cobet, Misc. Crit. 281, Monro, Hom. Gram. § 18.
³ Also in 1237 by Lachmann's conjecture, adopted by Bergk.
⁴ Cf. also 2xiloun Gorgias 500 B (-nv is the better reading) and in late Greek.

⁴ Cf. also ἐτίθουν Gorgias 500 B (-ην is the better reading) and in late Greek.

⁵ G. Meyer, Gram. § 71, says merely that if ἀνίεις, ἀνίει are correct, their accents are due to those of φέρεις, φέρει (cf. Modern Greek δίδω, δίδεις, δίδει). Blass, Gram. § 286, accepts only the paroxytone accent as correct, but his explanation is as faulty as that of Ahrens. That there should be any parallelism between τίθει, δίδοι and the Aiolic forms, the latter should be rhortened. And σ. resibilited from σ. does not lose its σ. If the shortened. be shortened. And σ_i , assibilated from τ_i , does not lose its σ . If the

may be explained as possibly due to one or more of several reasons, (1) Influence of the accent of $\tau l\theta \eta s$, ηs &c., supported by a misapplied reference to the fact of the late shifting between η (η) and ϵ . (2) Influence of the accent of ribers, Term, supposing the survival of a knowledge of this original accentuation; see under 3 below. (3) The difference in the MSS. between the paroxytone accentuation of Inui and the perispomenon of other mi verbs might be explained as due to a mistaken tendency to equate the present with the imperfect; since these two tenses, in the case of Inpu alone, are alike, apart from the quantity of the augmented syllable. Cf. wpoles A 326 and 336, B 752 and F 118, imperfect and present. (4) Confusion with elm 1 may have assisted the vicious accentuation in the singular. In the plural we find cases of -last (sic) in Hippokrates (rarely), Lukian, and Athenaics. That the transformation of Inu to Iw has been accomplished in late Greek is beyond doubt. Cf. apeloner = aploner in the N. T. and on an inscription from Ampa, C. I. G. 2131 B 15. The difficulty lies in the substitution of to for Ίημι in an early period of the language?. He for Ίημι would be parallel to to for elul, but Is lacks analogies. If genuine, Is took its rise in the indicative, not in the optative; for, in Ionic at least, apriore could suggest only ites, not To which might be sought in Attic aφίσιτε. At all events the existence of To once assumed, Eirie and peperipéros (§ 701, 3) were constructed from the stem l, and eventually displaced the genuine gurles and peperesperos. gurle-re, it may be remarked, could be analyzed as Eur-l-e-re.

3. The accent of the 3 plural Present. The original forms of the 3 plur. of τίθημι and δίδωμι, *τίθατι and *δίδατι (cf. Skt. dadhāti and dadāti), were supplanted in primitive Greek by tleert, and bleert (retained in Doric). Their direct descendants would be ribeioi and biboosi, which may have been thus accented in Homer 3. So too phyrion from *phyrion. When -rv-ast < -rv-ast. had displaced the older ending of the verbs in -rupu, -act was transferred thence to ribeisi &c., and ribeasi, didoasi, *lordasi came into existence. *lordaσι became loraσι, and in its train followed τιθείσι, διδούσι, βηγνύσι, i. c. the accent of lovage was adopted, the form of ribees &c. retained. See Osthoff, M. U. IV 289.

paroxytone forms are correct, I should find in &idover the cause of the perispomenon; for διδούσι is apparently - δηλούσι. Then dries could follow as an analogue of 8:802.

¹ Frequent in cod. C of Hdt. in the imperfect. Cf. Hippokr. II 686 (8dec, Sufer, Helt. V 107 (dwler, dwfer) and in many other places. In the subjunctive the interchange of the forms of the two verbs is especially common in the MSS. The existence in late Greek of a present to and etc., by-forms of elm, also brought with it the possibility of confusion with fam. Cf. the following glosses of Hesychios: προσίει, ἀπίει, ὁπαπίει, ὑπεξίει, διίσται, Ισται, προσίεμεν and πρόσιμεν; ἐνεῖτο (Cauer¹, no. 30', εἰσίεις (C. I. G. IV 9540', ἐνσείηι = εἰσίηι Gortyna Code, V 36. Homeric leiην, though probably an analogue of εἰδείης, presents a resemblance to lelay. Scholars who accept deles in the present indic. in Hdt., accept, as a rule, awiy in the subj. But Bredow and Blass defend both anies and anig.

Evenor v. l. A 273.

Holder adopts the proparoxytone accent even in Hdt. The MSS. of Holder adopts the proparoxytone accent even in Hdt. The MSS. of Homer (cf. Schol, Ven. A on r 152) and Hdt. have the circumfiex forms. Traces of the acute are very slight. We are ignorant of the accent of the Homeric period, and when, if correct at all, -eigi, -eigi, -eigi were changed to -eior &c.

^{*} Cf. Skt. -nur-anti, and nu-anti = vf-arti.

4. πίμπλημι has four sets of forms in Ionic. (1) πίμπλημι in εμπίτληκε Hippokr. VII 10, cf. Hesiod frag. 1732 and W. D. 301 (MSS.) where murking is now unnecessarily read; έμπιπλεῖς Hippokr. VII 26, πιμπλεῖσαι in Hesiod, Theog. 880 is the preferable reading (MC) to πιμπλεθσαι (Va) = - έουσαι. εμπίπληθι or έμπίμπληθι Φ 311 is formed like δίδωθι. πίπλη was Doric and Attac (cf. Suidas s. v.). Forms containing πλά, weak ablaut form of πλη: ἀνανίμπλαμεν Hdt. VI 12, πίμπλαται Hesiod, Scut. 429, Hippokr. VII 8, 22, 30, 100, 244, Hdt. II 93, Aret. III, ἐπίμπλατο Hdt. III 108 (-έετο PRz) as πίμπλαντο δ 662, κ 248, υ 349. (ἐπιμπλέατο for -πλαντο occurs in Hdt. III 88; Dindord, Abicht -πλατο). Εμπιπλάσθω Hippokr. VII 30, πίμπλασθαι Hdt. II 93, Εμπιπλάμενοι Ι 212, VIII 117. Cf. πιμπλάνεται Iliad 1 679. (2) πίμπλαμι in πιμπλάσι Φ 23, Hdt. II 40, έμπιπλασι IV 72, αποπιμπλάναι II 129. (3) πιμπλάω in έμπιπλώντα Hippokr. VII 20 (-άντα in θ; cf. Republic 586 B), πιμπλώσαι V 344. Cf. πιμπλάω in Plutarch, Diodoros, Dio Cass. (4) πιμπλέω in ἐμπιπλεῖ HdL VII 39 (-έει R, -πίπλα Stob., -πιπλά Maximus), Hippokr. VII 18 (-πιπλά J supra lin.), the same treatise as that containing έμπιπλείς, έμπιπλώντα or -άντα. Some forms cannot be referred positively to one of the above classes, s.g. πίμπληται Hdt. VII 37 (-ήται Pcorr., ε), εμπίπληται Hippokr. VII 30 (6, -ήται Littré), πιμπλώνται VI 202.

Whatever the relation of $\pi i \mu \pi \lambda \eta \mu \iota$ (with pan-Hellenic η) and $\pi i \mu \pi \lambda \tilde{a} \mu \epsilon r$ is Skt. piparmi, pipymas, and the probability or improbability of the existence in Indo-European of an inflection $-\eta \mu \iota$, $-\tilde{a} \mu \epsilon r$, there is no doubt that $\pi i \mu \pi \lambda a \mu \epsilon r$, $\epsilon \pi i \mu \pi \lambda a \tau o$ &c. were regarded as parallels of $I \sigma \tau \tilde{a} \mu \epsilon r$, $I \sigma \tau \tilde{a} \tau o$. Hence $\pi i \mu \pi \lambda \eta \mu \iota = I \sigma \tau \eta \mu \iota$, with Ionic-Attic η , and $\pi \iota \mu \pi \lambda d \omega$ ($I \sigma \tau \tilde{a}$). Dindorf indeed would adopt in Hdt. only the forms from $-\tilde{a} \mu \iota$, $-a \omega$. The analogy with $\tau i \theta \eta \mu \iota$, on the other hand, led to the type $\pi \iota \mu \pi \lambda \epsilon \omega$ ($I \sigma \tau \tilde{a}

5. πίμπρημι is inflected like ἴστημι in ἀντενεπίμπρασαν Hdt. V 102, ἐμπιπράι VIII 109, ἐμπιπραμένου I 19. ἐνεπίμπρη I 17 recalls the v.l. ἐμπιπρείε (A B) in VIII 109 and ἴστη, which is not above suspicion. Dindorf (Praefatio XXXVIII) would read -πίμπρα.

692.] Imperfect. 1. ὑπερετίθεα (1 Person) Hdt. III 155.
2. Improper 'uncontracted' forms of the 3 Person are προετίθεε Hdt. I 206 (R alone has a different reading: προετίθετο), VIII 49. Following Bredow, the recent modern editors (Stein, Abicht, Kallenberg, and Holder) wrongly edit περιετίθεε in VI 69 against all the MSS. (περιετίθει: adopted by Dindorf). Homer has ετίθει, never -εε. ἀνίεε is found in IV 125 (R correctly ἀνίει, and so the editors), ἀνίει IV 152, ἀπίει IV 157, V 42, 107, ἢνίει Hippokr. V 414, ἢφίει V 228 (cf. ἀφίει C. I. A. II 306₁₅—287 B.C.).

Τστα Hdt. II 106 (R τστη), VI 61, κατίστα VI 43, but ἀνίστη
I 196, ἐνίστη II 102. Dindorf edits τστα throughout, Stein,
Abicht (except in II 102), Kallenberg, Holder (τστη in II 106)
retain the MS. readings. Bredow would adopt τστη throughout.

¹ Cf. Brugmann, M. U. I 44, Gram. § 115 c, Grundr. II, p. 935, Bechtel, Laudlehre, pp. 191, 242, Fröhde, B. B. IX 119, Collitz, B. B. XVIII 217 note.

Homer has duloty, but loty and kablota in the imperative. A like variation is not to be denied to Herodotos.

έδίδουν Hdt. VI 86 a (first person), Hippokr. V 126, VIII 446 (third), ἐδίδου Theog. 916, Hdt. I 208, III 128 &c., Hippokr. V 158, IX 380, as C. I. A. II 811 C 110, 323 B.C. Homer has **રે**ઠેઠિંગ્ડ, રેઠેઠિંગ્ડ.

έδείκυυε Hdt. I 112, II 162, IV 150, cf. § 699; εζεύγυυε (cf. T 393) Hdt. IV 89. The third plural has ετίθεσαν Hdt. I 144, legar IX 135, Hippokr. III 94 &c., edelkrugar Hdt. I 30, II 144, ΙΧ 80, not έδείκυυου, έζεύγυυσαν (Ω 783) VII 33, 36, επεζεύγυυου VII 36, ἀπώλλυον Hippokr. VII 576.

693.] Aorist. 1. Forms with κ 1 are έθηκα Archil. 742, Solon 1322, 3613, Theog. 196, Sim. Keos 120, &c., Hdt. I 113, IV 196, ανέθηκαν Olbia 12911 (late), Naukratis 139 C 3 (fourth century); ἐθήκαο Hdt. VII 15, -ατο I 26, V 69 (Lukian, Syr. dea 25), -αντο Hdt. II 160, IV 65, VI 21, 108, VII 125, IX 53, θηκάμενοι Theog. 1150. Cf. θήκατο K 31. ἐξυνῆκεν Anakr. 146; cf. Alkaios ἐσυνῆκε; ἐπῆκαν Hdt. VII 176 &c., μεθῆκε Hippokr. VII 570, μετῆκαν Hdt. V 120. ἔδωκαν Hdt. I 89, Sim. Amorg. 722, Theog. 813, 1057.

2. Second Aorists are έθεσαν Archil. 96 eleg., Bechtel no. 261 of uncertain provenance, Miletos 93, 94, Keos 40 (avH0Hoav), Hippokr. VI 486, ἀνέθεν (poetical) Sim. Keos 1342. έδοσαν Theog.

272, 463, Iasos 1058, Hdt. VI 21. Middle έθευ Hdt. VII 209.
3. Aorist Passive: ἐθέθην Kumai, Roberts I 174=ἐτέθην Hdt. IV 45, μετείθη Ι 114, ἀπείθην VII 122.

694.] Perfect. προέστατε Hdt. V 49 (-έατε z). έστασι occurs over 20 times in Hdt. without any variant; hence we may correct ἀιεστέασι III 62, κατεστέασι I 196 (CP, other MSS. -εστεαται for -εστανται2), II 70 (-εασι 2), II 84 (-εασιν C), IV 63 (-ۉσι d). Mimn. 12₁₀ has ἐστᾶσι (-εστήκασι 2₆) Pluperfect έστασαν Hdt. IV 79.

τέθειμαι (by analogy with είμαι) is foreign with Attic inscriptions; but in a Smyrnaian inscription (Dittenb. Syll. 171), we find συντέθειμαι l. 62, 71, 93, with which cf. Kretan προεκτεθείμεθα. The Smyrnaian inscription cannot be regarded as Ionic evidence, though it contains not a few non-Attic forms.

àréωιται 3 Hdt. H 165 contains the ω(η) ablaut of lημι trans-

¹ Attic inscriptions employ, with rare exceptions, till 300 n.c., the forms without κ in the dual and plural.

 ² δσταμαι is very unusual Plato, Polybios.
 ³ Cf. Hdn. II 236_j = Et. M. 176₄₅. The Et. M. and Et. Gud. 96₁₁ call the emforms Attic. Suidas (s. v. ἀφείκα) says that ἀφέωκα is Doric, but also used by the Ionians Herodotos). Bukk. Anecd. 470₁₄ calls ἀφέωκα Doric, ἀφείκανα Attic. Hdn. compares πέντηκα πέντωκα with δηκα δωκα. δωκα would be paralleled by refusa, which might have been the exemplar for merrusa.

ferred from the active ξωκα to the middle. Cf. ἀνξώσθαι Herakl. Tables I 153, ἀφεώσθω Arkadian C. D. I. 122214, ἀφέωνται in Matthew IX 2, 5, Mark II 5, Luke V 23.

Hdt. has elsewhere -ει-: ἀνείται II 65 (Hrd. 456), ἀπείτο VIII 49, ἀνειμένοι II 167, VII 103, μετείσθω IV 98 from *έε-ται &c., but μεμετιμένος (§ 701, 3). Bredow regarded ἀνέωνται as a Dorism and wished to read ἀνεῖνται.

695. Subjunctive Present. 1. Singular. The MSS, of Herodotos have -ίη, not -ιῆ, in the 3 sing. of ἴημι (ἀπίη IV 190, ἐπίη VII 161, παρίη III 72), and Hippokr. has ἀφίη VI 24, μεθίη VI 222, VII 474, ανίη VII 56 (-ίη Ε Ηθ, -η vulgo). The perispomenon accent is correct, since the plur. is ἀπιέωσι. In Attic there are a few instances of -ly in the books. In Theog. 94 the MSS. have ἴησι, for which we substitute ίησι with Bekker, not iησι with Bergk. Homer has μεθίησι N 234. ἴστημι yields ἀνιστη Hdt. VII 53. From δίδωμι we have διδφ Theog. 186, Hdt. II 13 (MSS. -οί, cf. Hrd. 259, Aret. 26 where the analogy of the -όω verbs gives us διδοί), Hippokr. II 142, 260, όμινη

Thasos, J.H.S. VIII 402, 15.

Middle: ἐνίστηται Hdt. VI 59, παραδιδώται III 117 (-δίδωται R)¹. For ῥηνύηται Hippokr. VII 26, the older form is ῥήγνῦται Hipponax 194, the plural of which is ρήνυνται Hesiod Scutum 377.

See § 618, 1, a.

2. Plural. ἀπιέωσι Hdt. VII 226 (ἀφίωσι R). Dindorf's ἀπίωσι

is wide of the mark. διδώσιν Theog. 45, Hdt. III 45 &c.

Middle: προτιθώμεθα Hdt. V 18 in all MSS. (-εω-?), ἀναπτήσθε IV 132 (ἀνάπτ- Holder), ἐπιστέωνται ΙΙΙ 134, ἀφιστέωνται Ηippokr. VIII 280, but καθιστώνται in θ, same page. On δυνεώμεθα, see \$ 618, 1, 6.

696. Subjunctive Second Aorist. 1. Singular. (1) προσ- $\theta \not \in \omega^2$ Hdt. I 108, Hippokr. II 346, 358 ($\theta \hat{\omega}$ in Hrd. 5_{13} , 7_{113} (?) should be $\theta \not \in \omega$). $\partial \phi \not \in \omega$ Hipponax 75, Hrd. 5_{74} , $\pi a \rho a \hat{\omega} \hat{\omega}$ Hdt. V 106. (2) $\theta \hat{\eta} \hat{s}$ Theog. 276, Hrd. 5_{13} , $\partial \phi \hat{\eta} \hat{s}$ Hippokr. VII 30, $\partial \hat{\eta} \hat{s}$ Theog. 244, δφ̂s Hdt. III 53. (3) προθη̂ι Teos 158 $_{7}$ (late), προσθη̂ Hdt. VI 109, μεθη̂ Hippokr. VII 570, 572, ἀφη̂ 572, VIII 112, -στη Hdt. VII 53, VIII 130, Hippokr. VI 368, -βη̂ Theog. 974, 1014, Hdt. II 13, 68, VII 209, δφ Theog. 1385, γνφ 990, ἀλφ Hdt. I 84. For ην...δώη Hippokr. II 256 (cf. 318) rend εί...δοίη.

(4) Middle: -θέωμαι Hdt. V 24 &c. (and so to be read Hrd. 8₉ for θώμαι), -θη VI 109, -θηται Halikarn. 238₃₃, Hdt. I 29, &e., -δώται Erythr. 2045.

2. Plural. (1) θεώμεν Hdt. III 81, στέωμεν Hdt. IV 115,

In this accent nothing Ionic is to be sought: it is the ordinary variation from Herodian's rule. ² Cf. Hesychios s, v.

Hippokr. VI 112, -βέωμεν Hdt. VII 50, -δώμεν V 91. (2) -δώτε IX 87. (3) θέωσι IV 71, -στέωσι I 155, III 15 (but φώσι IV 68), δώσι Solon 139, Hdt. VI 133, &c., ձλώσι II 93.

(4) Middle: θώμεθα Theog. 983 should be θεώμεθα; -θέωνται

Hdt. I 194, VII 191, VIII 4.

697.] Subjunctive Aorist Passive. $\epsilon \omega$ is left open in the 1 and 3 plural (exceptions are to be corrected, § 634, 2), while $\epsilon \eta$ is always contracted in prose and poetry. Hippokrates agrees with Herodotos.

698.] Optative. διδοίη Hdt. I 86, Hippokr. II 168, VIII 480, -διδοί VII 562; δοίην Hdt. IX 111, δοίη IX 94, δοίητε (not δοίτε) VII 135 (cf. φθαίητε VI 108), δοίεν Hippokr. II 240 but δοίησαν Hrl. 31, γνοίη Hdt. I 134, IV 74, γνοίησαν Hippokr. I 622; ἐπείη Hdt. III 113; ἀποδεικνόοιμεν II 15; καθεστήκοι

Hippokr. IX 380.

τιθείμην Tyrt. 121; προθείτο Hdt. III 148 is opposed by προσθέοιτο I 53 bis, ὑποθέοιτο VII 237. In III 41 Aldus ὑποτίθοιτο was adopted by Bredow, Dindorf, and Abicht. προθείτο is abandoned by Bredow, Krüger, Abicht, and Kallenberg, retained by Bekker, Dindorf, Stein, and Holder, but not to the exclusion of -θέοιτο. The latter's εοι recalls Hom. εοις, εοι, and ἐνέοι in Hdt. VII 6, where οι from the ω verbs is added to the stem. If Attic -θοίτο, &c. are formed, as Curtius, Verbum II 107, maintains, by the substitution of o for ε, Attic and Ionic adopted different methods of breaking down the μι inflection. Rather than accept such a conclusion, we prefer to explain the Attic forms as arising from εοι.

ξυνιστώτο occurs in Hippokr. VI 82. In Hdt. IV 166 Schweighäuser read ἐπανίσταιτο (for -ξαιτο Λ Β, -ξατο C P R).

699.] Imperative. 1. Present. τίθει (A 509) Archil. 561 (vulgo), Hippokr. VII 440, VIII 170, 380. Archil. 43 has ίστη as Φ 313 (καθίστα Ι 202); δίδου Theog. 4, 1303, Hdt. III 140. As if from ἵω, ξύνιε Theog. 1240 (better ξυνίει, as α 271. Buttmann, Gram. I 523), but ξυνίετε Archil. 50, as Kratinos II 123, Peace 603. δλλυ' Archil. 272 shows that the με form may be abandoned even before a short vowel.

Middle: τίθεσο Theog. 1096, ἐπίστασο Hdt. VII 39, 209.

Second Aorist. στῆθι Theog. 1366, ἐπίβα 847, μέτες Hdt.
 37, 39.

1 The long s is due to the confusion, which began as early as Homer (\$\triangle 234)

with fleual Hdt. II 70, IX 78).

² Cf. δείκτυε Hesiod, W. D. 502, Plato, Xenoph., Demosth., &lektrus, &febyrus 5 692, 2. &δείκτυεν Babrios 50, 10, Antiphon, &c., δμυνότω Τ 175, δμυνότων Attic inscriptions (δμυνόι Theog. 1195), δμυνον μ 303, 0 437, σ 58, Thukyd., Attic inscriptions, δμυνο κ 345, τ 288, Lysias, Babrios 50, 6.

Middle: ἔνθεο 1 Theog. 1321, ἔξεο Hdt. V 39. 3. Perfect. ἐστάτω Tyrt. 1128, μετείσθω Hdt. IV 98.

700. Infinitive. 1. -vai is the termination of the (a) Present, e.g. είναι (§ 709), τιθέναι, ίέναι, ἱστάναι &c., σβεννύναι Hdt. II 66, μιγνύναι Hippokr. VII 142, VIII 502, δμινύναι Hdt. IV 68, ζευγνύναι IV 189, δεικνύναι II 148, Theog. 771, κιρνάναι Ηιρροκτ. VIII 244 (-âναι CGK). (b) Second Aorist. θεῖναι Hdt. IV 179, Theog. 577, κατεῖναι Hdt. VII 35, δοῦναι Theog. 561, 861 (from θεΓεναι, έΓεναι, δοΓεναι) 2 ; -δρῆναι Aret. 112. (c) Aorist Passice. τεθῆναι Hdt. II 42, Iasos Mitth. XV 154, l. 2, 4, φανῆναι Hippokr. I 624. (d) Perfect. ἐστηκέναι (rare) Hippokr. VIII 498, in Demosthenes and Attic inscriptions (C. I. A. II 812 C 149). Older forms are: ἐστάναι Hdt. I 69, &c., Hippokr. III 324, -βεβάναι Hdt. III 146, V 86, τεθνάναι I 31, Sim. Amorg. 31 (the trimeter ends τεθνάναι χρόνος), Amphipolis 1010.

In Mimn. 210 the MSS. have αὐτίκα δή τεθνάναι βέλτιον ή βίστος. Bergk, following Bach, read αὐτίκα τεθνάμεναι, Cobet (Var. Led. 390, cf. Mnem. XI 124) suggested abrika δη θάνατος—not a felicitous emendation (cf. Tyrt. 10). Stephanus conjectured τεθνάναι. It is, however, possible to retain the MS. reading, since, though θν usually makes position, it need not do so. CL Sim. Keos 992 (eleg.): οὐδὲ τεθνασι θανόντες, ἐπεί σφ' αρετή καθύπερθεν and τεθνάσιν Septem 805. Cf. Fick, B. B. XIII 175. τεθνάναι is well supported in Theog. 181 (dehln, -dras beform, -duevas A), and by a passage in the Agamesesan (539)3. (We demur to Fick's displacement of τεθνάμεναι, Tyrt. 10, by τεθναναι. See below 3, note.) The evidence of the grammarians in favour of τεθναναι is all late and therefore untrustworthy, but the form is nevertheless correct. τεθνάναι is from τεθνά-Γεναι (as άῆναι from ἀη-Γεναι), not from τεθνά-ναι (Renner) or τεθνη-εναι (Paley), both of which had given - ηναι in Ionic. τεθνάναι is a younger form, since it contains the ending -ναι, which was abstracted from the forms containing - Feval. No form in -yas (present, norist, or perfect) is archaic. -van usurped the place of the older -uev.

2. -ειν (by transference to the ω conjugation): τιθεῖν Theog. 286, Oropos 1826, 41-42, συνιείν Theog. 565, and 1237 by Lachmann's

¹ Cf. Tzetz, Exeg. Il. 1189.
² From these aorists and from léναι, the -ναι form spread, usurping the place of the older -μεν. Thus $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\mu$ εν preceded $\tau\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ αι; otherwise we should have had a form τιθήναι.

³ χαίρω τι' τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ θεοῖς, where Hermann has χαίρω θεοῖσι τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἀντερῶ, Dindorf χ. τι' τεθνάναι δ' οὐκέτι ἀ. θ.; Enger χ. γε ἀς. Ahrens, Philologus, Suppl. I 539, defends the genuineness of the MS. reading, which is not to be impeached because of the presence of this archaism.

Et. Gud. 637, (appendix), schol. Frogs, 1012, Thom. Mag. 355, Hort. Adon. 186, Drakon 3913, 10825.
 See Hermann on Agam. 517 = 539.
 Whatever the relations of the inf. in -εν to that in -εν, the suffix -εν did not hold over into a later period of the dialect. Johansson's defence (D, V. C. 202) of I. E. en in Thasian ΟΦΕΙΛΕΝ (Bechtel, no. 7111) is vitiated by the parallel ΑΡΟΔΩΣΕΝ C. I. A. II 804 A 33 (334-33 B. c.), the last Attic inscription containing E = et.

conjecture for συνιδεῖν; καθιστᾶν Hippokr. VIII 498 (cf. lστᾶν in Eust. on N 745), διδοῦν Oropos 1821, 320 Theog. 1329 (διδόντ MSS., διδοῦν '1 Hermann). ζωννύειν Hippokr. VIII 144, σβεννύειν Herakl. 103 (-ύναι Cobet) and in Diogenes' (IX) Life of Herakleitos § 2 (-ύην L, -ύναι M, Cobet). In the agrist we have μεταδοῦν Theog. 104 (Buttmann). We do not accept the clision, though it is indicated in many MSS. and attested elsewhere. When διδοῦν was substituted for διδόναι, δοῦναι gave way to δοῦν (cf. δόμεν, δόμεναι). δ' οῦν has been emended to δοῦν in Phoinix of Kolophon (12). Parmenides (66) has φῦν, an Erythraian inscription (Berichte der Wiener Akademie 1872, p. 335 f.) προστᾶν, Isyllos of Epidauros ε[πι]θῆν, Hesychios φᾶν λέγειν 3. ΕΙΔΕΙΝ, Epidauros C. D. I. 3325₁₁₈, is regarded by Prellwitz as = εἰδέναι. We expect the agrist however. Cf. the Aiolic inf. pass. ἀντέθην, &c. On εῖν see § 709. 3. -μεναι is foreign to classic Ionic prose.

-μεναι is found occasionally in MSS. of Hdt., e.g. εστάμεναι I 17 (in all MSS. except A), ἀπιστάμεναι I 76 (Cds), IV 189 συζευγνόμεναι (d). The pseudo-Ionists affect the form, e.g. Aretaios ἀπελθέμεναι 10, ἀπελθέμεναι 45, οίδαλεηθέμεναι 207, and in θέμεναι 332, where its appearance would be more justifiable. From είμί we have ξμεναι 68, 75, ξμμεναι 11, 37, 38, 39, 47, 53, 97, 151, and Lukian, Syr. dea 4, 10, 14, 15, 17, 18, 33, 35, 40, Astrol. 26. In fact, while Arrian refuses to adopt ξμμεναι, both Aretaios and Lukian prefer it to είναι thus making of it one of the most strongly marked hyper-Ionisms of the late Ionic literature. Apart from these traces in Ionic, μεναι scarcely exists in prose: ἀλεξέμεναι in the Spartan treaty preserved in Thukyd. V 77 is a poetical, not a Lakonian prose form. Hesychios has γισάμενα είναι for which γισάμεν should be read. είμεναι in Δάλατα, 775 is not a Megarian prose form, whatever else it may be.

In the lyric (but not iambic) poets of Ionic birth -μεναι occurs rarely: ξμμεναι Phokyl. 9, 14, 16 (είναι 12), μεναι Evenos of Paros 91 (μεῖναι Fick) with εἶναι in verse 2, τιθέμεναι Anakr. 91 (-μενοι Göttling, Hiller). Of the non-Ionic poets, Theognis uses -μεναι in θέμεναι 152, ἴδμεναι 221, φυλασσέμεναι 806 τεθνάμεναι 181 (in A only). [Solon] 1339 has μμεναι. In 22, Bergk edits εἶπέμεναι, following the scholiast and Proklos on Imaios 25 F. Aristotle, Rhet. I 15, who also quotes the passage, has, however, εἶπεῖν μοι (cf. Hdt. VIII 68 a), and this is correct. The longer form was taken from Ξ 501 (εἶπέμεναι μα) and the pronoun

¹ διδούναι is an uncouth form handed down in 1 415, where see Leaf. A parallel instance appears to be διδεύναι δήσαι in Heavelines (διδεύν); but cf. διδέονσαι Delphi, Cauer 22013.

cf. διδέουσαι Delphi, Cauer 220₁₃.

B. C. H. XIII 315, no. 22₆ (Paphlagonia): θρέττρα είλοιτ απόδουσαι οι είλο πότμον γοδωντες. In l. 5 18 6σθα. Heavel in the amount of these inf. in -ν, see Nauck 16.

⁴ Brugmann, Grundr. II 2, p. 1417, thinks that sove, els, Alello -one were originally locatives in -fer.

omitted. Tyrtaios 10, has τεθνάμεναι, a conjectural form in Mimn. 210. Wherever -μεναι occurs it is an epic reminiscence¹.

According to Fick (B. B. XI 252, XIV 253, cf. Class. Rev. 1889, pp. 37, 91) - μεναι does not occur in the Ionic and Attic lyric before 540 B. C. This is true only if we expel τεθνάμεναι from Tyrtaios. See on τεθνάναι § 700, 1 (6).

4. -μεν 2 is not found except in poetry 3: Theognis has ενθέμεν 430, θέμεν 845, 846, δόμεν 919. In 960 Bergk reads είμεν despite the fact that A has the more usual inev, a Doric form which reappears in the Acharnians 741, 771, though in the inscriptions the Megarian dialect has always εξμεν. Dindorf has adopted είμεν in Aristophanes. διδασκέμεν seems sufficiently well attested, Phokyl. 13. Sim. Keos 312 has μιγνύμεν. In Doric - \(\mu\epsilon\) is widely used, but in the above mentioned poets it is an epic reminiscence.

701.] Participle. 1. Present. τιθείς, leis (διείς Hippokr. VIII 434, διέντα VIII 170, IV 162 are second agrists 1), Ιστάς, διασκιδυάς Hdt. II 25, κιρυάς Hippokr. VII 256, βηγυύς Hdt. II 14, ζευγνύς Ι 206, but -ύων Ι 205, δεικνύς ΙΙ 78 (-δεκνύντες Chios 174 B 14), but -ύων ΙΙΙ 79, -σβεννύων Hippokr. VIII 162, μιγνύς VIII 504, -μιγνύων VIII 340, -αγνύων VII 530; δμοῦντες Hdt. I 153 should be δμνύντες (cf. II 118), and εκκρεμανθυτα Hippokr. VIII 482, -αννύντα. 2. Aorist. θείς, είς, στάς, ἀποκλάς Anakr. 17, (only case of the second agrist of κλάω. Cf. δύω, δύς). ἀνασταθείσα Hrd. 6,= ἀναστάσα, a use alien from prose. Perfect. ἐστεώς from *ἐστηΓώς (Attic ἐστώς from *ἐσταΓώς) Hdt.
 1 132, &c., Ion of Chios 1, ἐστεῶτος < -ηΓότος, Hdt. II 38, &c., Hippokr. III 288, ἐστεῶτα Hdt. I 65, &c., Hippokr. VIII 50. Attic forms are found occasionally in the MSS., e.g. Demokr. 205. Neuter ἐστεῶs Hippokr. IV 298. Fem. ἐστεῶσα Hdt. V 92 (δ) is probably an analogue of τιμώσα. ἐσταότες Aret. 121 is one of the epic 5 forms of late Ionic literature. On τεθνεώς (also Attic) and τεθνηκώς, &c., see § 604. The later perfect participle with κ is found in Halikarn. 238₂₈, Teos 158₅, Hdt. VI 140, VIII 79 (-κότων), II 126 (-κυΐαν), Hippokr. II 44 (-κυιών, not -κουσών θ vulgo).

The perfect middle of τημι is regularly formed with -ει- < εε in all cases but two: ἀφέωνται § 694, and μεμετιμένος = Attio

¹ Ionie: An. Par. IV 14513.

The grammarians called -μεν either Ionic and Dorie (An. Par. III 3462.

Et. Gud. 38317) or Ionic and poetic (An. Ox. I 1322, cf. 13133, Et. Gud. 22024). eluer in Bywater's Herakl. (81) cannot be the original reading. elem in frag. I is a correct conjecture.

So διέσθαι VIII 504 (Littré δίεσθαι).
 Ionie: Choirob. 829₁₂.
 Older Ionie did not develop a present ἐστήκω. Note ἐνστήκη Aret. 282.

μεθειμένος, Hdt. V 108, VI 1, VII 229. Apart from the irregular reduplication 1, μεμετιμένος is difficult because of the form of the radical. In view of the existence of drequérous (II 167, VII 103) we are tempted to read -expéros with ABC in V 108. But this form is not elsewhere directly supported (-ημένος Ppr. dr V 108, Rd VI 1, where ABC P corr. have - ίμενος, d VII 229). As it stands therefore, the form in - ιμένος is from the perplexing τω (§ 691, note 2).

702.] otda. otda Archil. 774, Hdt. I 209; otdas (a 337) Theog. 491, 957, Hippon. 89, Hdt. III 72 (R), Hippokr. II 370; οίσθα (A 85, &c.) Theog. 375, Hippokr. IX 332; οίσθας Hrd. 255; οίδαμεν Hdt. II 17, IV 46 (same chapter as Τόμεν), VII 214, IX 60, Hippokr. I 622, V 196, VI 120; Antiphon II A 3 an Ionizing tetralogy. Τόμεν (Hom.), Hdt. I 6, 142, 178, IV 46, &c. (over 30 times, with an occasional v. l. loμεν, e.g. II 12); loτε Tyrt. 117, Hdt. IX 42; oldaoi 4 Hdt. II 43; toaoi (Hom.)

Theog. 598, Sim. Keos (?) 85₁₁.
Subjunctive. εἰδέω ⁶ Hdt. III 140 (correct - ω II 114 to - (ω), eldηs Theog. 963, eldeωσι Halikarn. 238 (fifth century), Demokr. 87. The Attic contraction appears in clowd Ephesos 147₁₇, 300 B.C., and perhaps είδω Hrd. 6₉₈ (Crusius, -ήσω Bücheler). Optatice. elbeins Theog. 641, Hdt. I 206, elbein Theog. 770, Hippokr. I 624 (not -oin with Littré), elδeîev Hdt. IX 42 (-oiev =), -είησαν III 61 (-οίησαν z). Imperat. &c. Toθι Anakr. 758, Hdt. VII 159, eldévat Anakr. 752, Hdt. III 21, Hippokr. I 622 (ἴδμεναι Hom., Theog. 221), εἰδώς Theog. 193, Hdt. VIII 13.
Pluperfect. ἤδεα (Hom.) Theog. 853, Hdt. II 150. ἤδειν is
Attic in Theog. 667 (unless we read ἤδεα, or ἤδη since A has ἦδη) and Hippokr. III 500. ηδες (Hom.) Hdt. II 100, IX 94, &c. (ηδει?). Later Ionic does not use the Homeric forms in ηκώ-(r. l. Hdt. I 45). συνηδέατε Hdt. IX 58; ήδεσαν Theog. 54, Hdt. VII 175, VIII 78.

² Hesychios calls both olovas and oldas Attic. Mouris calls olova Attic, oldas Hellenic. Cf. Rutherford's Phrymich. 227, and above \$ 584, 2.

3 Kirchhoff thinks of auer in Hdt. is an importation from post-classical Greek. older occurs in tragedy, comedy, and Xenophon.

Roires Moiris.

In Homer we should read, with Tyrannio and Fick, Fellow, -ps, -were &c., not the forms with the circumflex, because ew is not contracted after consonants. See W. Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 251.

¹ Hdn. II 310,, = Choirob. 561,, II 326, = Choirob. 562,, An. Oz. I 69,

IV 186₂₄.

¹ duerlero v. l. I 12, duerelby v. l. I 114 are accepted by none.

⁴ Apoll. Adr. 191, Schn., Hdn. II 310, = Choire IV 417, 1, II 320, Et. Gud. 236, An. Ox. I 68, An. Par. III 297, 320, Eust. 50, 718, 881, 1946, Feer is a figment in An. Ox. I 68, An. Par. III 297, (cf. βδεις a 237 Zenodotos, and now removed from Attic poets to the advantage of βδησθα. Demosthenes has however βδεις).

ήδεα is generally explained with Brugmann, M. U. III 16 ff., as an agrist=

*ήρείδεσα', of which εἰδέω < *ρειδέσω is the subj. (cf. videro). εἰδείην < *ρειδεσήν, εἰδεσήν < *ρειδεσήν <

To the above may be added the formations from the stem Fειδε-, Future εἰδήσω (Hom.) Theog. 814, Hdt. VII 234, Hippokr. VII 476, VIII 430, Herodas 578 and Aorist εἴδησα Hippokr. II 436, V 352, IX 230. εἴσομαι (Hom.) is also Hippokratic (I 622, 626).

703.] είμι. I. 1. Present Indic. είμι (Hom.) Theog. 579, 1203, Anakr. 34; ets not attested in later Ionic (Hesiod W. D. 208, είσθα Hom.); είσι (Hom.) Sim. Amorg. 774, Theog. 1204, Hdt. VII 197, Hippokr. VIII 148, Hrd. 278: είουσι 2 in επ[ε]ίουσι[ν] Hrd. in Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 64; ἴμεν (Hom.) Theog. 844, Hdt. IX 42, ἴασι ³ (Hom.) Hdt. VIII 60, for *ἄσι < *ἄντι = Skt. y-ánti. laoi is -aoi plus the i of thev, tre. eloi cunt, Hesiod Scutum 113, Theog. 716, is too uncertain to be made the basis of conjectures as to the primitive form of the 3 Plur. in Greek (Osthoff. M. U. IV 288 ff., Schmidt K. Z. XXV 591). 2. Subj. tw (Hom.) Theog. 912, instead of *ε(ι)ω (cf. Skt. ayani). τω, with the ι of ἴμεν, follows the thematic conjugation; ἴης Theog. 566; in Olynthos 8 A 6, B 17, Hdt. II 41, &c., Hippokr. IV 268, poetical τομεν (Hom.) Solon 25; τωσι Samos 22120, Hdt. I 67, &c. 3. Optat. to (Hom.) Hdt. II 108, &c. (for old *in: *1-19-v=Skt. -iyām); παρεξίοιεν IV 120. 4. Imperat. ἴθι (Hom.) Hippon. 152, Hdt. VII 234. 5. Infin. lévaι (Hom.) Theog. 352, &c., Hdt. VI 134 &c. 6. Particip. lών (Hom.) Tyrt. 1129, Theog. 71, &c. Hippon 422, Hrd. 441, 45, Hdt. III 25. προσιεύσαν Ηippokr. IX 340 is a mistake for -ιοῦσαν (in many MSS.). Cf. Herodas' τεμεῦσα, &c.

II. Imperfect 4.

1 Sing. ἦα (Attic) Hdt. I 111 (ῆια A B, ηῖα C), IV 82 (ῆια A B, ἦα C d), I 42 (ῆια B). In V 62 all MSS. have ἤια, which is the

¹ ηfei contracted to p as *ἐπήfεισε to ἐπῆσε Hdt. IX 93 ABC, Schulze, K.Z. XXIX 252.

On etω for etμ, see Baunack in Curtius' Studien X 97, R. M. XXXVII (1882) 472.

³ An. Ox. I 12820, Et. M. 30124, Ionic for lot (cf. Hdn. II 82812 = Choirob.

 ^{849&}lt;sub>11</sub>). Brunck and Hermann read Iσ₁ in Theog. 716.
 4 See Wackernagel, K. Z. XXV 265, Philot. Anxioger XVII 239, Brugmann, Grundr. II 2, § 836.

reading in I 42, 111 of the MSS. not mentioned above. The editors read hia, the form found δ 427, 433, 572, κ 309. Hippokr. IX 350. hiov Syr. dea 25 (hiov E, hov A, hov a). Cf. ανήιον κ 146, 274, 446, a form for which Nauck 2 substitutes ήια.

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8 Sing. $\hat{\eta} \in (M \ 371, \sigma \ 257, \hat{\eta} \in \nu \ \sigma \ 253, \tau \ 126, \nu \ 89)$, though the correct form in Hdt., is but poorly supported: I 111 ($\hat{\eta} \in A \ B$, ηε C), VIII 37 (C), V 12 (-ηιε B). ηει (θ 290, K 286, N 247) Archil. 893, though he would suit the verse, Hippokr. V 388, difei II 686, 688, 692, 694, 704, III 94, 128, 142, 144, V 164, υπήει V 232, -ήει Hdt. I 116 (-ήιει CP, -ήει 2, -ήει A B R d), 192 (-niei CP according to Stein, -nei reliqui, -nie Holder) and v. l. in some other places (I 109, III 90, 91, 96, V 12 (Suidas), 32, VI 46). Hie (A 47 and very often) Hdt. I 119, II 26, V 51, &c. (about 50 times without v. l.), her Syr. dea 24 (nier E, her Aa,

ηιε reliqui). The editors of Hdt. adopt ηιε everywhere.

8 Plur. ησαν (ἐπῆσαν τ 445, μετῆσαν Knights 605) is the correct form in Archil. 81 (Meineke, noar oulgo). In Hdt., though in the MSS. of the latter it occurs (in exactly this form) only in II 163 (in all MSS. except A B, which have morar). How is found in all MSS. I 62, III 19, VIII 129. In III 14 all have -ησαν except R (-ήεσαν), and in IV 123 ησαν is found in Elsewhere 3 support for the genuine form may be sought in the reading ηισαν (or ηισαν) varying with ησαν. We cannot believe with Bredow that the latter reading is due to a confusion with the imperfect of elul (constructio praegnans). now also occurs in the MSS. of Attic writers (Thukyd. I 1). years Xenophan. 33, where Bergk adopts flows with Meineke and Renner; ἐπεξήεσαν Hippokr. II 226 in many MSS., ήεσαν IX 340, as Arrian 36, επήεσαν Arrian 24, Attic ήεσαν (οτ ήεσαν) is a v. l. in Hdt. (I 80, 158, 191, III 14, 76, IV 201, 203, V 92 (η), 108, VII 210, 211, 223, VIII 130, 138, IX 5). ήσαν (r 436 and in 7 other passages) Hdt. I 43 (in over 10 passages without v. l.), Hippokr. III 212 (vulge engrar, Scaliger defear, Littre and Ermerins nivar). The editors of Hdt. adopt nivar throughout. neisaw Syr. dea 28 (cf. cod. d Hdt. IV 123, VII 211, 223, 233).

The original inflection (A) in the I Sing. was Ha = I. E. Am. whose direct descendant would have been * ha. This, after passing into * ha, regained its s from that of the plural's. 3, the 3 Sing., has been lost and in its stead we have fe, inflected like a thematic verb. for from augment + a + sar, is the

¹ For few, by Ionic siddows Eust. 50, Suidas a. v. fa calls fin Ionic, and s. r. τριτημορίs cites Hdt. VII 121 with fie.

Mel. greco-rom. III 255.
 Cf. I 105, III 28, IV 140, VII 71, 178, VIII 130, 138, IX 5, 56. Here A B generally have now, C sometimes P and d) few.

* Suidas s. r. fa, calls fewar and now Ionic.

On the wof fuer, see Brugmann, Grundy, II s, § 481, note 1.

most ancient form of the 3 Plur. As old as Homer is (B) a second formation of a pluperfect (or aoristic) 1 character, the mark of which is -co-a added to the verbal stem : ήεα (or perhaps ήεα &c.) from augment + ε(1) + ε(σ)α, ήεε (ηρεί), ηροσαν. Of these forms one only (ηρες, in ηρεί) has been preserved. (C) Thoy in Hom. 1 Sing. 3 Plur. has passed into the thematic conjugation. Toa, ήιε, ήισαν in Homer, Herodotos and elsewhere 2 are vicious forms. Augment + the verbal stem et cannot become nt, because an hiatus is thereby created which is opposed to the laws of the language 3 (hia &c. would be conceivable only if the present were \$\times_{\text{tm}}, a form as impossible as Herodian's \$\tilde{\text{total}}. For the misshapen words hia, hie, higar in the text of Homer we must substitute, when we need trisyllable forms, ήεα (or ήεα &c.) ήεε (= ήει N 247), ήεσαν (and ήεον for ήον). For these archaisms were substituted in course of time ja, ηε, ησαν, which, to conform to the verse, suffered a 'distraction' that had the advantage of apparently restoring the radical vowel : (f-mer &c.). The text of Hdt. with its na, ne, now was then equated with that of Homer, διάλυσις being a chief feature of the later, as of the older, dialect according to the grammarians 5. A similar case of the disturbance of tradition is that of ἐπήισε Hdt. IX 93. Here the genuine reading (in ABC) is ἐπῆσε which was lengthened to -ηισε in order to show Ionic diagresis. Just so Apoll. Rhod. I 1023 &c. introduced diagresis in ἐπήισα⁶.

ἥει and ἥεσαν, having apparently pluperfect endings, ἥειν and ἦεισαν were constructed to fill out the type.

704.] φημί. This verb presents few noteworthy forms. φής (Hom.) occurs in Hdt. I 39, where AB have φηις; Hrd. 146 φή[s]? Anakr. 41 has φή (sic) for φησί (Hdt., Hippokr. e.g. IX 360); subj. φῆσι sic Hrd. 244 = φῆ Hippokr. VII 422; φῶσι
 Hdt. IV 68; φαῖεν Hippokr. II 242; φάναι Hdt. I 27, &c., Hippokr. VII 222, φάς (Hom.) Hdt. I 111, &c., Hippokr. IV 78, Zeleia 11318; ἔφασαν Hdt. II 118; φήσω II 49; ἔφησαν Hippokr. IX 358, subj. φήσω VI 36; φάσθαι Xenophan. 63, φάμενος (Hom.) Hdt. II 18, Hippokr. VI 342, ἐφάμην 8 (Hom.) Hdt. VI 69.

eimi.

705. Present Indicative. είμί Archil. 1, Hippon. 83, Anakr. 15, Theog. 314, &c., Hdt. VI 86 (a), &c. eis 9 (Hom.)

The type is represented by ήδεα < *ηρείδεσα; cf. § 702, note. Hdn. II</p>

⁷⁹⁴³⁰ called πa perfect, πειν pluperfect.

² EIE, Gortyna Code II 47, is either πε or πει, not πιε. πια is even found in the MSS. Xenophon, Kyrop. V 4.

³ Cf. Schmidt, K. Z. XXIV 304, note.

⁴ πει was retained because of its (apparently) modern look. Nauck would displace yes, which occurs at the verse end, by fev.

⁵ Cf. Eust. 50₂₉.
⁸ See Schulze, K. Z. XXIX 252.

See Schulze, K. Z. AAIA 252.
 Cf. Apollon. Adv. 1338 Schn., Hdn. I 4318, II 2108 (Joh. Alex. 214).
 έφαο Ionic: Choirob. 88225 = An. Ox. IV 37822; so too imperat. φάο An. Ox. IV 21318, Choirob. 88226.
 In Hrd. 374 the grave accent appears in the papyrus. On this accentuation in Homer, cf. Hdn. II 13117, 14015, La Roche, H. T. K. 241. In Hamer ἐσσ' can be read everywhere except in ρ 388.

Archil. 107 (MSS. ϵls), Hrd. l_5 , 3_{74} , 7_{95} , Hdt. III 71, &c., and perhaps in Anakr. 7 (MSS. $\frac{1}{18}$).

Attic e? (morphologically an older form than e's; cf. φή-s for *φησί) has been introduced into Theog. 456, Anakr. 57, Hrd. 500, Hdt. III 140, 142 &c., Hippokr. IX 338, Ion 1.

 $\epsilon\sigma\sigma$ ί Homeric and Syrakusan, not later Ionic, Theog. 875 (epic reminiscence). $\epsilon\sigma\tau$ ί Archil. 391, Anakr. 92, Theog. 376, &c. $\epsilon l\mu \ell \nu$ Hdt. VII 9, &c., Hrd. δ_{70} ($\epsilon l \mu \ell \nu$). Attic $\epsilon\sigma\mu \ell \nu$ is to be displaced in Archil. 592, Diog. Apoll. 6. $\epsilon\sigma\tau$ ί Tyrt. 111, Anakr. 84, Hrd. 21. $\epsilon l\sigma$ ί (Hom.) Hipponax 291, Hrd. 110, Archil. 31. Theog. 163, Phokyl. 151, Hdt., Hippokr., &c. $\epsilon\sigma\sigma$ 1 (Hom.) Xenophan. 71, Theog. 623, Hrd. 484 (the only example in Hrd., and that in the prayer of the temple custodian) not in Hdt. (ν. 4. I 125), but often in the pseudo-Ionists (Arctaios at least 12 times, Euseb. Mynd. no. 58).

706.] Subjunctive. $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega$ (Hom.) Hdt. IV 98. $\tilde{\eta}$ Theog. 1208, Hdt. VIII 102, Hippokr. IX 338. $\tilde{\eta}$ ($\tilde{\eta}$ Hom.) Kalin. I_M Xenophan. I₂₀ (conj.), 54, Phokyl. 10, Theog. 154 and 10 times elsewhere, Solon 4₃₀, Sim. Amorg. 79, Sim. Keos (7) 85₁₀. Ananios 56, Hrd. 27, 345, 88, 792, Hdt. IV 66, &c., Hippokr. II 14, 368, III 236, 240, 506, IX 480, &c., Aret. 35, 36, 46, 59. Always in the inscriptions: $\tilde{\eta}\iota$ Halik. 238, $\tilde{\iota}$ Oropos 184, $\tilde{\iota}$ ($\tilde{\iota}$ $< \tilde{\eta}\iota < \tilde{\epsilon}\eta\iota$, cf. § 239), $\pi a \rho(\tilde{\eta})\iota$ Chios, Paspates 9, $\tilde{\eta}$ in the subjunctive was contracted in all branches of the later Ionic. The uncontracted form $\tilde{\epsilon}\eta$ (Hom.) is found in Theog. 466, 134, as an epic reminiscence. It has been wrongly introduced into Hippokr., e.g. I 6c6, IV 80, V 482, V 62, and Aret. 58 ($\tilde{\eta}$ same page) and very often elsewhere. Theog. 505, 507, 1243 ($\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$?). $\tilde{\epsilon}\omega\sigma\iota$ (Hom.) Teos. III 39, IV 66, &c., Demokr. 205, Hippokr. II 8, 2058, 66, 74, 142, 156, 232, 266, 730, III 236, 158. For $\tilde{\omega}\sigma\iota$ (Hom.) in Hdt. II 89 read.

707.] Optative. εἴην (Hom.) Theor. 65, είη (Hom.) Theor. 1177, εἴησθα Theog. 715, εἴη (Hom.) Xenophan.
Theog. 349, 979, 1153, &c., Archil. 58, Hdt. VII 6 (the only case in Hdt.)
Hdt. VII 6 (the only case in Hdt.)
ε΄οι), εἶεν (Hom.) Theog. 327, Hdt. I
1 2, II 6, 102, IV 46, &c., Hippokr. II 10, 86. The -ησαν τονικ becomes more frequent after the time of Hdt. In early Attic poetry it is nowhere metrically certain.

708.] Imperative. On Hekataios' ἐσθι, see § 144, 1; ἴσθι

¹ An. Ox. I 130₁₀, 162₃, Choirob. 860₂₀ = An. Ox. IV 357₂₀.



Theog. 301, Hdt. I 118. ήτω appears in Hippokr. VIII 340 (where θ , C, H have $\xi \sigma \tau \omega$) and Aretaios 203. It is not Ionic, only late Greek (N. T., &c.). Curtius, Verbum I 177, regarded it as contracted from *ἐάτω¹. It is rather a 'springing' analogical form (cf. ήτω, ἔστω with ήστην or ήτην, ἐστόν). εα would not have been contracted in Ionic. ἔστω Olynthos 8 B 1, Chies 174 A 15, ἔστων Chalkidian 137, Chios 174 A 21, Thasos J. H. S. VIII 402, 6, 9. Attic ἔστωσαν appears in the MSS. in Hdt. I 147, Hippokr. VII 222.

709.] Infinitive. είναι Eretria, Έφημ. άρχ. 1890-1, pp. 195-6, Erythr. 1995, 10, Amphip. 1012 and often, Mimn. 53, Phokyl. 41, Anakr. 73, Solon 27₉, Theog. 129, 405, 1283, Hdt., &c. είν in Eretria, Ἐφημ. ἀρχ. 1887, p. 77, l. 10, Olynthos 8 A 3, ἐξείν Oropos 18₅₀₋₃₁ (είναι l. 32). For είναι πεφυκέναι in Hesychios, Baunack in his Studien I 176 happily suggests that we read είν. This form is an analogue of δούν, &c., § 700, 2. On έμμεναι, see § 700, 3; on einer § 700, 4.

710. Participle². 1. Inscriptions. ἐών Arkesine 35 twice (metrical), Paros 58, $\dot{\epsilon}\acute{o}\nu\tau os$ Oropos $18_{12}, \,_{24}$, Halikarn. $238_{23}, \,\dot{\epsilon}\acute{o}\nu\tau\iota$ Zeleia 114 C 3, $\dot{\epsilon}\acute{o}\nu[\tau a]$ Halikarn. $238_{35}, \,\dot{\epsilon}\acute{o}\nu\tau\epsilon$ s Chios 174 B 26, ἐόντας Thasos 718; ἐούσης Mylasa 248 C 5.

Attic &v appears in Thasos 72, (after 300 B. c.), 647: Mylasa 248 A 6 (367-66 B.C.), δντας Halikarn. 240 A 6 (fifth century 3); οδσα Erythr. 206 C 40 (after 278 B. C.).

2. Lyric Poets. èw Kallin. 1_{21} , Tyrt. 10_{30} , 12_{32} , Mimn. 3_1 , 7_2 , Solon [13_{39}]. 27_1 , 1_8 , Theog. 28, 122, 570, 866, &c. èw Kenophan. 2_{11} , Hrd. 2_{38} ; èóv τ os Theog. 21; èóv τ i Theog. 1060; èóv τ a Archil. 80, Phokyl. 13, Solon 4_{16} (neuter), Theog. 502, 1368, Hrd. 7_{109} ; èóv τ es Phokyl. 9_2 , èóv τ es Hrd. 2_{31} , the only case in Hrd. of the writing εο when εο is closed (elsewhere ευ), εύντων Hrd. 285, 635 with an unusual ευ; ἐοῦσα Archil. 31, Theog. 267, Hrd. 632; ¿ovoav Theog. 193.

Forms from the monosyllabic stem: &v Theog. 92, 102, 407, 516, 666, 668, 916, 1118, 1380, Hrd. 516, 78 (read & wr) ; бита Sim. Amorg. 754, Theog. 98, όντων Theog. 515, 517; οδοι Theog. 1133, εδσαν Hrd. 1, (?), 51ε, οδσας Solon 4.-Homer has only two cases of the shorter form : ὅντας η 94, ούσης τ 489.

So too Brugmann in Curtius' Studien IX 310 (1876).
Greg. Kor. § 17, Tzetz. Ex. II. 11515.

³ Dittenberger (no. 6) places this document only slightly later than the Lygdamis inscription (Bechtel 238) which is earlier than 454 B. c. Other scholars do not regard no. 240 as so old. In any case this instance of breas is the earliest in the inscriptions.

εν in Hrd. VI is now shown to be wrong (cf. 118).

- 711.] Imperfect. 1. ξα² (Hom.) Hdt. II 10 is derived from Hom. ἢα (=I. E. ἐsm) by shortening of the latter s η, not by metathesis quantitatis, though in Hom. the α of ἐα appears to be long (Δ 31, E 887, ξ 222³, 352). Contracted from ἔα is Attic ἢ which appears in Hrd. 51, where we may read ἔα, perhaps the original reading in the intention of the copyist. 2. ἔας Hdt. I 187 and ἔατε are later forms constructed from ἔα. Cf. ἔχεας, ἐχέατε. ἢς Anakr. 7 (εἶς?). ἡσθα (Hom.) Theog. 1314 is a perfect form. 3. ἢν Theog. 700, 788, 900, Archil. 32, 115, 126, 139, Sim. Amorg. 162, Hippon. 38, 51, Hdt., &c. ἔην ⁴ in an epigram of the fifth century, Chios 175, is a poetical (Homeric) form which was adopted in the late Ionic. ε.σ. Lukian Syr. dea 18, Aret. 43; it is out of place in Hdt., though found in all MSS. VII 143. Hom. ἢεν is also foreign to New Ionic. ἔσκε ⁶ (Hom.) Mimn. 1410, Hdt. 4. ἢμεν Hippokr. IX 340, 350, 5. ἔατε Hdt. IV 119, V 92(α). 6. ἢσαν (Hom.) Xenophan. 32, 73, Anakr. 85, Hdt. (Hom. ἔσαν often in Aldus). ἔσκον Hdt.
- 712.] Future. ἐσομαι Theog. 872. 878. ἐσση (cf. Hom. ἐσσεαι) Theog. 239, 252, ἔσεαι ⁶ (Hom.) 884. Hdt. II 5, 78. &c. Lukian V. A. 4, 5, Euseb. Mynd. 63. ση (Hom.) Theog. 1106. 1242; ἔσται (Hom.) Kumai, Roberts I 73. Hdt. III 134. Theog. 659, 1048, Solon 1338; ἔσσεται (Hom.) Kallin. 1 Tyt. 107, Theog. 801, 1280, Archil. eleg. 3 Hrd. 2 σε ἔσεται 19, 25; ἐσσόμεθα Theog. 1246; ἐσσται Hdt. III 134. Theog. (Mimn.) 877; ἔσοιτο Hdt. VII 226. ἐσεσθαι VII 219. Hippokr. II 42, Theog. 1077; ἐσσομενοισμ (Hom.) Theog. 5

718.] κείμαι.

1. Present (Perfect) Indicative. From the analogy of Sanskrit

line loogis). Brrws is cited from Protagoras

1 Hdn. II 5313 (Schol. Ven. A on E 887), 316, 46. Chairob. 601, and 2644, 602₇₃, 866₂₅; Eust. 618₁₃, 1759_{16 E.} (Herakleides), 17614 and 477, 8834, 1866₂₅ See Monro, H. G. § 12.

¹ Attic forms occur as v. l. in Hdt. I 20 &c., Hippokr, III 88, VII 450 (next line loogue). Server is cited from Protagoras.

of obscure origin: generally compared with some Brugmann, Gram. p. 164, derives it from longs.

An. Ox. I 1592.

we expect in Greek two types of inflection: (1) κεῖται = çἐtẽ, with a surprising retention of the strong stem, (2) κέεται < κε(ι)εται = çάyαιτε. Whether Hom. κέονται (= Vedic çάyαιτε) and the New Ionic forms with εε are a direct inheritance representing the second type of inflection, or whether they are innovations within Greek itself, cannot be determined beyond doubt. The fact that Homer rejects κέεται 1 and κέεσθαι makes for the view that these two forms at least are late analogues of κέονται. κέονται itself is suspicious for the additional reason that it occurs only at the verse end²; but it will have to stand. Cf. ἔοι, ἐων with thematic vowel. Nauck's κέενται occurs in Aretaios 141, but it is there a vox nihili, made from κεῖνται to match κέεται and show Ionic διάλνσις. After its appearance in Homer, κέονται does not occur again until Hippokrates.

I Singular: κείμαι Hdt. IV 11.

2 Singular: κείσαι (Hom.) Hrd. 447, 53. πρόκεαι epist. Thales is an error for -κείαι or -κείσαι. In the Hymn to Hermes 254 all MSS, have κατάκειαι, which Gemoll emends to -κείσαι.

3 Singular: κεῖται (Hom.) Sim. Amorg. 7₄ (cf. Sim. Keos (?) 85₁₁), Hrd. 7₁₂, and without a variant in the following chapters of Hdt.:—I 9, 50, 51, II 123, IV 18, 22, 99, VII 198, 200, 216, VIII 60. In II 149, 155, III 57, VII 11 κεῖται is supported by ΔBR, in VIII 135 by ΔBCd, in IV 45, 59, VIII 138 by ΔB, in IV 62 by R, &c. In Hippokr. III 190, V 674 Littré and Ermerins adopt κεῖται. In the letters IX 322, 338, 416, 418, 422, 424 κεῖται may be Attic.

κέεται occurs in the MSS. of Hdt. over 30 times without a variant, e.g. I 14, 118, 142, 178, 181 bis, 183, II 17, 34, 38, 83 bis. Littré adopts it in Hippokr. II 12, 14, 54, 70, 90, &c. But in II 14, 54, 70 (L.) Ermerins reads κεῖται. κέεται occurs in Lukian Syr. dea 39 (v. l. κέαται), Arrian 31, Aret. 3, 15, 60,

251, 282.

κέαται in the 3 Sing. is a mistaken form, found in the MSS. of Hdt. (I 183, II 83, III 31, IV 62, 64)³, and frequent in Lukian: Syr. dea 6, 8, 27, 30; in 28, 29, 35, and 45 there is found the v. l.

κέεται. In 10, 28, 51 a neuter plural is the subject.

3 Plural: κεῖνται, the original and Attic form, does not appear in Ionic until Hippokrates, where in II 24 codex E and the vulgate adopt it (Littré κέονται). Cf. VII 442, IX 406 epist. (ν. λ. κέονται). It also occurs in Hrd. 320, 460.

The indicative κεῖται never has its penult in the thesis. The only possible occurrence of εε in Homer is where, for κῆται οτ κεῖται of the MSS, κέεται may be read. This is however the subjunctive; see below. κέσκετο is not from κεέσκετο according to Schmidt, K. Z. XXVI 381.

² X 510, λ 341, π 232.
³ κέσται is even written for κέαται (plural) in R in Hdt. VIII 27; and in Hippokr, II 22 one MS, has κεῖται for the plural.

κέαται = κε(ι) + αται for -νται (§ 612) appears in Homer, Archil. 169, Hdt. I 14, 105, 133, VI 58, VIII 27, Lukian Astrol. 3, Arctaios 295 (276?), Euseb. Mynd. 63.

κείαται (Hom.) is found in Mimn. 116. It is a later form than κέαται, its a having been reinstated from the analogy of

κείται, κείμεθα, κείσθε.

κέονται (Hom.) Hippokr. II 18, 22 bis, 24, 48, Aretaios 51, 31. Ermerins reads κέαται, not κέονται, in Hippokrates.

False forms are κέανται v. l. Hdt. I 133, a supposed plural to

κέαται (cf. § 585), and κέενται Aretaios 141 (see above).

2. Subjunctive. κέηται occurs in Hippokr. VII 40, 206, but κεῖται in IX 40, 50 as in T 32, Ω 554, β 102, τ 147, ω 137, and according to Hermann in ε 395. Here κῆται is usually read since the time of Wolf, except by Ludwich who adopts κεῖται κῆται has the support of Ven. A in the passages from the Iliad, but is not well attested in those from the Odyssey. Curtius regarded κεῖται as contracted from κείται (Studien VII 100, Verbum II 85; cf. Hartel, Hom. Stud. III 11). It is better to explain it as representing an older κέεται. κείετ would seem to be required in Ω 554, where the verse begins with κεῖται ἐνί. Its position here is however due to a late shifting of the word from the place in the verse where it might stand with propriety.

κέωνται² Hippokr. III 438, Aretaios 19, 147. In 220 Aretaios

has κέηνται (G V, κέηται H).

3. Optative. κέοιτο 3 Hdt. I 67, Hippokr. IV 122.

4. Imperative. κείσθω Hdt. II 171 bis.

- 5. Infinitive. $\kappa \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota$ (Hom.) Hdt. II 127, IV 22, VI 57, IX 105 in all MSS., and to be adopted in II 2 (so Rd), III 34 (R), IV 11, 195 (ABR) where $\kappa \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota$ is found in some MSS. This holds even in III 22, where no MS has $\kappa \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota$ in Hippokr. III 438, V 694 lis, but $\kappa \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota$ II 24, 118 ($vulgo \kappa \epsilon i \sigma \theta a \iota$). Arctaios certainly has $\kappa \epsilon \iota \sigma \theta a \iota$ 9, 49, 214, 236, 285.
- Participle. κείμενος in Hdt., Hippokr., &c., Aretaios 237, 317, 318 has κεόμενος but κείμενος 53.
- 7. Imperfect (Pluperfect). ἐκειτο (Hom.) is found nearly 20 times in Hdt. without any variant, e.g. I 119, 123, VII 158, VIII 41, IX 40. ἐκέετο is generally not well supported: I 51 (all MSS. except Ac), 196 (C), III 12 (all except R which has κέεται), VI 61 (-εκέατο A B C d), VII 36 (R). Hippokrates has

The open vowels do not here violate the laws of contraction. When a non-thematic verb passes into the Ω conjugation, contraction need not onsue.

Cf. παρακεώμεθα 'èykelμενοι δμεν in Hesjehios.

έκειτο often, e.g. II 644, 650, 666, 694, 698, 704, 712, 716, III 32, 46, 56, 58, 62, 102, 112, 122, 124, 142; Aret. 184,

Arrian 28,

ἐκέατο (Hom.) Hdt. I 167, III 83, VI 49, VII 229, VIII 25, 84, IX 22, 57 without variation. In Lukian's Syr. dea 20, 45, this form is used in the singular. Cf. v. l. Hdt. VI 61.

екенто (Hom.) Hippokr. II 660.

 Future. (κείσεαι Hom.) κείσεται is to be read in Hippokr. III 438 where Littré has κείσηται.

Great inconsistency exists in the recent editions of Hdt. in

respect of the inflection of κείμαι.

κέεται only, S (Stein), K (Kallenberg), and B (Bredow); κέεται and κεῖται H (Holder), A (Abicht); ἐκέετο only, A B; ἔκειτο only, K; ἐκέετο and ἔκειτο SH; κείσθω BSHK, κεέσθω A; κείσθαι only, B; κείσθαι and κέεσθαι SHAK. Dindorf admits no variation from kee-.

The only objection to the adoption throughout of ket- which we favour, is the preponderance of κέεται over κείται. It looks as if the open forms were due to the grammarians who, misled by κέονται and the open subjunctive and optative forms, regarded κει- as contracted from κεε- 2.

714. ήμαι.

 Present Indicative. κάθημαι Archil. 873, Theog. 1281, κάτησαι Hdt. III 134 (καθ- A B d), ησται (Hom.) Hdt. IX 57, κάθηται Hrd. 341, ξαται (Hom.) Hrd. 747 (?), κατέαται Hdt. I 199, II 86, IV 66, 196. εΐαται Κ 100 (where ἥαται ³ is correct) has forced an entrance into Lukian's Syr. dea 31.

κάθημαι is from *κάθησ-μαι, κάτησαι from *κάτησ-σαι; but κάθηται follows the analogy of κάθημαι. We should expect κάθησται. εαται represents ήσται < ήσ-νται, Skt. asate; § 612, 1.

- Imperative. κάθησο (Hom.) Hrd. 6, Hippokr. IX 354.
- Participle. κατήμενος Hdt. VIII 73, καθ- Eusebios § 8, 9.
- Imperfect. καθήστο in all MSS., Hdt. I 46, III 83 where κατ- is now generally adopted 4. So too καθήστο Hippokr. IX 350. Hdt. does not use the later form $\kappa a\theta \hat{\eta} \tau o$. In the plural (see § 616, 3) we find -εατο in κατέατο ΙΙΙ 144, VIII 73, IX 90, περικατέατο

κέεσθαι has even been introduced into the text of Archimedes (II 142, 18,

cf. 168, 12) and of the pseudo-Pythagoreans.

Reported as Ionic: Gram. Vat. 694, Eust. 189546 (from Herakleides). On the uncertainty in reference to the breathing in such compounds, see §§ 406, 407. Homer has καθήστο Α 560, καθήμενος Ξ 5. The unoriginal asper is due to association with εξεσθαι, ζειν, ζεσθαι which complement the

inflection.

Apollonios Dyskolos Adv. (Bekk. Anecd. II 55325) cites κέω; but it is a figment.

VI 23, VIII 111, though the MSS. often have the augmented forms (all MSS. in III 144, VI 23, VIII 73) and θ for τ. Homer has έστο Η 414, and Eusebios § 8 προσεκατέστο according to Müller. Epic ηντο (footnote 2, p. 513) and Attic καθήντο do not appear in Hdt.

Prepositions.

715.] &rd. The form with apocope appears in ἀμ πεδίον Mimn. 144 and in ἄμπανσις 122. Homer uses neither ἀναπανόμαι nor ἀμπανόμαι, but Hdt. (§ 322) has the latter as well as other words with ἀν-. Solon has ἀνταράξας ('Αθ. πολ. 12, 5), Herodas ἄστηθι 81, 14 but ἀνασταθεῖσα 62, ἀναστήση 143. Forms showing the disappearance of ν before σ occur as ν. λ in K 32, 176 (cf. B 398, 694) and in the dialects of Attika, Boiotia and Argos. ἄμπωτις (cf. § 367) is found once in Arrian (212), who usually employs the form without apocope (299, 308, 376). ἄμπωτις is frequent in late literature (Dio Cass., Longinos), and, in fact, is more common than ἀνάπωτις 1. Even in the dialogue parts of tragedy we meet with apocope, which occurs in Xenophon alone of the classic Attic prose writers (ἄμπωτις, ἀμβολάς, &c.).

ἄχρι of space, Hdt. II 138, Hrd. 1_{14} , Chios 174 A 3-4, of time Solon 1335, Hrd. 7_{41} . From the prepositional use has been developed the use as a conjunction (Hdt., Hippokr., Hrd. 33, 88). In all the above passages Hrd. has ἄχρι (cf. § 366). ἄχρι οῦ οτ ἄχρι as a conjunction appears neither on Attic nor Ionic inscriptions. $\mu \ell \chi \rho_{i}$ is preferred to ἄχρι in the inscriptions and in Herodotos.

διέξ, Archil. 5 (one MS. διέκ), 164 before a consonant; cf. π dρεξ.

čκ takes the form έκγ in ἐκγ Μακτονίης Olynthos 8 B 9, the stone-cutter having first engraved is, and then bethought himself of the pronunciation. Cf. έκγ Μαγνησίας Smyrna, Dittenb. Syll. 171106, 106, ἐκγ Νανπόκτου Delphi, ibid. 189, ἐκγδημίαν Lampsakos, 20012 (but ἐγδημήσας L 15). On ἐχ- for ἐκ- see § 351, 1, on ἐγ- for ἐκ- see § 411. ἐξαλαμίνος = ἐκ Σαλ-, Priene 1411, an inscription in Ionic orthography, not in Ionic dialect. ἐχ is not used when σ follows.

eïrener occurs first in Pindar, lethm. VIII (VII) 35, and in fact as a conjunction (εἴνεκεν πεπρωμένον ἢν), where we do not hesitate to accept Donaldson's οῦνεκεν. No passage before the Alexandrian period which contains the conjunction in any of its various forms

¹ See Lobeck's Phrynichus, p. 340. &reers (**ap-, **ar-) are Ionic: Bekk. An. 7193.

is free from error. See below. As a preposition, εἶνεκεν occurs nearly 30 times in Herodotos without a variant. In about 40 passages it varies with εἶνεκα, the advantage being on the side of the form in -εν¹. Bredow contended that εἶνεκεν alone was correct in Hdt., and Dindorf and Abicht adopt it throughout. Hippokrates uses it in II 270 (ἔνεκεν Dδ¹ K R¹), 290 (Δδ¹ K, εἴνεκα Flor., ἔνεκεν vulgo) according to Littré. There are also traces of its presence in IX 404 (epist.). Aretaios adopts it in 94, 102, 178, 333, 344; so too Archimedes II 294, 6 according to the MSS.

elvekev is found on very late metrical inscriptions from Attika: 'Αθην. VIII 531, Kaibel, Epigram., 152s eleg., 953 trim. Epigrams in iambics of the imperial period do not hesitate to introduce a form that belongs properly to the elegiac epigram. In Demosth. 45, 11 it is not to be adopted. Attic prose inscriptions have no trace of its occurrence till a very late date: C. I. A. III 697, 9, 1218, 5. είνεκεν was elsewhere used in very late prose inscriptions (Siphnos, C. I. G. 2423 b, 3, Thespiai l.l. 1630, 2, Lakonia 1445, 6, Kephallenia 1929, 7; and in Keil's Anall. p. 96 ff., l. 8). In all these cases it owes its presence to the influence of Ionic upon the Kounfi.

eινεκε is probably a mistaken form in Aret. 201, v. l. Hdt. VII 133 (so Aldus I 73, 80), though it is paralleled by ενεκε.

εἴνεκα ² is employed by Homer, Hesiod, Theog. 46, 730, 1202, Sim. Amorg. 7₁₁₈ (εἴνεκ'), Anakr. 45₁, [Sim. Keos] 184₁. It is found in Herodotos about 80 times without any variant. Stein confesses his inability to decide whether εἴνεκα οτ εἴνεκεν is more in harmony with the genius of the dialect, and gives a place to both forms; a procedure adopted by Kallenberg and Holder. εἴνεκα is found in Demokr. 184 and in A in Hippokrates II 248 (Littré ἕνεκεν; some MSS. ἕνεκα). In Hippokr. epist. 17₁₉ Ermerins adopts εἴνεκα, Hercher εἴνεκεν (the word is omitted by Littré IX 358). In IX 328, 356 Littré adopts εἴνεκα despite variants, and this form is read by Kühn in Aret. 288. Lukian's Syr. dea has 9 cases of εἴνεκα in all MSS., Arrian only one (339), and Euseb. Mynd. one (frag. 24).

Aischylos has εἴνεκα in Prometh. 395, Suppl. 188, but 4 cases of οὕνεκα in M; Sophokles has not a single case of εἴνεκα, 25 of οὕνεκα in L; in Euripides εἴνεκα rests on the evidence of inferior MSS.; Aristophanes and the other comic dramatists have 12 cases of εἶνεκα to 30 of οὕνεκα (apart from 11 cases of fluctuation). Undoubtedly εἶνεκα has usurped the place of οὕνεκα in tragedy. In Attic metrical inscriptions εἵνεκα may be followed from 450 B. c. to the empire. In Attic prose οὕνεκα prevails except in Demosthenes, but there are sporadic occurrences of εἶνεκα in Thukydides, Xenophon, Antiphon, Plato, Isaios, &c. When Demosthenes desires to avoid the tribrach form he prefers

On the terminations -εν, -ε, -α, see under ἔπειτε, § 716.
On this form in its relation to οδνεκα, see Wackernagel, K. Z. XXVIII
109 ff.

elerka (at least 20 times in 2) to elerka. elerka does not make its appearance on an Attic prose inscription till 30 B.C.—68 A.D. (C. I. A. III 785, 3, where lerka is written), nor on a Lakonian inscription till the period of the empire (C. I. G. 1446, 17). In Attic prose the presence of the non-Attic form, if correct at all, can be explained only as an indirect reflection, through tragedy, of the epic. In the language of the Kourh it is borrowed from the Ionic dialect represented by the prose writers of the fifth century.

EVEREV appears in Homer (twice only: ρ 288, 310), and in Pindar (except lslhm. VIII (VII) 35, Ol. II 5). On an inscription from Erythrai (2043), slightly older than the oldest Attic epigraphical document containing the form (see the note), we find ενεκεν. This form reappears in Thasos 726 (300–250 B.C.) and in Priene 1416 (metrical), an inscription in Ionic orthography, not in Ionic dialect Neither of the two inscriptions in dialect is free from Atticisms; and the initial ε for ει makes for the conclusion that ενεκεν is one of these Atticisms. It is immaterial whether a vowel or consonant follows the form. It is also an occasional v.l. in Hdt. (I 80), and was adopted by Littré in Hippokr. II 248, IX 320, 360 (both letters).

The oldest occurrence of **Ferrer** in Attic inscriptions is C. I. A. II 987 A 2 (**Ferra** l. 5) dating after 350 B.C. The next oldest is Dittenb. Syd. 4277 (302 B.C.). Both documents deal with the religious affairs of the **Ferra** line the third century **Ferrer** first appears in state decrees and in the following century is three times as frequent as **Ferra**. It is not in good odour in Attic prose, but as it occurs on fourth century inscriptions, we see no reason to reject it. Aristophanes uses **Ferra** often, and Euripides in anapaests and lyric measures. **Ferra** (and **Ferra**) appears on late Doric inscriptions: Astypalaia, C. I. G. 24881, Kalymna 267113, Kalaurea, C. D. I. 33794.

EVERE is known from a Samian inscription in Dittenb. Syll. 132₁₅ (from about 302 B.C.) whence it may be read in Mitth. IX 196 l. 7 (322 B.C.) though only the final letter is to be seen on the stone. It also appears in Kyzikos (C. I. G. 3655₁₅, second or third century B.C.) and in a Spartan document (A. I. 347₆₋₇ whence it is conjectured in 1404). None of the inscriptions from Ionia contain any trace of Ionism. Only late literature admits the presence of Epicke.

čreka is used by Homer 1, Theog. 518, [Sim. Keos] 186. In Ionic prose it is to be regarded as an Attic intruder: Hippokr. II 248—see under εἶνεκα—, epist. IX 428 (εἴνεκα C), epist. Herakl. in Diogenes' Life § 14, Lukian dstrot. 27, Arrian 15, 234 (Eberhard εῖ-), Euseb. Mynd. 5 times.

¹ Because his theory of the Homeric dialect will not permit the coexistence of εΓνεκα and ενεκα from ενες., Schulze in his Quaest. Hom. pp. 135, 494 conjectures δεκα in place of ενεκα (about 30 times in Homer). ενεκα is simply not Ionic.

In connection with the above we may here mention overker and ουνεκα, both preposition and conjunction. As a preposition ούνεκα took its rise from such combinations as ἐκεινούνεκα, ἐμούνεκα, i.e. ἐκείνου + ἔνεκα, &c., and in contradistinction to ἔνεκα is postpositive. The forms in Ionic are derived from the contraction of -ov + & (spurious). The conjunction ovveka is formed from οὖ + ἔνεκα, as τοὖνεκα from τοῦ (=τούτου) + ἔνεκα. As ούνεκα as a preposition usurped the function of ένεκα, &c., so είνεκεν and ένεκα finally usurped that of οῦνεκα the conjunction 1 in Kallimachos frag. 287 and 471. Cf. μέχρι as preposition and conjunction. ouverer (1) prep.2 Hrd. 184, Demosth. 289 (322) epigram 1. 5, and even in prose: Phaidros 259 D according to three MSS, followed by Bekker where the Bodleian, according to Thompson, has οὖν ἕνεκεν. (2) conj. Pindar, Hrd. 221, 615, Aret. 102. Cf. ὁτοὕνεκεν Hrd. 7₁₀₃ with Attic ov for εν (cf. 4₄₀), Prometh. 330 ὁθούνεκα. τοῦνεκεν Xenophan. 2₁₉, Sim. Keos 5₁₅οῦνεκα (1) as a prep. occurs in the drama (see under εῖνεκα) and Attic prose. On poetical inscriptions we find it in C. I. A. IV b, 422, no. 4 (perhaps before 600 B.C.), IV b, 491, 8 (fifth century). Wilamowitz (*Herakl*. II 83), alluding to the fact that the last named inscription has reference to an hetaera, regards οὕνεκα as plebeian. It is used by Solon (375, trim.), and in Kaibel 241 a, 12, 8216, 8691, 888 a, 6 (Roman). (2) conj. Homer, Pindar, tragedy, Theog. 854, 1349, Hippokr. As a conjunction οΰνεκα is very rare in ordinary Attic. τοῦνεκα Theog. 488, Lukian Syr. dea 33, 39, 54; cf. ὁτεὕνεκ' Hrd. 520, 622, 745 which is probably for -veka, not -veke.

ès, eis 3. The question arises whether only one of these forms is Ionic, or whether both are the property of the dialect.

1. Inscriptions: On the inscriptions from the Kyklades and the Asiatic mainland and neighbouring islands we find EΣ invariably before 400 B.C. A (metrical). Samos 2152, a certain example of ès. B (Prose). Naxos 26, Keos 4314, Prokonnesos 1038, Ephesos 1456, Teos 156 A 6, 7, 10, Chios 174 A 2, 4, 8 (ἔσω), B 3, 8, Halikarn. 23840. In those later inscriptions in which EI represents the spurious diphthong ει, ΕΣ may be transcribed ès: Olynthos 8 A 6 (389–383 B.C.), Amphipolis 1017 (ἐστήλην; 357 B.C.), Erythrai 20218 (ἐστήλην; about 350 B.C.), 20219, 2032, 9 (about 350 B.C.), 20431 (ἐστήλην; not much earlier than

² L. & S. are in error when they deny the existence of obverev as a preposition.

¹ Cf. Apoll. Dysk. 239₄ Schn. and Kallimachos I 187, Schneider. In the ancient grammarians there is scarcely a trace of the preposition οῦνεκα.

³ és is Ionic, Attie, and Doric, according to Greg. Kor. § 13, but είσω is Ionic according to Joh. Gram. 241.

345 B.C.¹), Mylasa 248 B 5 (361 B.C.), Teos, Mitth. XVI 292₈, 12, 16, but $[\epsilon]l\sigma\tau\rho\ell[\phi\epsilon]\nu$, l. 9 (perhaps before 350 B.C., but referred to the early Hellenistic period by its editor). The other example of EI=spurious $\epsilon\iota$ in this document is Elvat, a word which was so written at an early date (\$224, 10). Less certain is the transcription of E\(\Sigma\) in Keos 47₁₀ (about 400 B.C.), because of $\phi\epsilon\rho$ Ev and the Attic $\epsilon\nu$ 01600 and Π 01600 and Π 01600 and Π 01600 and Π 0161
Glossary, 9_4 , 8^{1} , 12^{2} From the foregoing it appears that $E\Sigma$ disappears after 350 B.C., and that $EI\Sigma$, which is occasionally found before that date 3^{2} , supplants the spelling with E. The transcription of $E\Sigma$ in the oldest inscriptions by $\hat{\epsilon}_{5}$ is supported by the $\hat{\eta}$'s of Chios 174 A 2 (cf. $\mu\hat{\eta}$) $\lambda\hat{\alpha}\sigma\sigma\sigma\nu\epsilon_{5}$ Chios 174 B 24), though $\hat{\eta}$'s in Frogs 86 should warn against attaching undue importance to cases of aphaeresis. Aristophanes usually has $\hat{\epsilon}_{15}$. No difference in the treatment of the two forms is noticeable in respect of their

occurrence before vowels or consonants.

As regards the date of the occurrence of EIS in the inscriptions, we may observe that the earliest cases do not occur on the Ionic mainland. The two instances of EIS that deserve notice are those in Oropos and Thasos. In all the others Attic influence cannot be gainsaid. Since the Oropian document has EI throughout, it is more probable that the later (387-377 B.C.), and not the earlier date (411-402 B.C.), is correct. The same inscription contains several spellings that recall those that came into vogue in Attika

¹ EX in an Aiolic inscription, C. D. I. 2154 (about 150 n.c.), in honour of Erythrai, may possibly be Ionic, because of the Aiolic EX in lines 13, 21, 48. But ds occurs in Aiolic Pordoselena as early as 319-317 a.c., where it is probably Hellenistic. It should be noted that ds in Aiolic has a genuine, Ionic-Attic ds a spurious, diphthong.

² In the contemporary inscription from Oropos (no. 18) we have EIX.

In the contemporary inscription from Oropos (no. 18) we have ELS.

The Thasian ELE is the only certain case of this writing before 400 R.C. either in Ionic or Attic. Though this pelling is unusually early, it must not be forgotten that we find EINAI in Beckel 71, an inscription which cannot be placed much later than the fourth contury, because of OPEIAEN, and that in the Thasian inscription containing at the hybrid at a everywhere represented by EI; cf. also (8) \$\psi_0 OT 1.21, Electron OT 2.

about 380 B. C. The Thasian decree is noteworthy because of $EI\Omega\Sigma = \tilde{\epsilon}\omega s$, l. 12, and other fourth century spellings. The glide iota (§ 220) does not appear on any Attic 1 or Ionic inscription before 400 B. C.

The construction θείναι ἐς (ἱερόν) occurs in Zeleia 113345 Erythrai 202₁₉, 203₉. παρανομέω ἐς occurs in Hdt. VII 238, Mylasa 248 B 5.

2. Lyric Poetry: A. &s in the thesis before vowels occurs as follows. (1) Iambographs: Hrd. 398, Phoinix 2,22, Aischrion 1,5; (2) elegists: Archil. 5, 97, Mimnerm. 52, 129, Tyrt. 1137, Simon. Keos 1741, Solon 2712 (Clemens), Theog. 58, 127, 386, 426, 630, 780, 858, 863, &c. (sixteen times in all); (3) melic: Anakr. 202, 251, 34, 435, Simon. Keos 584. B. Before consonants, when the metre permits either form, we find ès as follows. (1) Iambographs: Archil. 52 (tetram.), Simon. Amorg. 7105, 106, Hipponax 6, 202, 66, Herodas 173, 250, 378, &c. (in all twenty-two times); (2) elegists: Mimnerm. 93, Tyrt. 1112, Theog. 12, 16, 136 &c. (in all twenty-four times in Bergk's text²); (3) melic: Anakr. 16, 192. C. Before vowels and in the arsis we find els as follows. (1) Iambographs: Archil. 746 (tetram.), 78_2 , $_5$ (tetram.), Hrd. 1_{23} , 7_{55} , Solon $3\hat{6}_{17}$; (2) elegists: Mimnerm. 2_{14} , 12_4 , Xenophanes 3_3 , $_4$, Tyrt. 10_{12} (vulgo), 12_{38} , Solon 27_{10} , Theognis 162, 194, 244, &c. (thirteen times in all, including είσω 917, 1001)3. D. Before vowels and in the thesis there is one instance: Tyrt. 1243, where we read εls άκρον Ικέσθαι. Cf. Hesiod W. D. 291 εls άκρον ίκηται and εls άκρον Hipponax 48 (see under E). E. Before consonants, when the metre permits either form, we find ϵls as follows: (1) Iambographs: Hipponax 462, 48 εls ακρου at the beginning of the choliambus, Herodas 177, 282, 370, 444, 532 (cf. ès 533), 766, Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 25, Solon 36, Phoinix I₁₂, 13; (2) elegists: Tyrt. 114, 10, Solon 35, 418, 93, Theog. 311, 372, 1359 in Bergk's text. See the footnote to B (above) for the v. l. els before consonants.

From the foregoing it is evident that the iambographers and elegists of Ionic birth used both ϵ_s and $\epsilon_l s$, but that the latter is employed only before a vowel, and in the arsis. The use of $\epsilon_l s$ in thesis seems foreign to pure Ionic lyric. ϵ_s is to be adopted before consonants, and before vowels when either a short or a long syllable is possible. Hipponax $4\delta_2$, 48, as well as the seven passages in Herodas, are to be freed from the Attic $\epsilon_l s$.

¹ Νηλείως, 'Εφημ. άρχ. 1884, 161-162 (418 B.C.) is a blunder. Λαμπτρείως, C. I. A. IV B 491, 35, b 1, is regarded by Kirchhoff as dating from the fifth century. This is, we think, doubtful.

² The variant els occurs in 175, 404, 563, 588 (well supported), 607, 755,

^{783, 974, 1105 (}all MSS.).

To be noted are the cases of ₹s in one or more MSS.: 566 (but olker follows), 726, 1054.

Solon used els except when ès was called for in thesis. Theognis used ès or els before vowels as the metre required, and seems to have almost excluded els before consonants.

Homer has both ds and ds, the former more frequently than the latter according to the received text, and usually before consonants; ds_{∞} in Homer is almost eight times more common than ds_{∞} . Fick's attempt (Rias 537 ft.) to exclude the Ionic ds from the Homeric epos is a failure. His allegiance to an Aiolic ds is purchased at the price of emending many passages in the (se judice) older books, and by regarding the unassailable cases of ds as substitutes for an (original) Kyprian ds. Wecklein Curae epigraph. 59 concludes that Homer and the other epic poets have ds in passages metrically authoritative

- 3. Prose authors: Herodotos adopts ès, though els occurs frequently as a variant (elodyeras III 70 in all MSS.), and likewise έσω (είσω A B C d VI 36). es and έσω are also Hippokratic according to Littré, I 494, who shows that είς, είσω are far less frequent. is is found in II 92, 130, 156, 252, III 134, 298, V 598, 600, and often where the vulgate has ets, e.g. II 68, 70, 76, 128, 234; cf. also II 282, III 96, 140. Littré reads έσωθεν III 84, είσωθεν V 606. The oldest MS. (θ) pronounces in favour of es, e.g. VI 366; but all MSS. have els in V 662. Pherekydes of Leros 33 h has ès, Ion 1 els. In Lukian's Fita auct. we have twenty-four cases of is to two of els, in the Syr. dea A has twelve cases of els, the remaining MSS. 134 of ès; in Arrian's Indikè there are 232 occurrences of ès, nine of els, and three places where the MSS. vary; Eusebios has ès three times; Eusebios Myndios sixteen cases of &s, and but two of is; Abydenos three cases of els. Philip of Pergamum (B. C. H. II 273) has ès. In the Ionic letters we have ès at least 76 times, els 18 times. In the Vita Homeri the proportion is 50 to Aretaios adopts ¿s.
- 1. The form ds is the result of a displacement of drs (=dr+s ns d(=dr+s)) when followed (in primitive Greek) by a consonant; whereas is arose from drs before a vowel. Later on either form was used before vowels or consonants. If Attic adopted λόγους < *λόγους before vowels, and abandoned λόγος < *λόγους before consonants, it may be asked why d is not the only form of the preposition. Because the preposition, as a proclinic could not attain the same fixity of form as the accusative, which may stand in a free positionels cannot exist in absolute 'pause.' See Brugmann Greek. 1485 ff. It is incautious to say, with Rutherford Nove Physichae p. 432, that is the older, els the younger, Attic form. All we know in that £1 is written in the fifth. £12 in the fourth century. The difference, as will be stated in not 2, may be one of spelling, not of pronunciation. The supposed rule that dappears before consonants, els before vowels, is not borne out by the inscriptions else, from *lesse, is an analogue of life, and not from *lesse, Bezonberger in B. B. IX 334). * lesse was formed from ds.
- 1 Cf. Brugmann Berickie d. säcks. Gessil. 1883, pp. 181 ff. The Gortyna code has is before consonants, is before vowels.

2. els. és in Attic. Solon seems to prefer els to és even before consonants. adopting the latter form only when he needs a short syllable. In tragedy six is more frequent than is before vowels, but before consonants we find it impossible to formulate any rule (see Dindorf's and Ellendt's Lexicons). Ex was written, and no one but the dramatist himself can tell us whether he meant els or ès. That the form of popular speech was in general els may be inferred from two facts: (1) that Aristophanes avoids &s except in paratragedic passages and when he adopts the form with aphaeresis ('5 before vowels or consonants), and (2) that the inscriptions, which uniformly have EX in the fifth century, adopt EIX as soon as the new orthography has an opportunity to display the pronunciation. In fact by 350 B.C. EX was practically an obsolete spelling. Meisterhans (note 1459 a) argues from the spelling in the Ionic and Attic inscriptions that els is the only form proper to Ionic and Attic prose; and even asserts that, from the point of view of morphology, ¿s can be only a Doric form. Kaibel's Epigram 26 is no doubt a Doricizing inscription (is in 1. 6, but is 1. 9) of the fourth century. but C. I. A. IV 477 C 2, of the sixth century, contains an indisputable case of &s, which Meisterhans cannot explain away. And, apart from the &s of tragedy, it is impossible that is in late Aiolic inscriptions should be anything but an Hellenistic form 1. Furthermore, the existence of & in Attic is guaranteed by σκορακίζειν < ές κόρακας, and rendered probable by the phrase es makaplar. It is stated by many scholars that Thukydides used es only? Heretofore, we believe, this form has been regarded simply as one of two forms current in the fifth century. Admitting Thukydides' exclusion of els, another explanation presents itself of the contrast between his diction and that of Aristophanes. In discussions upon the Attic els, es it has been overlooked that in the exclusive adoption of ¿s, nascent Attic prose may have followed the same literary convention that has introduced, through tragedy, forms unfamiliar to the ordinary language of the fifth century.

κατά. From the scant occurrence of the apocope of κατά in the poetry representing popular speech, it may be inferred that the ordinary dialect used only the full form. The only example in point is κατθανοῦσι Archil. 64, which is trochaic tetrameter (cf. § 52). Here καταθαν- is possible (cf. 665). Anakr. 80 has καδ δέ, but the fragment contains μέσσην which is not a prose form (cf. § 373). In the elegy, where Homeric 3 forms are reproduced, we find κάλλιπον Archil. 62, and κακκείμενος Tyrt. 1110 (κατακειhas MS. support).

¹ Perhaps derived, like so many other Hellenistic forms, from Ionic.

² Thukydides wrote E∑ invariably. If the εs of the MSS, is correct, their archetype may be derived either (1) from a MS, in the older orthography, or (2) from an unknown source which was informed of the historian's distaste to εls. Plato doubtless used El∑ after he grew to manhood, and his MSS, have the form εls almost invariably. To Isokrates and Demosthenes E∑ must have seemed an old-fashioned spelling; and their MSS, have εls. The genuineness of the MS, orthography is, however, doubtful in the case of the tragic poets, if we suppose the archetype was made from a pre-Eukleideian text. The constant variation between εls and έs before consonants looks more like an arbitrary variation than the reproduction of an official state text dating between 400 and 350 B.C.

³ Joh. Gram. 241 B cites κάππεσον as Ionic, Bekk. Anecd. 719ε κάτθεσαν.

μέσφι Aret. 167, 297 prep. with the genitive, also used by Aret. as a conjunction (342).

perd is frequent in the inscriptions, e.g. Mylasa 248 C 12 (cf.

σὺν τῶι Διί l. 6), Erythr. 20422, Teos 15819 (late).

μέχρι. Oropos 188, 10, 18, Chios 174 A 5 (ἄχρι A 4), Keos 4311 (μ. ἐπί) before vowels and consonants, Hdt. e.g. III 5 (local), 10 (temporal), and as a conjunction IV 119 (without αν). μέχρι ού I 181, II 19 &c., is the only case, beside ούνεκα, in which a preposition + a dependent relative is used as a preposition. Cf. μέχρι and μέχρι οδ in Thukydides as conjunctions. Hdt. has μέχρι and no case in all the MSS, of μέχρις, whereas Homer has both. Hrd. uses μέχρι as a preposition in 81, μέχρις ου in 243, and both forms as conjunctions in 7_7 , 8_3 , . Theognis has $\mu \epsilon \chi \rho \iota$ 1299, Kallinos μέχρις I, (prep.). In reference to the statement of Meisterhans (p. 209, cf. Schmidt Neutra p. 349) that in Attic ἄχρι ἄν (μέχρι ἄν) occurs only in poetry, it may be said that we find μέχρις αν ήλιος δύη (= μέχρι ήλίου δυομένου C. I. A. IV 2 A 4) in C. I. G. 236017, an inscription from Keos entirely Attic in form. Inscriptions from Attika have only the form μέχρι (preposition), and this form occurs in the Keian document, l. 26.

παρά. The form with apocope occurs in Παρμένων, name of a Thasian, Roberts I 21. Cf. Styrian Παραμένων, Bechtel 1977, 32. Cf. Πάρφορος, Παρμενίων, Περγένης, Περκλείδης and Baunack, Studia Nicolaitana p. 53.

wapaί. It is not clear whether παραί in Homer is Aiolic or Ionic. It is probably a form of both dialects. παραιβάτης (cf. Ψ 132) was possibly a cult word in Ionic. At least we find it in an Attic inscription C. I. A. I 5_1 (500–456 B.c.) dealing with religious matters. Such inscriptions are prone to take cult words from Ionic (cf. ξυνός C. I. A. I 2 C 16, according to Meisterhans). The Aischyleian παραιβασία is not sufficient to account for the presence of παραί in a prose inscription.

wapes is used before consonants in Λ 486, μ 276, 443, ξ 168 (where some modern editors read $\pi a \rho(\kappa)$), Hdt. I 14 &c., Kyzikos 108 B 4, an archaistic inscription of the first century B.C. Cf.

διέξ. On the accent, § 125.

πέριξ occurs in Hdt. with genitive and accusative.

πετά, by-form of μετά and πεδά, is found in πέτευρου Oropos 1842 (§ 249).

ποτί, if Ionic in Homer, has passed out of use in the later dialect. Cf. § 368.

σύν, not ξύν, is the Ionic form. Cf. § 380, to which may be

¹ maples as is Ionie: Bekk. Aneed. 7192.

added that Herodas has σύν invariably (nine times). ξύν in Archil. 862, Solon 193 and Theog. 1063 [Mimnerm.] is not an Ionism. In Solon ξύν may be Old Attic. In inscriptions we find only σύν, e.g. Chios 174 A 6, Halikarn. 2381, 41, Oropos 1819, Mylasa 248 C 6 (σὺν τῶι Διί, cf. μετὰ Μανίτα l. 12), Olbia 12912.

Huπό, for ὑπό, occurring twice on an inscription from Kyme, Bechtel 3 A=Roberts I 177 A, shows that, of the Ionians, the Chalkidians at least held fast to the I.E. pronunciation of u. Cf. also the use of koppa before v on Chalkidian vases (Ούρνος, λήρνθος) and the modern names Kumi=Kύμη, Stura=Στύρα, in the old home of the Chalkidians. It was from the Chalkidians of Kyme that the Italicans derived their V (Υ). See Blass Ausspr.³ 38. The proximity of Boiotia is no cause for refusing to credit the Chalkidians with the retention of the ancient pronunciation of v.

χάριν does not occur in the lyric poets, except in Simon. Amorg. 7101. In Hdt. V 99 we find a strained use of χάριν with the article (οἱ οὐ τὴν ᾿Αθηναίων χάριν ἐστρατεύοντο), a usage rare even with the pronoun (cf. τὴν σὴν χάριν in Sophokles). We have met with χάριν on no prose inscription that contains a vestige of the Ionic dialect. No. 261 is metrical. Its prose use in Attic is confined to the period of the empire. In Sterrett's collections of inscriptions from Asia Minor, χάριν is a favourite word in the language of memorialists. ὑπὲρ τοῦ ὑοῦ Στρατονείκον χάριν, Paros 67 (very late), is a step towards the common use of χάριν in the latest period. Other impure prepositions are δίκην Simon. Amorg. 12 and μοῦραν 7104.

Conjunctions, Adverbs, Particles.

716.] The inscriptions afford us very slight information as to the conduct of the final and other conjunctions. Such as it is, the evidence has been adduced below.

dyχοῦ Hom., Hdt., not used in Attic prose, which employs έγγύς. On ἄγχιστα, see Rutherford Phrynichus p. 21.

αδηνέως Chios 174 B 12 (κηρυσσόντων καὶ διὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀδηνέως γεγωνέοντες) which Roehl regards as = ἄδην (quantum opus erit). Cf. καί μοι τοῦτο ἐξαγγέλλεται σαφηνέως, Hdt. I 140. Haussoullier, B. C. H. III 23, refers to Hesychios' ἀδηνέως' ἀδόλως, ἀπλῶς, χωρὶς βουλῆς which gives a preferable sense. He might have added Bekk. Anecd. I 341, where the word is glossed by ἀπλῶς καὶ ἀταλαιπώρως, κατὰ στέρησιν τῶν δηνέων καὶ μεριμνῶν. Hesychios

has also ἀδηνής· ἄκακος and ἀδηνείη· ἀπειρία. His ἀδηνέως is ascribed to Hippokrates by M. Schmidt. ἀδηνής, the conjecture of Valckenaer in Sim. Amorg. 753, is inferior to Bergk's ἀληνής. L. & S. derivation of ἀδηνής from δήω is incorrect.

On del, alel, see § 209, to which may be added that Hrd. 5_6 has del, 6_{89} [a]lel, the latter of which forms is Ionic. On dilion, see § 275.

άλίας (vulgo άλίας)= άλις, Hipponax 101. άλιας (sic) is read by Dindorf in Ion 723 (chorus). For the ending, cf. ἀτρέμας, ήρέμας, &c. Hdt. uses άλις (IX 27).

āλλη Zeleia 11339, Teos 15828, Hdt. I 46, &c. ἀμβολάδην Hom., Hdt. IV 181 (cf. § 715).

dμωθί, Archil. 41 and in a late inscription from Teos (Dittenb. Syll. 1266), does not owe its t to a reduction of ει or t, but to analogy, a principle that will explain the apparent cases of ε from ει in the paper A. J. P. VI 419 ff.

āν is the conditional particle in the Ionic inscriptions and literature free from Homeric influence. Mullach (Vulgarsprache p. 89) asserts that κε is actually in use in the modern Chian dialect. As this assertion, if true, might be tortured into evidence for the Ionic character of κε, it may be stated that Mullach is in error 1. A genuine instance of the retention of an Homeric word by the Chians of the fifth century B.C. is γεγωνέοντες (174 B 13). The omission of aν in δου έωσιν, Teos, Mitth. XVI 292, 4 may be noted because of its rarity.

draκῶς carefully, Hdt. I 24, VIII 109, Hippokr. VIII 614, also in Thuk. VIII 102, and Plato, the comic poet (II 687 Meineke). The word is called Doric by Erotian, p. 66. Stein, Abicht, and L. & S. refer it to ἄναξ, ἀνακός; an etymology which is not to be supported by the ad hoc definition βασιλικῶς in Suidas and Bekk. Anecd. I 391. The word is obscure despite the attempt of Baunack in his Studien I 256 to connect it with ἀσκέω.

άπαντίον Hdt. VII 34 (ἐναντία VI 32); ef. καταντίου VI 103. άρα, see under ήρα.

doπονδεί Erythr. 2029, 2038, Iasos in J. H. S. IX 341, 342, and to be restored in Amorgos in Mitth. XI 106, 10 (late).

αστραβδα Hrd. 364 (the papyrus αστράβο). In the dispute whether the word was oxytone or proparoxytone. Apollonios and Herodian decided in favour of the latter.

dσυλεί Erythr. 202₈, 203₄₋₅, Iasos in J. H. S. IX 341, 342, Pantikapaion in Latyschev II 1₉, Amorgos in Mitth. XI 106,

¹ For this information I am indebted to the kindness of G. N. Hatzidakia.

10 (late). On this word and on $d\sigma\pi\sigma\nu\delta\epsilon l$, see A. J. P. VI 428, where it is shown that the spelling with $-\epsilon\iota$ is correct, and that $-\iota$ is itacistic. Hdt. has $\pi\alpha\nu\delta\eta\mu\epsilon l$.

ἀτάρ Hdt., Hippokr. e.g. II 650. ἀτὰρ ἢδέ is peculiar to Aretaios (133, 139, 140, 303).

αὖτις, see § 355. Hdt. has μεταῦτις I 62 which is unknown to Attic prose.

ăχρι, see § 715.

βύζην confertim (with ζ from σδ), Hippokr. VIII 28 and Thukydides.

δεῦτε Hrd. 411, Homeric, rare in tragedy.

δημοσίηι Mylasa 248 B 11 (-ιη C 15, cf. § 240). Attie δημοσίαι is found in 261.

δηὖτε, § 320.

-δον. Adverbs in -δον are frequent in Hdt. (διακριδόν, ένδον, ήβηδόν, κρεουργηδόν, κτηνηδόν, ἀρχηδόν, περισταδόν).

ἐάν, see under ην.

εθελοντήν Hdt. I 5, VI 25 (in Hdt. only).

ciτeν is Ionic according to Ailios Dionysios apud Eust. 1158, and as such used by Herodotos. But Herodotos uses neither ciτεν nor ciτa, the latter of which forms is not Homeric or Pindaric, but occurs in Hippokr. III 240, Arctaios 56, 57, 81. In Skymnos Descript. orbis ciτεν is used both before vowels (468, 802) and before consonants (330, 502, 597, 643, 676), sometimes when the other form was metrically possible. ciτa occurs in 275, 590, 879. Dionysios, son of Kalliphon, makes frequent use of ciτεν and ciτa. That the former form was a favourite in the Koινή appears from the injunction of Phrynichos (p. 204 Ruth.): ciτεν καὶ ἐπειτεν ἐσχάτως βάρβαρα. See under ἔπειτεν.

ἔμπλην except, Archil. 111. The inscriptions have πλήν, e.g. Erythr. 2045.

ἐνδόσε Keos 4314, a new word.

ένθαῦτα, ένθεῦτεν, § 356; έντοῦθα, § 256.

ἐνιαχή Hdt. I 199, not -χή as L. & S.

έξαπίνης Hdt. I 74, έξαίφνης IX 45, the latter from -αφνι-; cf. ἄφνω in Hesychios.

ἐπειδάν makes its appearance once in Homer (N 285), where the recent editors adopt various conjectures to displace the later form. In Ionic inscriptions it occurs in Oropos 183, Zeleia 11324 (after 334 B.C.), and in Erythr. 204, (before 345-344 B.C.), documents containing traces of Attic influence. Attic inscriptions of the fourth, as well as the fifth, century show ἐπειδάν. In Hdt. we find the form in all MSS. in VIII 144 (ἐπειδὰν τάχιστα),

where it is rejected by Abicht, Holder, and Kallenberg. The phrase was used by Xenophon Anab. III 1, 9 (cf. $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\hat{\alpha}\nu$ $\theta\hat{\alpha}r\tau\sigma\nu$ Protag. 325 C). In I 193 ($\hat{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\hat{\alpha}\nu$ A) and IV 61 (Cd), Stein adopts $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\hat{\alpha}\nu$, but rejects it III 21 (CP2), 117 (C), IV 22 (R2). Hippokr. employs it II 12, 34, 78 ($\hat{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\iota\delta\hat{\alpha}\nu$, treated as $\delta\tau$ ' $\delta\nu$), III 238, 258, &c., Arrian 105, 308. In tragedy the word is rare and does not often occur in positions to show the quantity of the final syllable. But in Septem 734 (ch.), we scan $\omega = \omega$ (Verrall $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ δ ' $\delta\nu$), and so in Rheson 469 (trim.). The short ultima is surprising in view of $\delta\hat{\alpha}\nu$, Sophokles' Elektra, 314 (L). Cf. the MS. $\hat{\epsilon}\pi\epsilon\hat{\iota}$ δ ' $\delta\nu$ in Hippokr.

ἔπειτα Keos 4316, Miletos, Dittenb. 8/11. 391121, Archil. 56., Tyrt. 46, Theog. 735, 742, 747, 869, Herodotos over ninety times, Hippokr. II 12, 78, III 254, 310, IV 204 (-τεν Dietz), VI 140, IX 350 and very often, Arctaios 42, 51, 8/11. dea 20. New Ionic has also the Homeric μετέπειτα, which is not Attic before Aristotle. ἔπειτε Miletos, Dittenb. 8/11. 3912, of the fourth century (είς τὸν ἔπειτε χρόνον, whereas in 1, 12 we read είς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον), in Hdt. only as a 11. ε. g. II 52 (A B C), VI 83 (ἐπείτεν is explicitly stated to be Ionic and Herodoteian by Ailios Dionysios in Eust. 115839. Theognostos (An. Ox. II 16123) does not refer the form to any dialect. The statement of Ailios, who is generally trustworthy, is, however, vitiated (1) by the fact that, in all the occurrences (about 100) of the adverbin Hdt., there is no MS. authority whatever for ἔπειτεν and (2) by the avoidance on the part of Hdt of είτεν a word which Ailios says was used (in this form) by the historian.

If Ailios' statement has any foundation, he must have read ξπειτεν where the MSS. have ἐπειτα or ἐπεί τε (cf. I 146, II 52, IX 84, 98). Ailios might have been misled by the occurrence of ἔπειτεν in the Κοινή into regarding it, like so many other Κοινή forms, as Ionic; and εἶτεν was then rashly included because

of energy?. See under eirev.

Exercer appears before the Kourh in Pindar Pyth. IV 211, New. III 54, Isolam, VII (VI) 20 and perhaps New. III 49, Aristophanes Achara, 745 in the mouth of a Megarian. In later poetry it occurs in Skymnos Descript, which 569, and perhaps in 947 where Exerca 3 is foreign to the author's style, though from occurs, e.g. 461, 661, 709; in Dionysios, the son of Kalliphon, 116 (France 3 times), and in Machon apud Athen. 581 F (by Porson's certain emondation).

¹ Rhegion 54 should not be regarded as certainly Ionic.

² In his paper on the adverbs in ... Usener Jahroscher, 1878, p. 61) thinks that ξπειτεν is to be sought in the reading στο το. It should be noted, however, that when the copyists misunderstand the forms in στο, they divide thus: ξπειτ' δν Pind. Ishm. VII VI 20 Pub. IV 111, 15 δν, δε

That the form was frequent in the Kowh is evident from Phryniches, quoted above under elver.

Of all the certissima vestigia of ἔπειτεν (Dindorf Praes. XXXVI) in the MSS, not one is certain. Rather all speak for ἔπειτε. Dindorf, Stein, Abicht, and Holder adopt Reiz's ἔπειτεν in I 146, where the MSS, have ἐπείτε. Whenever the form ἔπειτα is not supported by all the MSS, the only variant found is ἔπειτε (ἐπείτε, or possibly ἐπεί τε even when the adverb is called for). ἔπειτε, as well as ἔπειτα, is certainly Ionic, because attested in the inscriptions. To be distinguished from ἔπειτε = ἔπειτα is ἐπείτει¹ = ἐπεί τε in VIII 22, IX 84, 93 bis (in one case the MSS, have ἔπειτα). A single occurrence of ἔπειτεν in the MSS, of Ionic prose is ἔπιτεν (sie θ) in Hippokr. VII 332.

έπεξης Ephesos 14834, Hdt. II 77, V 18, &c. ἐπήν, see under ήν.

ἐσάπαξ Hdt. VI 125, Hippokr. VIII 28.

ἔστε (preposition and conjunction) is used by Theog. 959 (cf. v.l. 394), Hdt. VII 141, 158, 171, VIII 4, 142, Hippokr. II 138, IV 220, Arrian 201, $_5$ (ἔστε ἐπί), Aret. 52, 86, Syr. dea 12. Whether Eleian ἔστα stands for ἔστε or represents an original form with $-\tau a$, as Kretan $\mu έστε$, is uncertain. The nearest analogue in other dialects is ἔντε, occurring in Lokrian, Delphic, and Boiotian (ἔττε). This ἔντε may, however, be due to formassociation and therefore a combination of ἐν $+\tau ε$, or it may be the equivalent of Gothic und < ntέ, which has the same meaning as the Greek conjunction ².

In Archil. 14 we meet with the peculiar form $\ell\sigma\kappa\epsilon$, whose $-\kappa\epsilon$, if correct, cannot be the equivalent of the Homeric $\kappa\epsilon$, because of $\ell\sigma\tau\epsilon$ $\kappa\epsilon$ in Theokr. V 22, VI 32. So far as we are aware, $\ell\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ occurs in only one other passage: Anthol. VII 727, $\ell\sigma\kappa\epsilon$ θάνη. Both passages should probably be corrected to $\ell\sigma\tau\epsilon$, unless the analogy of Thessal. $\kappa\iota s$, $\tau\iota s$, $q\iota\iota s$, and $\kappa\iota d$, $\tau\epsilon$, $q\iota\epsilon$ is sufficient to prove the genuineness of the $-\kappa\epsilon$ form. $\ell\sigma\tau\epsilon$ is not from $\ell\nu s$ $\tau\epsilon$ because of Eleian $\ell\sigma\tau a$, that dialect using $\ell\nu$, not ℓs , with the accusative. The congeners of $\ell\sigma\tau\epsilon$ are Skt. $\ell\sigma\epsilon$ Slav. $\ell\sigma\epsilon$ Lat. $\ell\sigma\epsilon$.

εὖτε (Hom.) Hdt. II 63, VI 27, VII 209, Syr. dea 25, 36, 55, Aret. 62, 89 (εὖτε ὅταν).

τως οῦ Hdt. II 143, where many editors adopt Struve's το δ (§ 569). τως οῦ might be defended by the analogy of μεχρί οῦ 4

¹ Greg. Kor. § 26.

² Cf. Solmsen, K. Z. XXIX 333.

³ Cf. Burda in Kuhn-Schleicher's Beiträge VI 89 ff., Bloomfield A. J. P. VI 41, Wheeler Nominalaccent 22, and also Zubaty K. Z. XXXI 12, cf. 61. The last-named scholar would connect ἐσχατος, on the etymology of which see Wackernagel K. Z. XXXII 40. The etymology in the text disposes of Meisterhans' objection (note 1682) to the Attic character of the word. Et. Mag. 3824 refers ἔστε to the Dorians.

⁴ Meister Zum eleischen, arkadischen, und kyprischen Dialekte p. 42, would retain ès oō in Hdt. I 67, 98, III 31 &c., where ès ō is adopted, and finds here a genitive of limit. See his Dialekte II 298 ff.

and overa. Ews with the genitive occurs in a decree in Decorona 108 and in Aristotle. Cf. Fore with the genitive in late Greek. Ews as a conjunction occurs in Hdt. III 134 (cf. v.l. I 86, 94, II 169, all MSS. VIII 74) and often in Hippokr. e.g. II 22 (subj.), 66 bis and IV 222 (av with subj.).

ηδέ in late prose, Aretaios 337, also after ἀτάρ (303). ημός, see under ὀτῆμος.

ην (ἐπήν), ἐἀν (ἐπεάν), ἄν. I. Inscriptions. ην occurs as follows: Amphip. 10₇, 18, Thasos 71, 3, Miletos 100, 2, 2, 3, 4. Zeleia 113₁₈ (εἰἀν l. 20, 39), Ephesos 145_{11,27,7}, Teos 158, (a very late document with ἐἀν, l. 2, 31), Chios 174 A 9, 16, 20, B 16, B. P. W. 1889, p. 1194, Halikarn. 238₁₆, 33, 37, Iasos in Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus. III 1, no. 440, l. 6, 7 (εἰάν l. 2, 3). κάν Ephesos 145₃, 4, Chios 174 C 5 stands for καὶ + ήν (by crasis through contraction, not elision, as κήν in Herodas and Hippokrates). In an epigram, Kaibel 1106 IV, where the original has κάν, the Anthol. Pal. IX 75 has κήν.

ἐπήν is found in Keos 43₁₇, Chios 174 C 10. ἐπεάν, which is preferred to ἐπήν in Hdt., does not occur in the Ionic inscriptions.

tár appears in Olynthos 8 B 17 and thence to be supplied in 8 A 5, B 14 (between 389 and 383 B.C.). This inscription is almost entirely free from Atticisms (αμφοτέροις, μᾶς). Furthermore in Teos 1582, 31 (first century B.C.), Erythr. 20412 (not much before 34.5-344 B.C.), in a West-Ionic document (no. 223, found south of Eretria) which is almost entirely Attic, and in a Chian inscription in Paspates' Chian Glossary (910). tár appears in Zeleia 11320, 39 (shortly after 334 B.C.) with ην in 1.18 in Teos. Mitth. XVI, 292, 19, an inscription perhaps as old as 350 B.C., and in Iasos, Greek Inscript. in the Brit. Mus. III 1, no. 440, 1.2, 3. Cf. § 220.

ar occurs in Oropos 18₃, 12, 14, 19 (between 411-402 or more probably, 387-377 B.C.), Keos 47₇ (about same date as Oropos 18; both inscriptions contain traces of Atticism) Paros in Ross's Inscr. ined. 148, Thasos 72₁₅, 16 (300-250 B.C.) in an Asiatic Ionic inscription (263₃) found in Lykia and probably of the fourth century, and in a Chian inscription in Paspates Chian Glossary (9₆).

Both $\epsilon l \hat{a} \hat{\nu}$ and $\hat{a} \hat{\nu}$ are Atticisms, and there is no inscriptional evidence that does not admit of $\epsilon d \hat{\nu}$ being likewise regarded as Attic.

With the above we may compare the testimony of the Attic stone records. Before 400 B. C. dds is the invariable form with only two exceptions in favour of ds. In the fourth century we find, besides ds, the forms add between 387-350, and ds twice, and in the third century ds, and ds once. Is and design are foreign to all Attic inscriptions. drds occurs first in the third century (265 B. C.).

- 2. Lyric poets. $\tilde{\eta}_{\nu}$, the Homeric form, is found in Sim. Amorg. 7_{15} , 2_{5} , e_{9} , e_{9} , Hipponax 43, 46, 496, Herodas (thirty times, with no case of $\tilde{\epsilon}\acute{a}\nu$), Theognis 35, 109, 186, &c., Kritias of Chios. In crasis Hrd. uses only $\kappa \breve{\eta} \nu$ (2_{54} , 3_{10} , &c.). $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi \breve{\eta} \nu$ (Hom.) occurs in Theog. 299, Hrd. 2_{46} , 3_{45} , 5_{27} , 6_{61} , but $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi \check{\epsilon} a\nu$ 3_{30} , 4_{3} , 5_{84} . Homer has $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi \check{\epsilon} \iota \breve{a}\nu$ in Z 412 (cf. Eust.), I 304, P 489, $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi \check{\epsilon} \iota \kappa \epsilon$ often. Cf. $\tilde{\epsilon}\pi \epsilon \iota \iota \tau \epsilon \breve{a}\nu$ Hdt. I 200.
- 3. Prose writers. $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ is the form adopted by Herodotos, Hippokrates, e.g. II 18, III 194, 206 ($\tilde{\eta}\nu\pi\epsilon\rho$), V 660, VI 142 (θ), 148, VII 174, Aretaios, e.g. 50, 112, 258, 259, 288, Lukian Syr. dea 47, Vit. auct. 6, epistle of Pherekydes (twice), epistle of Thales 1 (twice), epistles of Hippokrates (three times). Noteworthy is the crasis $\kappa\tilde{\eta}\nu$, Hippokr. II 48, III 192, Aret. 258, 259, 261, 293, 337 ($\kappa\tilde{a}\nu$ 60), because of $\kappa\tilde{a}\nu$ in inscriptions. See above under 1. Attic $\epsilon\tilde{a}\nu$ appears in Bywater's Herakleitos 7, 113, Hippokr. II 78, III 236 (Littré and Ermerins), Lukian Syr. dea 52; $\tilde{a}\nu$ in Hippokr. III 232 (cf. $\tilde{\eta}\nu$ 234), in A V 604, in B M N III 218. In the tractate $\pi\epsilon\rho$ i $\kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\hat{\eta}s$ $\tau\rho\omega\mu\acute{a}\tau\omega\nu$ Littré edits $\tilde{\eta}\nu$, $\epsilon\acute{a}\nu$, $\tilde{a}\nu$.

ἐπήν is best supported in Hdt. in V 35 (all MSS. except P and z), IV 134 (ABCd), not so well in II 40 (P). We find it rarely in Hippokr., e.g. III 248, VI 140, VII 474, VIII 306 (θ), 320, 334, and in Aret. 42, 296, 303, 337. In the spurious letters of Hippokr. it occurs once, and also in the epistle of Pherekydes. ἐπέἀν occurs almost fifty times in Hdt.¹ without a variant. Lukian has it in the Syr. dea 6, 29, 49, 51, 57, 60, Arrian 137, 147, 152, 169, 12, 257, 2911, Euseb. Mynd. 53, 63. ἐπάν, not ἐπέάν, is used by Hippokrates according to Littré (I 483), and is often written ἐπ' ἀν or ἐπάν in the MSS. The Attic form was used by Aretaios in 288, &c.

1. The position occupied by ἐπεάν in Hdt. and his imitators is peculiar from the fact that in all the other monuments of Ionic literature from Homer to Herodas (who has however three cases of ἐπεάν) and in all the inscriptions ἐπήν is the only form. (Hippokrates, we venture to believe, did not adopt ἐπάν, which is a relatively late Attic production.) If ἐάν appeared in any Ionic document anterior to, or contemporaneous with, Hdt., or if any case of ἐάν in the inscriptions were certainly Ionic, the coexistence of ἐπεάν on the one hand, and of ἥν on the other, would present little difficulty. It would be simply the coexistence of an older and younger form which is common enough in Greek and other languages. Compare, for example, the use of ȝợ̄ and ợ̄ (the latter after butt, alls) in the Ormulum (ȝợ̄ 111, 139, 145, ợ̄ 603, 3164) and of ȝợ̄ and ợ̄ in the General Prologue of the Canterbury Tales (ȝợ̄ 144, ợ̄ 148, of the Lansdowne MS.). As it is, the retention of the uncontracted form in ἐπεάν does not carry with it the existence of an open ἐἀν. In a much used word such as ἐάν the tendency towards contraction would be

¹ Cited as Ionic from Hdt. by Greg. Kor. § 55. ἐπεάν is mentioned, but not as dialectal, by Apollon. Conjug. 2157 Schn.

great (cf. § 444), though e+a rarely unite in Ionic. We are tempted to regard dready as due to $\mu e \tau a \chi a \rho a \kappa \tau \eta \rho \iota \sigma \mu \delta s$.

- 2. In respect of $\ell d\nu$ it should be noticed that the ordinary explanation (from $\ell l + \delta \nu$) fails to account for $\ell d\nu$ in 0. K. 1407, Waspe 288 . If we adopt the explanation which sees in Attic $\ell d\nu$ the union of $\frac{1}{2}$ * $\delta \nu$, $\ell d\nu$, in Ionic $\ell \nu$ was constructed after δ had ceased to pass into η , or the Ionic form is $\ell \ell \nu$ derived from $\frac{1}{2}$ + $\delta \nu$ by shortening of the $\frac{1}{2}$ before a vowel (cf. Ionic $\beta \omega \sigma i \lambda \ell \delta$). If $\ell d\nu$ existed alongside of $\ell d\nu$ in Attic or elsewhere, we must, at any rate, adopt a different explanation in the case of each form.
- 3. In the enormous preponderance of \$\psi_\times\$ over \$\delta \times\$ in Aristophanes (268: 69) according to Sobolewski's enumeration), it is difficult not to see a fact necessitating the assumption that \$\psi_\times\$ is a form native to the ordinary speech of the Athenians (cf. § 75). We can discern no principle making for a difference in Aristophanes between the two forms in respect of their use, e. g. a paratragedic preference for \$\psi_\times\$, a legal preference for \$\delta d\times\$ in the Wasps (\$\delta g\$ times\$, \$\psi_\times\$ 37) or in the Lysistrata (11:29), or in the chronological order of the comedies. The proportion of \$\delta d\times\$ to \$\psi_\times\$ in the Knights is 78 \$\delta_\times\$, but in the Clouds only 9 \$\delta_0\$. Petri De snuntiatorum condicionalium apud A. formis of uses p. 31 erred in thinking that there was a steady growth of \$\psi_\times\$. See Sobolewski Syntaxis Aristophaneae capita selecta p. 14.
- 4. To § 75 may be added a statement in reference to the use of ¶ν and ἐἐν in Euripides. When the metre permits, the former is invariably employed. ἐἀν occurs in Hel. 1071, El. 954, Herakleid. 256, 516, Ion 425, Kykl. 427, Med. 727, Troad. 713, Phoin. 757, Rhes. 143, frag. 2942. In the above passages ἐἀν is followed by a consonant. In I. A. 1193 for ἐἀν αὐτῶν, Hartung's ἐἀν σφῶν is generally adopted. In Herakleid. 1020 Elmsley restored ¶ν for ἄν, in Herakleid. 263 Kirchhoff emended μηθὲν ὰν σὸ σωφρονῶς to σωφρονῶς (Nauck read ¶ν), in Suppl. 180 Scaliger read αὐτὸν ἄν for αὐτὸς ὰν τίκτυ μάλη. For ἄν Dindorf read ην in frag. 3791. κῶν with subjunctive also occurs, e.g. frag. 3452, 36417. All the passages cited occur in dialogue parts. Cf. Johnson De conjunctivi et optativi usu Euripideo in enuntiatis finalibus et condicionalibus (1893) p. 48.

ηρα and ἀρα (§ 283)³. Archilochos is the first Greek author to make use of the asseverative ἀρα < η ἄρα found Σ 429 (η ἄρ σ 357). Hippokrates and Herodas are the only authors writing in Ionic who use ηρα: thus placing Ionic in the position of being the only dialect having both forms. In Doric and Aiolic we have ηρα, in Attic 4 and the Κοινή, ἀρα. In Hrd. 4_{21} ηρα is = ἄρα, in 5_{21} it is the interrogative. Cf. the like use of η as an asseverative and as

¹ See Dindorf ad loc., who proposes to delete γe in several passages, thus making ldν possible Plutus 126, 481, Wasps 1231, and in the post-Aristophanic comic poets. Cf. Bekk. Anecd. 9541s.

1 h if occurs in inscriptions from Krete and Kypros. It is perhaps identical

^{*} $\hat{\eta}$ occurs in inscriptions from Krete and Kypros. It is perhaps identical with $\hat{\eta}$, the interrogative in indirect questions, which appears in inscriptions from Herakleia, Dodona, and Astypalaia.

³ Cf. also scholiast on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. Aneed. II 968, and Ahrens Kleine Schriften I 60.

^{*}Attic has the epic \$\frac{1}{2}\textit{pa}\$ followed by \$\textit{dep}\$a in Parai 633, 637 ch.). \$\frac{1}{2}\textit{pa}\$ occurs also in \$Aias 172, 954 (ch.). Cf. Pindar Path. XI 38, IV 57 affirmative, \$Isthm. VI -VII) 3, Path. IX 37 interrogative. With the last example, of. Butrach. 174 (\$\frac{1}{2}\textit{pa}\$ postponed).

an interrogative particle. In Hippokrates there exists considerable variation between the two forms of the interrogative. In the Προρρητικός I we have noted, after a rough count, in Littre's text: ἄρα two times, ἄρά γε 10, ῆρα 4, ῆρά γε 16; in the Κωακαί προγνώσεις: ἄρα 13, ἄρά γε 2, ἄρά τι 1, ῆρα 4, ῆρά γε 9, ῆρά τι 3. In V 278 we find πότερον ῆρα . . . ἤ (cf. Pindar Pyth. IX 37). The MSS. vary constantly. Hdt. has apa, e.g. VII 17, apa IV 64. Littré's apa V 554 is not to be defended.

ήχοι where Oropos 18,6, a new word, comparable to Homeric ήχε A 607, &c. The evidence of the Oropian inscription should settle the question as to the orthography of the Homeric form in favour of Aristarchos' ήχι (against the MS. tradition, followed by Apollonios). Cf. Hdn. I 505₁₈, where the Doric form is said to be άχι¹, La Roche H. T. K. 278, and Roscher, in Curtius' Studien III 143. We accentuate the locative ήχοι on the analogy of 'Ερυθοί, πανταχοί, ἐνθαυθοί 2 (C. I. A. IV B 27 b 13, from 439 B.C.), rather than as a paroxytone, like olkou.

 $-\theta \epsilon(\nu)$. Local adverbs which have almost, if not entirely, lost the original whence idea, may, if not formed from substantives, lose their -v in Homer 3. In the inscriptions we find ὅπισθε (before a consonant) in Halikarn. 240,5 (fifth century according to Dittenberger), Samos 220_{27} (346-345 B.C.), Erythrai 201_{18} (fourth century). Herodas 2_{69} has κάτωθε κάνωθεν, Theognis and Tyrtaios $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\theta\epsilon$ and $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\theta\epsilon\nu$, Sim. Keos 163 (eleg.) $\pi\rho\delta\sigma\theta\epsilon$, 379 (threnos) ὅπερθε vulgo, Tyrtaios 11,77, 20 ὅπισθε. Elsewhere the poets have -θεν. In Herodotos we find -θεν except in πρόσθε, ξ μπροσθε, \tilde{v} περθε, κατ \tilde{v} περθε, \tilde{o} πισθε, $\tilde{\epsilon}$ νερθε, and perhaps in $\pi \dot{\epsilon}$ ρηθε $\dot{\bullet}$. Hippokrates, on the other hand, always adopts -θεν, e.g. πρόσθεν ΙΙΙ 192, ὑπόπροσθεν 68 (Hippokratic only), ἀπόπροσθεν 212 (also in Plato Epin. 987 A), έμπροσθεν 74, 192, 194, όπισθεν ΙΙ 78, III 72, 182, 184, 190, 192. Aretaios has πρόσθεν, e.g. 76, ύπερθευ 52, νέρθευ 28, but Lukian Syr. dea 29 has πρόσθε. Of the adverbs in $-\theta \epsilon$ in Hdt., $\pi \rho \delta \sigma \theta \epsilon$ and $\xi \mu \pi \rho \rho \sigma \theta \epsilon$ are occasionally well supported in the MSS. of Plato, Isokrates, and Demosthenes. So too ἐπίπροσθε in Plato (-εν Aret. 69), but ὅπισθε, κατόπισθε, $\epsilon \xi \delta \pi \iota \sigma \theta \epsilon$, $\epsilon \xi \omega \theta \epsilon$, and $\delta \lambda \lambda \delta \theta \epsilon$ in that author occur only in inferior έμπροσθε, καθύπερθε, and ὅπισθε are found in Attic inscriptions between 350-317 B.C., and even Μουνιχίαθε, 'Αλω-

But cf. Et. Mag. 4175: ἄχι ὅπου, and Dionysios in schol. B. L. on A 607.
 In Plato ἐνταυθί should not displace ἐνταυθοῖ.

ἀπάνευθε, Tzetz. Ex. II. 90, π.
 In VI 33 πέρηθε is the reading of the best MSS., adopted by Stein, Holder and Kallenberg, but rejected by Abicht for the πέρηθεν of B¹ sz. In VI 128 there is no authority for $d\nu \epsilon \kappa a\theta \epsilon \nu$ (= $d\nu \omega \theta \epsilon \nu$ in Attic prose) except Aldus, who is followed by the recent German editors because the - $\theta \epsilon \nu$ idea is still unobscured. έμπροσθε in VII 126 occurs in A B only, δπισθε in II 96 in z only.

 $\pi \epsilon \kappa \hat{\eta} \theta \epsilon$ occur in the fourth century. On the occurrences of $\pi \rho \delta \sigma \theta \epsilon$, &c., in late prose, see Lobeck *Elementa* II 153.

-θε occurs also in Thessalian ἄνευθε, Aiolic πρόσθε. Aiolic has in addition to -θε, both -θεν and -θε, which are likewise Doric. It is still a moot point whether -θεν (-θε), -θε are independent suffixes, whether -θε represents θ g, and -θε a contamination of -θεν and -θε, or whether -θε is original and the other forms analogues of κέν, κέι. The same uncertainty exists in the case of ἔπειτεν, ἔπειτε, ἔπειτα, εἴνεκεν, εἴνεκεν, εἴνεκε. That -ε and -ε may be distinct formations, not derived from a parent-form with sonant nasal, may be inferred from -τε and -τε (δτε, Aiolic δτε), γέ and γά (Epeirotic γέν, if correct, being a late formation), -δε and -δε (Arkadian θέρδε).

-θι occurs much more frequently in Ionic than in Attic prose. οὐδαμόθι is found only in Hdt. VII 49. αὐτόθι and αὐτοῦ occur in both dialects (Hdt. II 44, Hippokr. II 24, Syr. dea 45, Arrian 26₁₀); so too ἄλλοθι Hdt. III 73, Syr. dea 29.

iδίηι appears in the weakened form iδίει, Oropos 18₁₄. In Thasos 72₅ (300-250 B.c.) and Iasos 105₄ (end of the fourth century) we find the Attic lδίαι.

iθύς Ephesos 1457, cf. Hdt. lθύς, lθύ, lθέως and see § 198.

 i_{ra} , the particle that in Herodotos occurs more than twice as frequently as all the other final particles combined, is, but for a single instance, excluded from the language of the inscriptions; a matter of no surprise, when we remember the preference of the Attic inscriptional documents for i_{ra} i_{ra} . I have noted i_{ra} i_{ra} in Thasos 72_{10} , from the first half of the third century. In fifth century Attic inscriptions we find i_{ra} twice, in the fourth century never, in the third century twice. The genuine Hippokrates never uses i_{ra} in complete final sentences, of which he has exceedingly few. It occurs in Theog. 776, Hrd. IX.

The phrase $\ell\pi'$ lone and spoint (Hdt. IX 7) is frequently used in Ionic decrees: Samos $221_{\pi-28}$, Ephesos 147_{11} , Wood's *Discoveries at Ephesus*, appendix 2, no. 2, 10, 18, 19, 21, 22. In the Ephesian documents we have $\ell\phi'$ not $\ell\pi'$.

iovai is an interjection like alai, and derived from Iova (Plato in Meincke II 637, 4, Menander IV 80, 6). In § 395 end, Iov du was wrongly suggested as the reading in the passage from Herodas 33, where Iovai should be adopted with Meister.

кавот Samos 22132 (cf. Hdt. VII 2).

Radús Hdt. IX 82.

κάρτα = λίαν (Greg. Kor. § 58), Hippon. 17, Hdt., Hippokr., Aretaios, Lukian.

κατά = $\kappa a\theta$ ά appears in Hdt. I 208, II 6, 116, III 86. In VII 199 κατ' å is = $\tau \hat{\eta}$ κchere. See appendix to § 406, 2.

¹ Cf. Osthoff Perfect 332 ff., G. Meyer Gram. 30.

κατάντη (ἐς τὰ κ.) Hippokr. III 298.

κατάπερ Hdt. I 170, &c., Priene 1449, Halikarn. 238₁₉, καθάπερ Ephesos 147₁₁ (about 300 B. c.), Teos 158₄, ₂₅ (first century B. c.). Cf. § 369. In Halikarn. 238₄₃ we find κατόπερ (§ 132). See appendix to § 406, 2.

като́ть Hdt. VII 2.

κεῖ Archil. 170=κεῖθι Archil. 132, Hdt. II 122.

ку, кои, &с., § 342.

λείως completely, at all, Archil. 112 (MSS. λειωι corrected by Porson). Cf. Hesychios λείως (MSS. λείρως) ράδίως, σφόδρα, τελείως, καλῶς, part of which gloss might be explanatory of λείως Theaitetos 144 B, from λείος smooth. Elsewhere the grammarians (Apollon. Pronom. 58_{12} Schn., Et. Mag. 560_{31} , Photios 2183) refer to the form either as λέως 1, usually explaining it as derived from τελέως (Hdt., Hippokr.2) by hyphaeresis 3, or as λίως, Erotian 240. The same stem appears in the Hesychian λεώλης τελείως ἐξώλης (cf. λειώλης on a Rhodian inscription, Mitth. XVI 112); λεώλεθρος παυτελῶς ἐξωλοθρευμένος; λειοκόνιτος ἡ τελείωσις (sic MSS.), ὡς κόνις διαλελυμένη, λείως γὰρ τελείως; λειοκόρης (sic MSS.), ὡς κόνις διαλελυμένη, λείως γὰρ τελείως; λειοκόρης (sic MSS.) λειω- Voss) ὁ τελείως ἐκκεκαυμένους τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχων, with which cf. λεωκόρητος ὁ ἐξωλοθρευμένος Photios 2183, λεωκόνιτος ἡ λεωκόρητος (sic MSS.) παυτελῶς ἐξωλοθρευμένος Hesychios, and λεωκόνητος ὁ ἐφθαρμένος Theognostos (An. Ox. II 932).

comparable to the Ac- of Acos.

λίην (Hom.) Archil. 66₆, Hdt. IV 96, Hippokr. III 94, Aret. 34. Hesychios' λήν was formerly read by Bergk in Theog. 352.

¹ Galen, Gloss. p. 514, has λεῶς παντελῶς, ἄπαν.

² L. & S. say that διὰ τέλους serves as the adverb of διατελής. But A has διατελέως, Hippokr. III 324, and Littré adopts it in III 48 (where τελέως also occurs); διὰ τέλεος 38, 62, 132, &c.

occurs); διὰ τέλεος 38, 62, 132, &c.

So even Kühner-Blass I 286. The hyphaeresis cannot be defended by (τε) τράπεζα.

μα occurs frequently in Herodas (4_{20} , 33, 43, 5_{13} , 5_{6} , &c.) as an interjection employed by women to express astonishment or indignation. The scholiast on Theokr. XV 89 errs in restricting the word to the dialect of Syracuse and in limiting the range of its use to vexation. It is doubtless the same as μα, Aischylos' Suppl. 890. Meister Herodas p. 684 sees in the word (originally) an invocation to the μεγάλη μήτηρ. Cf. English marry!

μέν = μήν, § 139.

μεσηγύ (Hom., Theog.) in Ionic prose occurs in Hippokr. only. μέχρι, see § 715.

μηδαμά Halikarn. 238_{39-40} , Hdt. I 68, II 91, III 65, VII 50, not -μâ with Aldus, d, and once in R and B. Jacobitz' -μâ in Lukian's Syr. dea 21, 22, 23 is not Ionic. οὐδαμά appears twelve times in Hdt. with -μâ in Aldus and often in R b d. οὐδαμά occurs in Anakr. 50, Theog. I 363, I 373. Hdt. has also οὐδαμῆ I 24, 34, 56, II 43, II6 (οὐδαμῆ Aret. 25). μηδαμῶς and οὐδαμῶς are also Herodoteian.

μήκοτε perhaps (?), Hrd. 317.

ral in val μά (Hom.) Archil. 108, Anan. 4, Theog. 1045, Hrd. 1₆₆, 7₇₁, 93, ναὶ Δήμητρα 1₈₆, ναὶ Μοῦσαν Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 6₁ (νὴ Δί' 2₈₁ is Attic).

иє́шта, cf. § 289, 1.

νηποινεί Amphip. 10,0, and so to be read in Andokides, Plato, and Demosthenes. Cf. ἀσπουδεί, ἀσυλεί above.

ru (Hom.) occurs in Aret. 171.

ruri Hdt. VII 229 (R νῦν), is excluded from the language of tragedy and history (except Xenophon), but used by the orators and Plato. Lukian has ταυτί, Syr. dea 23.

δπου, που, &c. are the regular forms in the inscriptions, which never have δκου, κου, &c. Cf. § 342. In Keos 4322 we find δπου άν with the subjunctive, elsewhere δπου is followed by the indicative.

δπως is frequent in Ionic inscriptions considering the chances for its occurrence. It is found with the subjunctive in Thasos 71_6 , Ephesos 147_{17}^{-1} , with the optative in Samos 221_{16} , with the future indicative in Samos 221_{16} . Herodotos has no liking for $\delta\kappa\omega_S$ (twelve times) or for $\delta\kappa\omega_S$ δν (five times) in the pure final sentence, though he allows greater scope for the $\delta\kappa\omega_S$ of incomplete finality. The imperative $\delta\kappa\omega_S$ occurs once (III 142). Hippokrates uses $\delta\kappa\omega_S$ with the subjunctive in II 64 $\delta\omega_S$, III 242, VII 230, $\delta\kappa\omega_S$ δν II 74, III 254, IV 228, VII 212 ($\delta\kappa\omega_S$

¹ Swes & is probably Attic in an Ephesian inscription in Dittenb. Syd. 1341, p.

åν δοκέη and ὡς ἀν δοκέη VIII 498), ὅκως with the optative I 634 and Lukian Syr. dea 26, 27. In complete final sentences the poets use ὅπως twice only (Hipponax 853 hexam., Anakr. 632). Exclusive of Pindar, ὅπως (and ὡς) in these sentences occur chiefly in Hipponax and Anakreon; a fact which may have its explanation in local preferences (Gildersleeve A. J. P. IV 432). In the incomplete final sentence ὅπως appears in Sim. Amorg. 780, who also uses ὅπως with the future (15).

δτῆμος Hrd. 3₅₅ may contain a prefixed δ-, as in δκοῖος, δπηνίκα. When ὅτε and ῆμος are conjoined, the latter precedes as in Apoll. Rh. IV 267, 452, 1310, Anthol. Pal. app. 51₂₅ (cf. εὖτε ὅταν Aret. 89, εως ὅτε Ζοςίmος I 5, 3, if not in Thuk. IV 117, Xenoph. Kyrop. V 1, 25, &c.). Both Hdt. and Hippokr. use ῆμος. That τῆμος was not restricted to poetry is clear from Thessalian τᾶμον. In Hippokr. IX 14 Littré reads τ' ῆμος, where some MSS. have τῆμος.

οὐδαμά, see under μηδαμά.

ούνεκα, see § 715.

οὖτω, οὖτως. Το § 366 may be added that in Herodas οὖτω occurs before consonants and at the end of the verse, οὖτως only before vowels. In 4_{71} οὖτως ἐπιλοξοῖ of the MSS. is metrically inferior to οὖτω ἐπιλοξοῖ. But in 6_{71} we have another case of the anapaest in the second foot (or shall we write $\mu a\lambda κός$ with Meister?). In the fourth foot we find the anapaest in 2_{31} , 6_{55} .

öφρα was not used by any post-Homeric writer of Ionic stock. It occurs four times in Theognis.

πάγχυ (Homer) Hdt. I 31, IV 135, and in tragedy (Septem 641). In Frogs 1531 it occurs in hexameters. Attic prose uses πάνυ instead.

πάλιν (cf. p. 289, note 4): in Hrd. 2_{52} πάλι $[\nu]$ μν $\hat{\eta}\nu$ is preferable to πάλι, whose nasal may have been omitted because of the μ . Before other consonants than μ we find πάλιν (4₄₇, 7₉₈). Kallimachos epigr. 12₂ uses πάλι to obtain a pyrrhic. In Homer we find παλίωξις.

πάξ interjection, Hrd. 7_{114} ('it fils,' also 'enough'). διαμπάξ, ἀπόπαξ, ἐπίπαξ, ἐσάπαξ Hdt. VI 125 (cf. ein-fach), are from the same root (πἄγ-, cf. πήγνυμι). Cf. ἀναμίξ Hdt. I 103 and σύμμιγα VI 58, ἐναλλάξ III 40, Hippokr. V 728.

πέρ occurs often in Hdt. and Hippokr., where Attic prose has καίπερ.

πέρην Hdt. VI 44, 97, &c., Hippokr. IV 380 (right through of καῦσις). The word is connected with περάω, πόρος, not with πέρας. There is no form πέρη=Attic πέρᾶ, but Hdt. VI 33 has πέρηθε.

whether occurs only in Hdt. (III 34, V 18).

πρίν in Ionic inscriptions is found with the infinitive, Olynth. 8 B 5. πρὶν ή with the infinitive in C. I. A. IV B 53 a 9 is probably Ionic, as the document deals with matters pertaining to cult. πρὶν ή is a specific peculiarity of Ionic, since it occurs in Homer (E 288 = X 266), then in Herodotos and Hippokrates, while no Attic poet or prose writer uses the locution. In the pseudo-Hippokratic works πρὶν ή (ten times) is much less frequent than πρίν (twenty times) with the infinitive; a sign of the decline of the former construction. Hippokrates uses πρὶν ή with the subjunctive once (III 248) in a genuine treatise, whereas in the spurious works it occurs eight times 1. With the subjunctive, the genuine Hippokrates omits $\delta \nu$ twice (II 52, 330), his imitators insert it six times.

προίξ, see § 298.

πρόκα = $\epsilon i \theta i \hat{s}$, παραχρήμα in Hdt. I 111, &c., is always followed by $\tau \epsilon$ (πρόκατε). Cf. αὐτίκα, ἡνίκα for the extension of πρό by -κα.

πρώην (Homer 2), Hdt. II 53, also Attic (though some texts have $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\eta\nu$), is contracted to $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\nu$ in Hrd. 582. As Doric $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}(f)\ddot{a}\nu$ Theokr. VIII 23, XIV 5, or $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}(f)\ddot{a}\nu$, Theokr. IV 60, V 4, XV 15, became $\pi\rho\dot{a}\nu$, so Ionic and Attic $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}(f)\eta\nu$ became $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\nu$ in Herodas. In Kallimachos' choliambics (frag. 84, Schn.) we find $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\nu$ according to Joh. Alex. 329 (Hdn. I 4943). It would seem therefore that Herodas' $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\nu$ is wrong ($\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\nu$ Bücheler), or that Kallimachos' $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\nu$ is a mistake ($\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\nu$, Meister Herodas p. 775). The fact that Joh. Alex. gives as the full form $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\eta\nu$, not $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\eta\nu$ or $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\dot{\nu}\nu$ as Lentz writes, inclines us to the view that we should read $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\nu$ in Kallimachos. Both Joh. Alex. and Suidas regard $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}$ as the base of the word 4. An enlarged form of the same word is $\pi\rho\omega f\iotaos$ (cf. Skt. $\rho\ddot{\nu}\nu\nu\nu\nu$, Slav. $\rho\nu\nu\nu\nu\nu$, 'the first') which becomes $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\iotaos$ (Hdt. VIII 130, $\pi\rho\omega\iota\eta\nu$ VIII 6; cf. Hom. $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}\iotao\nu$ adv.) and $\pi\rho\dot{\omega}os$ in Attic.

σύνεγγυς (of place) Hrd. 143, Hippokr. IV 180.

τε is separated from its pronoun, after the epic fashion, in τὰ πέρ τε Hdt. I 74. Noteworthy uses in New Ionic are ἐπείτε or

 $^{^{-1}}$ On $\pi\rho\ell\nu$ &c. in Ionic writers, see Sturm's treatise, pp. 73 ff. and the works there cited.

The schol. Ven. A on O 470 reports that Zenodotos wrote major and that Aristarchos knew of this reading. In E 832 nearly all the MSS, have where $(A G \pi \rho \psi \eta \nu)$, in Ω 500 $\pi \rho \psi \eta \nu$ is supported by Eustathios alone.

³ This accent is found in p, Theokr. V 132, in k in VII 51. If the vulgate πράν in seven other passages is correct, we must suppose a form πρωγάν, which ill suits the traditionary accent of πράγν. πράνν could not become πράν in Doric as L. & S. state.

⁶ Apart from the difficulty in the way of a paragogic r, the Ionic form is however open; πρωί Hdt. IX 101, Hippokr. II 682, III 46 (cf. Hom. πρώϊ, πρώϊζα), πρωιαίτερον Arrian 264.

έπεί τε, νῦν τε Ι 125, VIII 101. In I 58, ἐμοί τε, quoted by L. & S. as another example, is now changed to ἐμοίγε with Reiske. Ionic has ἄτε quippe (Hdt. I 154, Hippokr. IV 224) as other dialects.

τέως ¹ in Herodotos is most frequent in the sense of for a time (I 11, 82, 86, 94, II 169, VI 83, VIII 74 where all MSS. have $\xi\omega_s$). In VI 112 it means up to this time. In IV 165 all MSS. have τέως the while, which is retained by Holder, abandoned by Stein and other recent editors for $\xi\omega_s$. In the spurious tractates of Hippokrates we observe a like usage (VI 180 where θ has $\xi\omega_s$, VII 232, VIII 344, 596 bis, 602). Cf. Galen gloss. p. 578. This use of $\tau \dot{\epsilon}\omega_s$ is now regarded by editors of the Attic prose writers as due to the Alexandrians, who used it as a relative. Lukian Syr. dea 25 has $\tau \dot{\epsilon}\omega_s$ $\mu \dot{\epsilon}\nu \dots \dot{\epsilon}\pi \dot{\epsilon}\dot{\epsilon}$ δ $\dot{\epsilon}$, whereas Hdt. uses $\tau \dot{\epsilon}\lambda$ 0s δ $\dot{\epsilon}$, $\dot{\epsilon}\pi \dot{\epsilon}\iota\iota\iota$ 0 $\dot{\epsilon}$, or $\mu \dot{\epsilon}\tau \dot{\alpha}$ 0 $\dot{\epsilon}$ 6 in apodosis. $\tau \dot{\epsilon}\omega_s$ 0 occurs on Attic inscriptions.

 $\tau \hat{\eta}$ there! Hrd. I_{82} ($\tau \hat{\eta}$, $\pi l \theta \iota$, with which cf. ι 347 $\tau \hat{\eta}$, $\pi l \epsilon$ olvov). $\tau \hat{\eta}$ is the instrumental (cf. Lith. $t \hat{\epsilon}$), $\tau \hat{\eta}$ the dative. Cf. Kyprian $\tau \hat{a}$, $\tau \hat{a} \delta \epsilon$, Doric $\tau \hat{a} \delta \epsilon$, Attie and Ionic $\tau \hat{\eta} \delta \epsilon$, Attie $\tau \eta \delta l$.

-τι. Adverbs in -τι occur in ἐγκυτί Archil. (Et. Mag. 31140), ἀμαχητί, ἀνωμοτί, ἀπαρτί, ἀπονητί, ἀτιμωρητί (Hdt.); -στι in μεγαλωστί, νεωστί, Σκυθιστί (Hdt.). Cf. A. J. P. VI 429. Where -τί takes the place of -τει it is not derived from it, at least in the classical period of the language.

τοι may be noted in ἐπεί τοι, Hippokr. IV 216.

τουτεῖ, adverbial locative, Kyme 3 A, is also Doric (Theokr. V 33, 45, 103).

χαλκίνδα reported by Hesychios (τὸ εἰς χαλκὸν κυβεύειν) appears in Hrd. 36.

-χου occurs e.g. in Hdt. in τριχοῦ (and τρίχα), διχοῦ (and δίχα), πολλαχοῦ (and πολλαχῆ), πενταχοῦ (III 117, not πανταχοῦ for which we have $\pi a \nu \tau a \chi \tilde{\eta}$).

χωρίς. Το \S 366 we may add that in Olynthos 8 B 13 we find $[\chi \omega \rho i]_s$ έκατέρους, in Miletos 100₈, Hippokr. II 18 $\chi \omega \rho i_s$ + consonant, in V 668 $\chi \omega \rho i_s$ followed by a comma.

3δε hither, Hippokr. VI 476, 478 as Protag. 328 D and the tragedians. Aristarchos denied that this use obtains in Homer.

 $\tilde{\omega}_{r}$ and $\tilde{\omega}_{r}$. To § 206 may be added that $\tilde{\sigma}_{r}$ εωιοῦν occurs in Amphip. 10_{21} , $\tilde{\eta}_{l}$ οῦν in Teos 158_{8} , $_{28}$ (late). In respect of the etymological relation of the two words (§ 252), Meister (*Herodas* p. 867) suggests that $\tilde{\omega}_{r}$ ν is to be derived from $\tilde{\eta}_{r}$ οῦν, as \tilde{a}_{r} ρα and $\tilde{\eta}_{r}$ ρα from $\tilde{\eta}_{r}$ άρα, and $\tilde{\mu}$ ων from $\tilde{\mu}_{r}$ οῦν $\tilde{\tau}_{r}$. If $\tilde{\omega}_{r}$ ν is from $\tilde{\eta}_{r}$ οῦν, it

 $^{^{1}}$ Cf. the story in the schol. on Plato's Hipparches p. 335 in reference to Tees from $\tau \epsilon \omega s$.

² So Hdn. I 516₂₁, II 332₃₄ (Joh. Alex. 40₂₆), schol. on Dionys. Thrax in Bekk. Anecd. II 969₁₄, who assume a Doric change of ou to o, which is out of

must, like h, have once been interrogative and asseverative. Meister quotes Philokt. 121 (ή μνημονεύεις ούν ά σοι παρήνεσα) as an example of \$\eta\$ our interrogative. Here, however, the words are separated and each has its own peculiar function. As a particle of asseveration, $\tilde{\omega}\nu < \tilde{\eta}$ où became (we must assume) postpositive, usurping the place of our (cf. the postpositive \(\eta_{\rho}a, \tapa_{\rho}a)\). That ων could in course of time be regarded as an uncompounded particle (cf. yŵv), and thus vacate its proper functions, is less difficult to understand when we observe the use of $\mu \hat{\omega}_{\nu}$ in Choeph. 177 μων οθν 'Ορέστου κρύβδα δωρον ήν τόδε; Androm. 82 μων οθν δοκείς σου φρουτίσαι τιν' άγγέλων; Sophist. 250 D μων ουν έν έλαττονί τινι νθν έσμεν απορία περί το δν; and Laws 966 B. Cf. also μῶν μή Rep. 351 E, &c., and such cases as η apa (from η åρa) in Soph., frag. 670. But where ων is interposed between preposition and verb, as is frequently the case in Hdt. (e.g. II 47, 85, 86, 96, IV 60; cf. Homeric our in the relative member) it is not easy to believe that it is derived from \$\eta \overline{v}\$. Meister is forced to admit that we may have been forced into the MSS, of Hdt. at the expense of ouv.

Adverbs from -εs stems regularly end in -εωs, not -ωs (§ 289, 2), except when the stem form is preserved, as in επίτηδες in Hdt., Hippokr. ἀκλεωs and ἀδεωs should probably be written -έωs.

ώς αν appears in Zeleia 113₁₃, 35 (after 334 B.C.), whereas in Attic inscriptions it does not occur with any frequency till the first century B.C. In Hdt. ώς and ώς αν are more frequent than ὅκως αν in the complete final sentence, though ώς and ὅκως are more common than ώς αν and ὅκως αν. In Hippokrates (according to Weber Absichtssätze p. 138) in complete final sentences we find ώς only (e.g. III 256, 258). See on ὅπως. Hipponax 433, Archil. 109 have ώς αν, Anakreon 623, 635, Hipponax 194 have ώς.

the question in an Attic word. Perhaps Hdn. had in mind such case as Doric λόγως, ἐπαινῶμαν. To the above etymology Tryphon objected that the two particles, whose contraction was assumed differed widely in meaning, (2) that μῶν was prepositive, οὖν postpositive, and (3) that he loss of the ν was inexplicable. Apollon. (de G. ... Schn.) meets the phonetic objection by the statement that, though some regard the loss of the ν as due to euphony, the truth is that μῶν is from μὸν μὸν μο δου (as Meister states, by equating Attic, as that dialect is Ionic δυνάμωι. So far from defending the derivation from μὸ οὖν (as Meister states, by equating Attic with Ionic he deliberted avoids the point raised by Tryphon in respect of the life the crisis in all dialects; but if the ων is adulterine the correct. Spurious ων is retained in crisis only when cut contraction does not take place (e. g. οὐροφόλακες = ο οὐρ

APPENDIX I

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS

17 13 f. b. (from below): on ἀτελέη see add. to p. 175. 32 9 f. b.: read 33 f. n. l. 2: read 4 for 6. 45 (§ 42): add Meister Die Mimiamben des Herodas 1893, Progor Inscriptiones Graecae metricae 1891 (see the review by Kaibel in G. G. A. 1892, p. 89). 477: on the contraction to 51 8 (and 58 note 1): the probability of η of a + e, see additions to p. 242. such an anacrusis is doubtful. The statement in the text is made on the authority of Rossbach Griechische Metrik 233. 56 21: κούραι, C. I. A. IV B 373 100, is not Attic. The inscription is furthermore noteworthy from the fact that it presents the only example of $\sigma \omega \zeta$ - for $\sigma \omega \zeta$ - in an early document found on Attic soil. The inscription is earlier than 400 m.c. 67 15: it may here be mentioned that some scholars still hold that there are cases of a in tragic trimeters which are heirlooms of the period when a, even after other sounds than e, i, v, p, had not become w. So Wecklein regards βαλόν Choeph. 571, γαθούση 772 as Old Attic. Verrall justifies the irregular a by assuming that the words in question are due to literary 57 12: dpfwr, see add. p. 225. 69 26: dele (§ 428). 70 7 f.b. note 1: etymological considerations speak in favour of deriving wards, paires and perhaps abone oxys in Attic from *warfos, *parfos and abf-, but the whole trend of the dislect is against compensatory lengthening upon the loss of f. These Attic forms, like Ionic Saos, are a stumbling-block to the uniformists. Kretschmer's theory, mentioned in note 2, will not hold ground in the face of 'Απατούρια, which contains a non-Attic ev. 'ΑπατΟριες appears in C. I. A. IV B 462 d 11 an archaic inscription, 'AwarOTous in III 2499, 2594 and perhaps 1057 (all late). On Ionic soil we find 'Aversupin Phanagoreia, Bechtel 1641, and also in Amorgos B. C. H. XIII 344, no. 2, though the document has 'ArarOpières and also KhevširOT. A Sarmatian inscription, I. G. A. 350, contains 'AwarOpO. The word is from 'Awaropfwith the 'copulative' a (cf. δμοπάτρια). Boiotian Muruxiar C. D. I. 713, does not prove that the Attic Mourigia is the direct result of the loss of the spirant in µorf-. As Schulze Q. E. 79, 514 suggests, it is possible that Boiotian Mur- may be a dialectal echo of Mour-. The v of the Boiotian form is noteworthy, not only because of its appearance in that dialect, but because Moure- occurs only three times in all the Attic inscriptions (once in the

fourth century, twice in the period of the empire). It may be regarded as certain that other causes than the desire to avoid a succession of short syllables produced the diphthongal forms 'Απατούρια, Μουνιχία in Attie. Keller in his Lateinische Volksetymologie derives Mourixia from a Semitic source, on grounds that seem insufficient, so far as I am able to judge of their value. 71 12; compare the variation between κόρα l. 1 and κούρη l. 5 in a Thessalian epigram, Kaibel no. 505; notes 1 and 2: see § 716. 75 16: In Prometh. 353 the MSS. have ἐκατοντακάρῆνον with a written over the η. 788 f.b.; νένωται Soph. frag. 191 (§ 296), cf. Dindorf's ἐπιβῶ Persai 1054. 79 note 2 ! read Meineke. Kock (elsewhere so spelled) is misprinted four times on p. 79, and 91: add the following treatises on the Dialect of Herodotos: p. 140 n. I. Bumke : De augmento verbi Herodotei, 1835. Förstemann : De vocabulis quae videntur esse apud Herodotum poeticis, 1892. Kloppe: De augmento Herodoteo, 1848. Molhem: De augmenti apud Homerum Herodotumque usu, 1876. Norên's treatise was published in 1876 (Upsala). 93 22 : for V, S, read v, s and so in the note below. Holder uses the signs V, S; 25: for the Florentine MS. (A) of the tenth, read (C) of the eleventh, 95 note 1 : Maunde Thompson (Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography, 1893, p. 119) thinks the papyrus 100 6: for specifically read specially, as a k form is at least as old as 250 B.C. has appeared in Aiolic. See additions to p. 290. The statement on p. 26, 1, 6 must also conform to the new evidence presented. 1018: add vol. X. xxxii, 1861. 101 note 2, 1. 2: read 57 for 56, and add τέλεως Κου 37011 3814, 16, 40 A 5 (Paton and Hicks) to the list of Koan Ionisms. 104 16, 17: dele δταν, δθεν. 106: add to the list of differences between Hdt. and Hippokr.: -θε Hdt., -θεν Hippokr. § 716; δυσί Hippokr., not in Hdt.; the inflection of κέρας, § 544. 117 22 : Kabbadias in Δελτίον 'Αρχαιολ. 1891, p. 129 refers the inscription in question to the first century before Christ. 129 20: the grammarians usually accent ὀστέον without reference to the dialects. In Theokr. k has ὀστίον, Ahrens ὄστιον. In Hrd. 462, 65 (cf. p. 256, 8 f. b.) we find άργυρευν which I have written -εῦν, though this accent is quite uncertain; last line: add Aμολγος Arkadios 4717, 'Αμοργός Steph. Byz. 130 17 f. b.: 131 (§ 126): for πήχεων the MSS. of Hdt. usually have πηχέων, e.g. I 178. on the accent of the forms from léω, τιθέω &c., see § 691, and note 2. 132 20: after κρατερός, insert καρτερός. 133 16: for τρέψω, στρέψω read τρέφω, στρέφω; 21: after 'a form' add: apart from the doubtful έτρατόμην. These cases occur in II 80, IV 60, V 15, VI 33, 119, VII 18. In the active, τράπω is found in all the MSS. only once (III 81), whereas τρέπω occurs 18 times without a v. l. When there is variation in the MSS., ABOM have τρέπω (VI 26, VII 52), except in II 92 where d alone supports the ε form. In the middle τρέπεσθαι occurs in V 86 (ABCd), τρέπονται V 61, τρέπεται I 117. II 17 in all MSS. ἐτραπόμην &c. (20 times) is certain and the agristic use is not difficult in many cases. It is a significant fact that τράπεσθαι, the reading of all the recent German editors in the present, is never without the v.t. τραπέσθαι (I 11, III 157, VI 52, VIII 16). The adoption of τράπω throughout involves the assumption that at least in the active the original form has been almost completely obliterated. On the other hand, it should be stated that a τράπω alongside of τρέψω, έτρεψα &c. is an unusual, and therefore, a probable form. Homer has τραπ- only in the denominative τραπέω Κ 421, η 125; 3 f. b.: καρδίη Theog. 366, 1236, Hrd. 157, καρδιηβόλει 422. Homer has θρασυκάρδιος. 134 20: Hrd. has τεμείν 641, 7117, τεμεύσα 441. τέμνω appears in the Hymn to Demeter 384, Solon 1347. 135 3: ἀρωδιός

Hrd., Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 54 = Attic eposios Babrico 942 without the icta. 186 14 : read καταλελάβηκε. 140 7: Schmidt has now discussed in full the question of the assimilation of vowels in K. Z. XXXII 321 ff. To the examples mentioned by me (έρετή, έρσην, ἀττέλεβος, Έρμώνοσσα, δβολός, Τορώνη, τέσσερες, άρρωδέω, έτερος, μέγεθος), Schmidt adds many others, e.g. 'Απόλλων, αδάξομαι, αστακός, γόργυρα, -κόντορος p. 142, κρόμμυα, ουλαί, ψακάς. separis p. 141 might be added to the list. 141 19 f. b.: in opposition to this dissimilation, see now footnote 3 to p. 566; 4 f. b.: cf. also αλετρίβανος Hdn. II 2594, Eust. 18310 for άλο-, 'Ανδρέσιος Thessalian, C. D. I. 326 III 10, 143 3 f. b.: Hrd. has έσσθμαι, Class. Rev. V 480, I.a. Opoéas in Pindar. 144 5: the analogy of secus, secius is defective. See Arch. f. lat. Lex. IV 602; 21: Hrd. has Thews 411, 25. Thaθi, on a late metrical inscription from Paros (C. I. G. 2388, 12) contains the weak, epic Thyos the strong form; cf. πίμπλαθι and πίμπληθι formed from πίμπλη. 145 II f. b.: add Λεώφιλος Archil. 69; footnote l. 2: read pa for ap. Cf. § 478, where it is shown that 'Aμφιάρεος, not 'Aμφιάρεως, may be the form native to the New Ionic of 146 13: add vewnopy Hrd. 400, vewnopov 441, 46, vewnopos Oropos 18_{6.7}, 24, 41; 2 f. b.: ἀγαίομαι is from *ἀγασχομαι, as δαίομαι from *δασχομαι. A supposed παλέω by the side of παλαίω (§ 593) is not to be regarded as a support for ayéonas by the side of ayalonas. 147 14 : μέζονα Orop. 18₁₆; 14 f.b.: read 13 times, µel(wr twice (336 and V 3). 149 II: on the expulsion of e before o, see § 287 and additions to pp. 254, 255. 152 9: -in also occurs in προεδρίη Xenophan. 27, τυραννίη 31, ταινίαις Empedokles 402, μεσημβρίη Kaibel 4413; 12: add Schulze Q. E. 291; 19: -Stor may be regarded as an independent suffix; cf. lxθύδιον and lxθύδιον. Στρατώνδης, Μενώνδης are found in Έφημ. ἀφχ. 1887, 83 ff. (Eretria ; 22: Δαρίκός Hrd. 7102, 122. The Ionic form is Dapeneds Hdt. VII 28, Erythr. 20217-18. Meister Herodas 746 regards Δαρϊκός as Koan Doric. The form with appears in Teges, I. G. A. 69. Cf. Χαιρω-153 6 f. b.: cf. Johansson Sprachkunde, p. 8; deranés reinds and Xaipwrinds. is assimilated from δστακός as άδάξεται &c. Hippokr. VIII 214, 330, 352 (cf. 568' from didferai (Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 390, 391); 2 f. b: Kauasapin occurs in Latysch. II 191, 5; note: βάθρακος is the form in the modern dialect of Amorgos. 154 (§ 150): cf. p. 265, § 295, III A and appendix; end: Hrd. 8, has τόνθρυζε (as Babrios 97.), but τονθορύζω 67, 777. Cf. Lobeck's Phrymichus 155 (§ 153 : verbs that have v in Homer usually do not protract the vowel in the later literature, c. g. φΰω < φμω, in Mimn. 21, Archil. 42, Theog. 1164, Sim. Keos 854 (Sim. Amorg.?., Empedokl. 70, 154, 202 (but \$6 in Solon 434, Theog. 537, 1134, Empedokl. 66), 65eare Hippon. 372, Bederra Anakr. 65,. On the other hand for by < organ, we find by Hrd. 740, Teller 2 486, veros Nikand. Ther. 273. Cf. wrow in Apoll. Rhod. II 570, IV 925. Theokr. VI 39, Ισχύω in Babrios 194 (as Pindar frag. 61) with five cases of lσχύω; 6 f. b.: Hippokr. has ρυφ. V 370, 374, 386, ροφ. II 306, 456, VII 60, 156 17 f. b.: after Greek word, add except in the case of huner p. 157. 157 : before § 156 insert Κύδιλλα Hrd. 541, 40, a word showing the shortening of the radical vowel that occurs in proper names. 162 15: divase (MSS. dérraor Herakl. 111 (not III). 168 18: Europ occurs in Aret. 54; (§ 162, 2): draph Teos 156 B 30, 36, Chios 174 C 11, Mylasa 248 A 12, B 12, C 15, ἐπάρdσθω Chios 174 C 9, Πολυάρητος Thance 72, "Appres, a Chian, Ross Iner. incit. II 147, a Samian, Dittenb. Syll. 396, (but "Apares Erythr. 206 B 44), 'Aρήτη Olbin, Bechtel 133, Δημάρητος Hdt., Delos 56, Styra 1910, Auxdentes E Hrd. 544 has κατήρητος, which Brugmann (in Meister's Herodes

explains as derived from aph on the principle referred to in § 165, note. The final a of Attic apa is difficult. It may be mentioned that Schulze Q. E. 90 derives it from *apafa. See Danielsson Epigraphica p. 41. footnote 3: in regarding the α of Attic κάλη as long, I have followed L. & S.; but whence they derive their authority for this quantity I do not know. From the ancient grammarians we learn merely that the Attic form is adan. The congener is haull rupture (as in Hippokr.) found in the Older Edds. κάλη might be regarded as καξελ-, κήλη as καξλ-. If κάλη has ā, it is from κάξλ. Hesychios does not refer καλάζω or κάλαμα to any dialect. 165 4: κάλόs is found on a Delian inscription (531) and in Herodas 7115. To the occurrences of καλός in Herodas, add 154. The word always has its initial syllable in the arsis of the second foot, except in 7,115. Kallimachos has 14 cases of κάλος, 8 of κάλος, Bion 5 and 11 respectively; 7 f.b.: γλάσσα <γλαχία, is the correct form, and is reported by Et. Mag. 558, Homer, Hdt., Hippokr., Miletos 100, Aischrion 1, &c. have the common form γλώσσα. With γλάσσα, cf. γλάσσων' μωρός, ανούστατος, in Zonaras 439. Has κάριs, Ananios 52, its άρ from apf? ακολουθήσας Hipponax 55 B has an ā that I cannot explain, if the reading is correct. 168 10 f.b.: for not read may be, and cf. appendix to p. 163. 169 13: cf. παμπησία Ekkles. 868. 170 2: in later Greek ηη was regarded as cacophonous. Cf. ἀηδιζόμην for ήηδ-, Hdn. II 78722. Schmidt K. Z. XXV 23 supposes an inflection drift whence ήήρ, ήέρα, and ἄνετός or ἄντός whence Homeric αύρη. Schulze Q. E. 67 thinks and is due to a like contamination as that which produced wap, waper from ψήρ, ψάρδς (cf. K. Z. XXV 20); but on p. 27 he can give no reason for the retention of the a in and and in Hom. δυσαής. Hesychios has fipa tor άέρα, an Ionie gloss; 3 f. b.: analogy with βασιλέος would better serve to explain veós = veós. 174 note I: σπείρης Papyr. du Louere 69 C 7, C. I. G. 3132, 3615, 5050, Arch. Zeit. XXXVII 136, no. 269, Papers Amer. School II no. 33, 7, βεκτούρηs edict of Diocl. J. H. S. XI 317. 175 23: Kühner-Blass cite ἀτελέην from Eretria, Έφημ. άρχ. 1890, 196 ff.; 30: the Teian inscription may date before 350 B. c. 176 4: Hrd. 4ss has byin, not byin as stated, with an anapaest in the fifth foot. In 45 Υγία is possible. In 405 Meister reads byt(a), a form found in Kos 34516 (Paton and Hicks). The passage is however quite uncertain (perhaps $\delta \gamma i \hat{\eta} = \delta \gamma i \epsilon(l) \eta$). The form $\delta \gamma i \hat{\eta}$ is from ύγιθη rather than from ὑγιθη as stated. 177 I (cf. p. 200, 4 f. b.): Schulze Q. E. 489 calls attention to the fact that the penult of Attic lepela is never long beyond doubt, and proposes to read lepéa for -la. With leph, cf. Mexaleph, παριερή (?) Plutarch (an seni 24); 6: for Hdt. read Ionic. 179 7: πρηυμενής Kaibel 61840 (late). Pausan. VII 18, 5 even gives Theorying as the name of the father of the ancient Agenor, and on a late Spartan inscription (C. I. G. 180 15 f. b.: dele Αίγινηται. 1253) we find Πρευκλητία. 181 to f. b.; 185 20: loos or rather loos, in Homer is from *firafos read I7 for 98. (cf. § 395), which contains the weak stem of Feidos, Feidouas. Cf. Bechtel Philol. Anzeiger 1886, p. 15, Brugmann Grundriss II p. xiii. The objection to the old explanation from flofos, a form preserved in Kretan, is that medial σF does not become $\sigma \sigma(\sigma)$. Schulze Q. E. 88 asserts that when σF follows the accent, it becomes $\sigma\sigma(\sigma)$, but when the accent follows, σF disappears with lengthening of the preceding vowel (tos from *lσfos, vaos from vaσfos; but both forms may have had originally a long radical vowel). This law is not borne out by the facts, and Schulze himself (p. 55) regards * (FFace as the descendant of *tofade. Homer uses loos (fooes) in the arsis only, except in a single instance (0 607). Et. M. 47710 says: eбparas to s marphr sal βραχό· παρὰ μὲν τῷ ποιητῷ ἀεὶ μακρὸν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πεζολόγοις βραχό. καὶ **παρὰ** τοις εποποιοις εθρηται και συνεσταλμένον ώς παρά Καλλιμάχψ. παρά δὲ τοις τραγικοίο και κωμικοίο συστέλλεται δεί το ι. κατά δε ιαμβικούο έπαμφοτερίζει. Hesiod has for: W. D. 752, Theognis in 678, Kallimachos for and loss, each four times, Theokritos both. In Babrios we find loss once (1511), foes 352, 677, and [10616]. In Herodas the word occurs four times, but of these 270 is the only passage showing the quantity. Here the original reading epis utres was changed by the copyist, who inserted of before utv. The recent editors of Herodotos accept 100s, except Holder, whose loss is not well supported in the MSS.; 25: 'Epulas occurs in a verse attributed to Hipponax by Suidas (Bergk II 362). It is however not certain that the verse is a choliambic; 8 f. b.: Hrd. has only γίνομαι (127, 725, I 2), Babrios only γινώσκω, γίνομαι. 186 7: Homer has βραχίων N 532, the Aithiopis frag. 32 κυδίονα, Theog. κάκξον 811, 1175, Sim. Keos epigr. 142, κάλλῖον, Babrios 56, καλλίων. See Schulze Q. E. 300; 8: Euriere has the I of Fieum (§ 699). In Ananice 5 the tetrameter ends, according to the MSS., in v. 3 with apeas, v. 4 with devicer, v. 5 with κάλωπέκων, for which are substituted κρείαs and άλωπήκων. 187 (§ 199): 200 on p. 155 above; last line : add υ by crasis, as in χύποδημάτων Hrd. 7er; 4 f. b.: κλύθι, which occurs in Archil. 75, Anakr. 76, Empedokl. 75, Theog. 4, 13, is the Homeric form. In the epos its place is always at the beginning of the verse. Solon 13, makes use of the epic κλῦτε, but post-Homeric Ionie refrains from employing the form. Whatever the explanation of addre, addle must be held to represent a pre-Hellenic contamination of * RACOG and * RAUGE. and not a metrical licence. κλύω occurs in Phoinix of Kolophon 21, at the end of the choliambic, and Eudokia, whose metrical sins are many, countenances the same quantity in II 323. For κλύω in Phoinix, 'κούω has been suggested by Schulze Q. E. 332, who has treated in full the verbs in - 500. 188 ι : Schulze Q. E. 5 derives δρσοθύρη from -θυρια. δρσοθύρη has no suffix. Cf. πλημμύριs by the side of πλήμμυρα <-υρία; 3: σκύλος is correct; cf. σκύλος and σκύλος; 14: Θεοδώτης Thasos 77 A 8 may be correct. Cf. Θεοδώτας in Keil's An. epigr. et onom. 106; (§ 201): the stem πλef in Homer and Hdt. belongs to the present, whaf to the agrist and perfect; 7 f.b.: read faces. θώκος is from θόγακος, which may be read in Homer β 14, 4 3, 0 468. 190 12: for six read nine. For a discussion of obv dv, see § 716. 192 11 : Hrd. 5et has 'Axaards in agreement with Simonides' 'Axaas. Meister would even 193 16 f. b.: raier is not an read 'Axaty, -airos in Hdt. cf. Eußoiros'. example in point. When an apparent diphthong is formed by the glide iola, a long syllable is not the result. Californi is u--, Happalys -u- &c. vdw is from *vdfiw, of which vdfw is a by-form. Cf. nhale and nhdw. Schulze 195 19: for 609 read 608; l. 22: cf. § 517. 197 8 : ἐτολέων Eretria Έφημ. dox. 1890, p. 196 ff. Σωκρατέα is the name of a Parian woman. Kaibel 218, second century A. D.). 198: δριμέα is not used by Hdt. Insert leefar Hrd. 533, πλατείαν Hrd. 633. With τραχήσε, cf. γλυσήσεν Hrd. 449, 'Hδη̃ar Delos, B. C. H. VI 338, no. 41, παχής Sappho 55, δέῆα, βαρίαι Ahrens II 163, ταχῆος An. Ox. I 34123, πολιτῆαν § 232. 199 5: if it can be proved that the feminine follows the inflection of the masculine, the exception Taxeur vanishes, and a change is necessary in the statement made in § 124. In Longinos περί δψους 32, 3 θρασέων has support. Cf. Diels Das stritte Buch d. aristolelischen Rhetorik 26, and Usener Index lect. Bonn. 1880-81, viii. Meister Herodas 826 thinks that the -ea forms for -esa are due to a confusion with the masculine which took its rise from such collocations as 6/12ea Isray. Greg. Kor. p. 440 quotes as Ionic τῶν θηλέων ἴππων μίαν; 19: for 13 read 14; Hrd. 3.5 has πλέω; 10 f.b.: 'Αμαλθίη may be treated like an abstract noun in -ιη, whereas 'Αμαλθείης is comparable to -ειη, -ειά. Cf. προμηθίη and προμηθείη. Babrios has 'Αμαλθείης 10811, ἀλήθεια, -είης, but 'Αληθίην 126, which may be added to the list on p. 196. An instance of the disappearance of , is Kλeovs Hrd. 302 from *Kλefić; I f. b.: Hippokr. has τελει- e.g. II 124, 306. 200 1: read 345; 11 and 17: on μουνογενέην, άδελφεός see add. to p. 235; 14 f. b.: with εὐμαρέη cf. ἀτελέη, add. p. 175; 3 f. b.: read Πανάκη and cf. 201 (§ 220): add veids Samos, Mitth. VII 367 ff., B. P. W. 1892, p. 1411. elds Teos, Mitth. XVI 292, l. 19, Iasos, Greek Inscript. in the British Museum III 1 no. 440, 2, 3. Hellanikos 39 has Θεισμένητα, whose ει may be epic as the numerous examples of their in Alexandrian literature and in Kaibel's Epigrammata. This beio- is different from beiov cited from the inscription from Priene, in that the initial syllable is long; 13 f. b.: Basilelow Septem 820 in M contains an example of the glide iota; so also etwore = two in Hesychios. 202 1 : elapor may be an imitation of Ferapovos, whose er is certainly due to the ictus. It is found in the Anakreontea 427, Babrios 1315. elap blood stands for ħαρ < ēsar, as θείσμεν for θήσμεν. The Kyprian form is ἔαρ, whose e is from η. elpeσίη, which in Homer is due to metrical licence, appears in Hdt. I 203, II 11, IV 110 and even in Thuk. VII 14. An analogous case is στειλαιδε Hippokr. III 444, VIII 216 with the ει of Homeric στειλειή. I know of no etymology which will render the et of these words a spurious diphthong due to compensatory lengthening. Babrios [1411] has στελεά. 203 6 f. b. : ¿cîvos Hrd. 233, 94. Names in ¿civ-, partly through influence of the epic, have extended their range to dialects, to which the spurious es is not native. Cf. Attic Ξενοκλής Ξείνιδος, Rhodian Ξείνιος, Ξεινιάδας, Καλλίξεινος, and Εεινώ in an inscription from Karpathos. Πρόξενος Ξεινιάδου occurs on an inscription found near Kyzikos, B. C. H. XII 189, 18. 204 16 : read Στενύκλαρος, which, like στενυγρός, is formed from στεν + the suffix v. The spirant f does not pass into v in such positions as overf + consonant; 20: after οῦνεκα, insert &c.; footnote 1: add Pseudo-Plutarch Life of Homer 1075 B (where μείλαν is wrongly added, the , being due to the ictus in 205 4: elpion Hrd. 818 but fpion 672. Theokritos too has μείλανι Ω 79). both forms. Hdt. has elpiveos. 208 10: on the second et of Elacidulni, and on Εlθύμαχος, see now § 392. The first ει of Είλειθυίηι is borrowed from Homer, where it is the result of the same metrical production as that appearing in ελληλουθα. Ελειθυίηι occurs again in Delos, B. C. H. 1890, 399. 200 18 f. b.: read before ε, η, ει. This ε appears as ι ε. g. in Herakleian έξεπόϊον, Boiot. ποϊόμενος; 9 f. b.: Anakr. 60 may be read ποϊήσεις. Hrd. has ποεύσα in 690, and ten cases of ποι-. Babrios 26g, 129ge has ήλόησε, but ήλοία 9815, ἀλοιήσας 12218. Schulze Q. E. 52 distinguishes ἀλοιάω strike from ἀλοιάω thresh, the latter verb often losing its i in Attic. 210 4 : Hippokr. II 364 has ροιή; 16: the existence of such doublets as πνοή <πνοξά and πνοιά, πνοά < πνοΓιά might tend to produce the inconsistency we observe between ποίη &c. and χλόη, φθόη. It is not clear why Plato (I 652 Kock) should adopt an Ionic φθόη. Perhaps, as in the case of χλόη, the Attic dialect lost the intervocalic , before the law of the Attic à came into existence. 211 11 f. b.: cf. Schulze Q. E. 29. 215 6 f. b.: we should write Anakor, Ariakeer in order to reach Aéaknos. 218 6: Karelnet Chios, B. P. W. 1889, 1194 ff. Cf. Stolz I. F. II 154, Bücheler R. M. XLI 119; last line: opioxoos <- wor.

Archil. in Lexicon Messan. R. M. XLVII 409. 219 Ι : αὐτῶι, αὐτοῖ, τοῖ δήμοι occur in two early Eretrian inscriptions (Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196, 200); 10: Hekat. 353 has know and so Babrios 1152, but Lykophron Alex. has nating 425, 220 last line: κυέσσα Kos, Paton and Hicks 37sr, e1. lepeds and Εδπαθίδηs (not on coins) belong in § 246, 2 (fourth century); 7 f.b.: cf. αγρυπνέυοντα (sic) v. l. Theog. 471, ἐπολευόμην Babrios 12811, 12923, δορυβευόμενον v. l. Hippokr. IX 360, σαλευμένη conj. Archil. 102 for -ευομένη. Hipponax Lever (v-) in the Anecdota Graeca of Studemund and Schoell p. 45. If in σαλευμένη, Archil. 102, ευσ became εσ and then ευ, we have the most advanced stage of the process. Photios cites sales, the denominative from odles, and from it the form in Archil. may possibly be derived. 223 13: [2] Troublins Styra, I. G. A. 372, 355, from orroubles Samos 22020. 224 9 : cf. § 716; 10 f. b. : cf. κώνομαστόν in Phoinix of Kolophon 1,1. 225 2: OREHI on an archaic inscription from Amorgos, B. C. H. XII 236, no. 9, does not settle the difficulty as regards the ou of oloos. So far as the evidence in Ionic is concerned, there is only one form in ou (dr object: Simon. Amorg. 141) that may not be referred with certainty to the influence of the epos, where edges may be ascribed to ictus lengthening. If spor is the Ionic proce form, then the passage in Simonides must be epic too, and one of the rare epic reminiscences in trimeter. de object occurs also in Sappho 94 (hexameter), where δρρεσι may be correct, and in Pindar Pyth. VI 21. Outside of Ionic, all that makes for the loss of a spirant after p is 2005, whose appearance in Theokritos and Kallimachos, Ahrens II 162 regards as hyper-Doric (accuadum analogiam a poeta fictum). However this may be, 'Opelous is not an Alexandrian figment. 'Oper- or Objer- do not occur, so the word remains a puzzle. ***reas** declas in Hipponax is of course the proper form if sees was used in proce. The phrase recurs in Euripides' Hek. 1110. Hdt. has doewes I 110 in all MSS. oloos in Hdt. is never supported by MS. consensus, and is never found in AB, rarely in Rs, very often in s alone; 22: οδροι τομένους (sic) Iasoa, Millh. XIV 108, no. 61, obpos Theog. 826, Theokr. XXV 27, Spos Hrd. 200. The old Kretan form is spors Mon. Ant. I 50. ofpera, objectivers probably belong to fooder. The asper in Attic spor is due to the influence of the article; o f. b.: read all MSS. Δούριδος is the name of a Samian in C. Curtius' Samische Inschriften no. 13; 3 f. b.: insert 'Απατούρια (addition to p. 70). for 'we look . . . form' read : Hdt. has no case of color in the MSS., always δλ[σ]σχερ έα' Keos 43, may be Ionic as the inscrip-8xos e. g. 11 126, IV 64. tion contains scarcely a trace of Atticism; but δλοσχερής in Hippokr. LX 106 need not be Ionic. A difference between Herakleitos and Herodotos in respect of the form of the word would be highly remarkable. Skt. advace should be represented in Ionic by obtos only. The scholiast on Nikander's Ther. 377 reports that Herodas used ofth in the verse ofth Kar' 100 Barnely καλύψη (read κνάψη . The papyrus Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 83) has edge at the beginning of this verse. In the other passages where the word occurs (318) 511, 67) and the papyrus has odes, the ou-form would suit the metre equally well. Aratos 717 has oblos, but Theokritos and Kallimachos make use of Shor only; 17 f. a: in epic parody Epicharmos may use Ionic vocalism, e.g. ben xards nadentoplowr nevenpor Lor. p. 280 (no. 73), and dr nevre nevar yourast neital according to Ahrens no. 161 c), whereas Lorenz thinks yedrast Reital does not belong to the fragment; cf. also Lor. p. 253 no. 2 (= Ahrens 227 10: read 78 B 6 for 78 B 11; 9 f.b.: HevAurieu may 88 and pp. 134ff. be due to the influence of the epic names in Hours which have choriambic

measure. Examples of names in prose whose forms are due to epic authority are: Πειρίθοος, Τειρεσίας, Ελρέσιον, Ελλατίων, Ελλείθυια. Latin polypos inclines us to believe that πούλυπος is a folk's etymology. 228 15 f. b.: the Samian όδοῦ is the Attic form of the Ionic οὐδοῦ threshold (Hdt. I 90), not from δδός way. obδός threshold was adopted by the Kown (Jahrbücher, Suppl. XVI 799, Heliodoros Aithiop. I 29, II 3, scholiast Oid. Kol. 163, 192). In the Ion of Plato 535 B, an epic passage, we find obook; and in Aristotle's Metaph. H chap. 2, 3 this form of the word occurs. The etymology of obbas is uncertain. Hdt. III 14 borrows the epic phrase ἐπὶ γήρασε οὐδῷ, as does Plato in the Republic 328 E: but the Attic form is δδφ (Menander IV 264, Lykurgos Leoir. § 40, Hyperides XX (XIX) 14) where we find ἐπὶ γήρως ὀδῷ. προσουδίζω in Hdt. V 92 (y) and the Hesychian &bbv also point to a form derived from δδf-, i. e. a spurious diphthong ov, not an ov lengthened to suit the metre. See Schulze Q. E. 114, 517. The etymology of vovoos (Old Norse snaudr) mentioned is that of Bezzenberger G. G. A. 1887, p. 419. 230 11: in § 565, 2 the wv forms are shown to have come from the dat. 233 14: examples of tmesis (Greg. Kor. 446, Vat. 699) are: ἀπὸ γὰρ ἄν ὅλοιτο τὸ ὑγιές Melissos 13, Hdt. II 39, 40, 47, 87 (with &v), Archil. 9, 70, Hipponax 32, 61, Simon. Amorg. 26, Anakr. 501, 58, 72, 80, Hrd. 35, 18, 85, 418, 29, 49, 93, 7114. Cf. Meister Herodas p. 678; 16: cf. footnote 2 p. 463 and Schulze Q. E. 443. 234 3: ήχέεντα &c. are from -ηεντα. In Περίκλεες, εε is from εfe and hence open, as in έδεε, cf. § 637, 2. εfε is contracted in εΙρέθην, § 634, 5; 4 f. b.: hiatus is allowed in the case of μηδέ έν Hrd, 173 and οὐδέ είς 144. Aphaeresis occurs 235 1 : νέην Hrd. Class. Rev. V 481 frag. 51, νεηνίσκοι Ιπ; in δεί νδον 7129. 5: lepη § 219, 9 and appendix to p. 177. On έηγα &c. see § 582; 12: κερδαλέα is the proper Attic form; cf. véa from véfa. The loss of f between vowels in Attic (except when o precedes) is older than the change of n to a (or a to n and then back again to a), whereas the loss of the spirant after liquids (xópn) is later than this change. See Solmsen K. Z. XXXII 519, 520, who there treats of ἀδελφεόs. Adjectives in -aλεοs lost F not ((\$5 287, 3, 311); 15: άδελφεή Hippokr. V 94; 13 f. b.: read γενής Hrd. 21, 441, γενή 232. It would seem to follow from Kretan yovedy (Museo Ital, III 736, 1. 3-4) that this word as well as γενεά has lost F not 1. 236 4: 'Pέη may be for *'Pήη < "Pήα. Pelη occurs in Babrios 1379. 237 3: synizesis ἀμαρτεῖ ἡ Hrd. 495. synizesis in τριτημήρη Hrd. 621, cf. 321. 239 14: the examples of -συχοι are from -(σ)οχος, not from -(F)οχος; 25: διπλόον Hrd. 254 but διπλούν 344. δρέσκοος < · φος in Archil., R. M. XLVII 406 (Lex. Messan.); 11 f. b.: synizesis in βίου δνησις Hrd. 734. 240 17: synizesis χρ[έ]ω δτι Hrd. 50. 242 19 f. b.: the occurrences of the crasis of $\alpha + \epsilon = \eta$ in Herodas may, it is true, be Doric. so far as the laws of crasis go; but the mixture of a + e to n in later literature is so frequent as to render it improbable that we have here to deal with a special loan from the Doric of Kos. κήρῶν is found in Phoinix 2με, κήν in the Anthology over twenty times, and κὴγώ, κὴπί and κὴξ are not infrequent. κἡπέμνσ' occurs in Kallimachos epigr. 41, κἡν in Kaibel 559, κἡπόθεων 550, &c. Schulze Q. E. 472 proposes to refer this form of crasis to the late pronunciation of kal as ke. Meister (Herodas p. 788) prefers to regard the crasis as comparable to that which lengthens the initial vowel of the following word (χύπό, ἄρα § 716), and compares κήμε, κήν in Aiolic. But in Herodas τà + ¿- results in τά-, never in τή-; 18: with Anakr. S, cf. γάρ al Εφεσίου Hrd. 472; 16: read κέγ γηι κέν θαλάσσηι l. 6, but κάμοι l. 17. The elision of at takes place only before two consonants in this ancient papyrus

248 6 f. b.: the reference § 182 belongs after # in L. 8. (cf. Meister 789). Homeric 8at8er 8at8es may be derived from the old nom. 8af6s, or they arise from 8a(1)1-, since an may become at or at, q. In no. 193 Bechtel edits 'Adyrats <'Adyraus in B. C. H. XIII 431, no. 3 (Imbros). 'Adyras had been possible; 5: synizesis παῦσαι Ικαναί Hrd. 361, crasis κίησώ Hrd. 46, χίλαρή 1602 244 3: attion occurs in Empedokles 2, where its a is under the ictus, and in Halikarn. 240; 7: the old inflection of die was as follows: present *afelow. whence do, second agrist *aficor, participle ards. The old present occurs in Hippokr. VIII 354 exacles (so θ without the accent), the first agrist (#feiσa) may be sought in ἐπῆσε (cf. § 703 end), or this form may be derived from the later present ate (de) which is found in Hippokr. VII 120. endie in Attic is lengthened from ender under the influence of also in Homer; 12: read 'Aχαϊκάs (sc. πέδαs); 19 f. b.: Demokr. 137 has σωφρονέουσι, Herakl. 106, 107 σωφρονείν. That f was the intervening spirant is new certain from Kyprian Zafoκλόfηs. Contraction probably ensued when neither a nor • was accented, as in σωφρονεῖν (cf. delves). The ω of σώφρων is borrowed from supporeir or supporur. Spitzer Lautiehre des Arkadischen 43 regards sufas the strong form of $\sigma a f$ -, and the numerous names in $\Sigma_{a^{-}}$ as formed directly from the former. It may be noted that Lykophron Alex, 679 has σαώσει; 15: Boiotian θιαωρίαν (Oropos, 'Εφημ. αρχ. 1892, 33 no. 62) shows that byfafwpos is the ground-form of Ionic Gewpos, Beupos and Doric Beapos. θυρωρός in Hdt. I 120 is from θυράΓωρός (Hom., θυράωρός). Hdt. III 72, 156 has (v, l.) πυλωρός = Hom. πυλάωρός (§ 279). Kühner-Blass II 588 (on p. 326) erroneously think that -oupos is the second part of the compound (#w\aoupos r. l. Ω 681) and that the w is due to assimilation. Hesychian wυλευρός may be from πυληωρός, πυλαυρός from πυλάωρός or opis. 245 11 f. b.: χήρακλής 246 17 f.b.: Acdvactor and Acdons are derived Hrd. $2_{94} = \kappa \alpha l + \delta + 'H\rho$. from Λη(Fo)Fa-; 6: Hippokr. has αλητοειδής V 720 from αλε Fa- (cf. Hesych. άλητον άλευρον). Ήγηναξ appears in Smyrna 153 (α. Αγήναξ Κου 49). Hrd. 62 has yaunegs. 247 20: on érôcâ, 800 \$5 5330, 536; last line: cf. \$ 716. 248 3: dele the sentence and cf. p. 567 footnote; 17: for 453 read 249 3: Hrd. employs synizesis in γ Αρτακηνή 7, aphaeresis in 454ήδη 'φαμαρτείς 5,1 (cf. αὐτή ἀπό 6,, ή ἀστός 27); 22: Θρέίσσα Hrd. 1,, is from 250 16 f. b.: add ἐπῆσε p. 588; 5: Hrd. 6, has κλείσον, Hippokr. 251 9: Hrd. 700 has βηδίως, Hdt. II 121 (a) βην. For κληίω and κλείω. ρηστώνη we must read ρηι- or ρη-; 20: Hrd. has τη ίδίη 5 er by synthesis. 253 14 f. b. : Κλεοφώντος Thasos 78 B 12, κλίος Hrd. in Class. Rev. V 481. 254 8 : θεορός Paros, Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich XI 187, no. 2 (cf. Mitth. aus Athen XV 75). The latest attempt at explaining the interrelation of ea, ev, ew in Ionic is that of Schulze Q. E. 145, who sees in these forms nothing but differences of orthography. Schulze would even read Λεωσέβεο Chios 177, and not -εο[s], though no other instance of -ευ for -ευ in the genitive is known. In Eretria 16 C 43 we find Appeleer (cf. the epigram attributed to Sophokles: 'Αρχέλεως' Πο γάρ σύμμετρου ώδε λέγειν) whose to cannot well be very different from the two of Atworks and Parallel with Λευτυχίδηs for Λεωτυχίδηs, the form of the name used by Pausanias and other writers for the native Doric Acrexidat, is Leuchares in Pliny XXXIV 7, 19 = Λεωχάρης Lowy 77-83, and 320-321 (the later artist). ... appears for ew< no in the first part of compounds outside of Ionic, a.g. Acceptant Henychion (Aeu- MSS, extra ord.), doxioperation C. I. G. 2001, 2006, reasilous in Delphi; cf. etc for ew<no in doctoropies, yetomines in Hesychica. Confusion

between o and w is very common in Attic inscriptions after 100 B.C. (e.g. Λεονίδης, Λεονάς, Λεοντίδος from λέων), but Λεοντίς comes to light as early as 320-17 B. C. (C. I. A. II 83562). Other cases of ew for so (\$ 248, and Boahlers in § 509, note) are too infrequent or singular to permit us to assume that the dialect adopted either so or sw at the pleasure of the writer or speaker. Schulze's explanation of lepéws as an analogue of the forms containing $\epsilon \omega = \epsilon o = \epsilon v$ is false (§ 477). Outside of the genitive, $\epsilon \omega$ became ϵo , ϵv when the accent followed; and it is more likely that the source of the change is not to be sought, with Bechtel, in the genitive, but in compounds whose εω did not bear the accent; 21: in Hrd. 585 the verse ends ἐορτὴν ἐξ ἐορτῆς, with which cf. Ion frag. 21 Nauck: ἐνιαυσίαν γὰρ δεῖ με τὴν ἐορτὴν [Dindorf δρτήν) άγειν. Meister would explain δρτή from έορτή (cf. Hdn. II 1852, 5612) as νοσσός from νεοσσός. See appendix to p. 255. Έρρτή occurs on a late inscription from southern Phrygia, Mitth. XVIII 206, no. 2, and toprain in Babrios 1323. 255 24: Meister (Herodas p. 813) proposes to modify the 'law' of Wackernagel in respect of the contraction or non-contraction of names compounded with 8co- (K. Z. XXIX 138) to the effect that Oco-, when followed by two consonants, became Oo-, provided the accent fell originally neither upon & nor o; but when the accent falls on o, then Ocoeither remains Oco- or becomes Oo-. When a single consonant follows, Ocoremains Θεο- or becomes Θε- (accented). Θόκλος Styra 1920s would, on this view, follow the pattern of Θοκλής C. D. I. 3028, and Θοδίων Styra 1922 might reflect Θεοδ Flwv (cf. Hom. θεουδής and Διοδής C. I. A. I 322, 2 where Kirchhoff reads Διώδης); but Κλόδεινος Styra 1921 violates the proposed rule, which is observed, according to Meister, in Έτοκλέ[ηs] Styra 1915, in δρτή from ἐορτή, and in vocabs from veocobs. Hdt, has veoco- II 68, III III but voca- I 159. νοσσ- occurs also in Panyasis (Kinkel 264, no. 26), Aischylos frag. 110, in the Anthol. Pal. IX 346, 2, 567, 2, the Septuagint, and Diodoros II 4, III 69. Respect for the etymology caused the rule of Phrynichos (287 R.) and made possible the retention of veo- where the metre requires vo- (Birds 547). Hrd. has voor- 620, 22, 23, 767, 72, veorr- (v-) 748, Babrios veorr- (v-) 881, 1184; 4 f. b.: some MSS, have Θεόγνιδος. 257 (§ 288): the fusion of εηand δθ- (ώθ-) produced νωθής Hdt. III 53, Babrios 95, νωθρίη Hrd. 41. Cf. dows raxéws in Hesychios. 258 18: on θεωρός see app, to p. 244; 27: on λεωργά, see § 716, s. v. λείως (λέως); 15 f. b.: other examples of εω are Λεωμέδοντος Hrd. 47, λεωφόρος Chios 175 as Rhesos 881, αλεωρή Hrd. 295, έννέωροι 85, ταχέως 311, 710 (second foot: cf. 717 first, 340, 511 fifth foot), whereas ήδέως 170 is open; νεωκόρφ 400 (cf. addenda to p. 146), γναφέως 4τον σκυτέων 770, ['Οδ]υσσέως Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 316, γονέων Theog. 1330; 8 f. b.: Δεωκούρην (?) Hrd. 1₃₂ < Δηο-< Δᾶο-. Δηώ is a clip-name of Δημήτηρ</p> (Kallim. frag. 48 has Δηωίνη), Δήω of Δηϊάνειρα; 2 f. b.: Ποσειδεώνος B. C. H. XVI 323 Chios (late); on the thematic verbs with stems ending in a or n. which show ω, see § 687, 1, 2. It is maintained by many scholars that in these verbs ω is the result of the contraction of εω<ηο. 260 7 : Hrd, has εω in ἐντελέως 470, ἐπιμηθέως 391. Hence we read σαφ[έ]ως 7121, and so ἐκτεν[έ]ως Vita Hom, 7; 13: θεῶν Hrd. 7111 but θεῶν 130, 473. 261 13: Taυρεών, name of a month in Samos, Kyzikos, and Sinope (Bischoff De fastis Graecis 396, 400). Hrd. 7 to has Taupe wvos; 17: to be noted is ewu as a single syllable in Hrd. 799, Meister thinks that tou in Hrd. is monosyllable without exception. But the papyrus has only three cases of ear and in two of these (201, 578) it is dissyllabic (Meister σε[α]υτήν and έ[α]υτόν); 15 f. b.: Hacher Babrios 120; synizesis in vy &8e Hrd. 442; 4 f.b.: Schmidt Neutra p. 147 regards Attic abbabys, instead of abbabys, as evidencing a desire to avoid confusion with the many words ending in -ωδης. Other occurrences of -wrat are: Indwrat Thas. (L.) 10 B 6, 13 A 9, Arch.-epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterr. XI 187, no. 1, I, Πλειστώναξ Chios 1774, Αβρώναξ Thasos 81 A 5, Μητρώναξ Smyrna 153,, Δημώναξ Thas. (L.) 7 B 5, 14 A 6, B 3 (not 14,), Μοιρώναξ Erythr. B. C. H. III 389 (late). 262 13 : of a = ω also in θῶκος § 202. Σῶνδρος 263 13: Hdt. has Cwypiw fourteen Arkesine 32 is scarcely from $\sigma o + a \nu \delta \rho o s$. times, Corpoln VI 28, 37. Homer has Corpola Z 46, A 131. For elsewhere with accented w, read the uncontracted form occurs only when the a is accented; 17: Hrd. 41. has the hiatus & arat, a formula restored in Phoinix tis by Crusius Herondae mimiambi p. 71 for & 'rat of the manuscripts. 265 to ; cf. § 716 on Aclas (News); 21: Meister Herodas 821 reads -opy- in all the compounds in Hdt. in which the accent does not fall either upon o or e, except in the Lakonian dyaθοεργοί which I have marked as a possible exception. This -οργ- from -cepy- he proposes to explain by the principle mentioned in the addenda to p. 255. A thorough investigation of the subject can alone determine the correctness of this theory. Samepyés p. 265 last line Meister would explain as due to the operation of the same principle. The contraction of o+e to ou is certain when either vowel bore the accent, e.g. in κακούργος. From such forms, -oupyes may have been transferred to forms where it was not properly in place, e. g. in Attic ἀλουργός. Schulzo Q. E. 498 has shown that the Samian άλοργός (mentioned in III A) represents the original form from vreg colour, dye (pefe, poyers, Skt. rajusti). That the Samians did not change along to along is due to the fact that they did not possess the 266 2 : read II A for II B; 17: for Κλεούμπορος We form δημιουργός. should read Κλεόμπορος, which takes the place of Κλεέμπορος (Wackernagel Dehnungsgesetz p. 60); 11 f. b.: as no certain case of $\mu(\omega)$ occurs in Hrd. we read μοι νεύχη 6,7 for ενεύχη. In 344 the first foot is of σοι έτ'. has also καταβωσόμενος VI 85 and βεβωμένος III 39; 12: Hdt. has νένωκα III 6, èvéruro I 77, èvéruro VII 206, Apoll. Rhod. rusare IV 1409, Kallim. frag. 345 and Theokritos XXV 263 roodperos. The contraction is unknown to Homer in the case of rote; réveras Soph, frag. 191, révertas in the Yauler δροι, perhaps in νώβυστρα Hrd. 6,4 (cf. νουβυστικόν in comedy). The contraction did not ensue originally when either e or n was accented (Meister Herodas p. 821). Cf. above on p. 263, 13. Contraction also ensued in seveσβώσαι Hrd. 539 according to Brugmann, Indogerm. Forsch. I 501 ff. σβω may however be the ablaut of σβη. πρών Hrd. 5m, Kallim. choliamb. 84 (§ 297. is perhaps from *πρόην <πρώην. πρώην is read in Babrios 6, 111 μ, 125, πρωΙνών 124₁₇; 10 f. b.: synizesis ληκύθου ήμέων Hrd. 3₂₁₅ 268 13: εδωνότ is assimilated from afjures (aris), Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 174; 10 f.b.: of the 270 17: add Hrd, 1, 8, 8, Kallim, 86, 'Ηροδότου λέξεις, Stein II 456. lesis occurs in Priene, Inscript. British Museum III 1, no. 401, 20. 271 15: though the ground-form of loos is still uncertain, a contraction of 1++ to i may be confidently denied. The divorcement of leges from salards 272 21 : deiter Hippokr. attempted by Schulze Q. E. 210 is improbable. VII 124, Hrd. Class. Rev. V 481, 64, wposae seier Hippokr. VI 482. 273 9: Hrd. has doeir' 301, doais 571, Heipas 701, Anakr. doseis 191. Hippokr. han àclow VIII 236 (alp 0), 354 (0), depoels 122 (ap 0), 124, alpu V 646, VIII 144, 216, 282, 328, 368, Aprai 280, Appar II 24, V 94, 236; Hdt. has in the present defeat I 204, II 125, III 144, IV 150, VII 101, 143, 209, VIII 140, after VII 10 (v), in

the imperfect delpa II 125, VIII 56, alpa IV 130 (?), VI 133 (?), in the norist åείρω Ι 87 (?), VI 14, 44, 126 (?), VII 132, 156, 212, VIII 94, IX 59 (?), «Τρω I 90 (?), II 162 (?), VI 99, VIII 57, 60, IX 79, 107 in the aerist passive delpu I 165, 170, VII 9 (γ), IX 52, αίρω I 90, 212, V 81, 91, VI 132, VII 18, 38, IX 49. Sim. Keos 111, has ήρθην, Ion 3, ἀειράμενος; 23: for Kaepos read Kaepos; 24: Hom. φαεινός belongs after φανός, which is also Ionic (Φανόθεμις, app. p. 285); 14 f.b.: [σ]6αι είσί synizesis Hrd. 699; 9 f.b.: Hdt. has κιθαρφόδη Ι 23, βαψφδούς V 67, συνφδόν V 92 (γ), χρησμφδέων VII 6 all foreign to the epic. On the other hand the open epic forms occur : doidos I 24, doidhy I 202, II 79, ἀοίδιμος II 79, 135, ἐπαοιδήν I 132; last line: χοί Hrd. 47 = καί οί. Cf. Philokt. 565. x4 is prescribed by Et. M. 8164. In Lysistr. 388 the MSS. have xol, but the Lex. Messan., R. M. XLVII 411, cites the verse with xo. Both forms are possible. 274 14 f.b.: βούλη Hrd. 5, is the probable reading; 12 f. b.: δίζεαι is called Ionic for δίζηαι in the Lex. Messan, R. M. XLVII 408; 8: 4. θεαί Hrd. 411, τό μεν αίμα 57 in the second foot. δέ of Theog. 178, 391, οὐδέ of 1376 (cf. § 389); last line : θεούς Hrd. 750 but - in 7109, Κλεούς Hrd. 392 from Κλε(Ft)ώ. 276 7: καί μευ οδτε Hrd. 148 277 3: Hrd. 5, has μαὐτόν; 6 f. b.: ἐγῷμι Hrd. 5μ is the in the first foot. better reading as shown by the circumflex over the win the papyrus; 5 f.b.: 279 9 (after the table): here τ' is read. synizesis λέγω αΰτη Hrd. 442. 282 2: δημορίων Oropos 1828; 6 f. b.: on Πελαργός, see Johansson Sprachkunds 18 ff., whose arguments against the existence of rhotacism in the word seem well founded, whatever be thought of his etymology. 284 19 f. b. : oppos Galen, Lex. Hippokr. is from *bpoos, obpd from *opod. 2ppedne (§ 634. 5) is not properly Ionic, being a contamination of Attic ἐρρήθην and Ionic elpéθην. [δια]ρραίνειν Keos 4315 contains ρρ from σρ, whereas the single ρ of διαρανθήι 1. 17 is due to the influence of the uncompounded palva. Cf. loopροπος and Ισόροπος. Hrd. 6,8 has έρραψε where the metre calls for έραψε. 285 5 f. b.: Φανόθεμις is the Ionic form, Kyzikos, B. C. H. XIV 535, no. 1, 6. That dialects other than Aiolic evinced a fondness for vy in names from φαFes- may be inferred from the name of the Grace Φάεννα, Alkman 105. Φάεννος Anth. Pal. IV 1, 29, C. I. G. 2306 (an Oinean), Φαεννίς Paus. X 12, 10, Φαεννώ Zosim. II 36, 2. 290 7 f.b.: the representation of I. E. q by κ before α in the pronominal forms has been heretofore accepted as the specific peculiarity of the Ionic dialect. That Aiolic also employed a is now clear from the occurrence of 5kgs on an archaic inscription (B. P. W. 1892, 514). If Aiolic once possessed both forms and gradually displaced that with the guttural, Ionic may likewise have possessed both. 291 1 : rend #00, κου and for Hrd. 343 read 360; under δκως read Hippokr. II 64, 74, III 242, under δκοΐος dele Hrd. 164. 292 : Hippokr. VII 96, 378 has δτη. Hdt. has ποί or πη in all MSS. V 73. 294 15: κιθών occurs also Delos, B. C. H. XIV 480, n. 4 (κιτώνος), Louvre papyri LH 6, LHI 1, 11, 15, LIV 1, 13, 16, in the Banks' MS. of O, Aegypt. Urkunden des Berlin. Mus. II 22, 16 ff., Isaiah XXXVI 22, LXI 10 (Buresch Philologus LI 96). Here it is merely a late form, not specially Ionic; 12 f. b.: κυθροπώλαι Pollux VII 197 (in C), Κύθροι the Attic festival, C. I. A. III 11602 (192-193 A.D.); cf. Et. M. 543st-295 II f.b. : obxi is also Homeric. The suffix is -xi, cf. Skt. nahi. 296 II read r for K; 18: the form from the Behistan inscription does not prove that γ is original in 'Αγβάτανα. 297 last line: ἐφδοίη (?) Amorgos, Mitth. XVIII 32, according to Dümmler. This would be the only case of o in a preposition, and before 5. 298 6: abreyer's would seem to be an hyperIonism due to the influence of abres. abres occurs also in Hrd. 447, and is referred to as Homeric by Suidas s.v. αδθις; 8 f.b.: τωθάζω Hrd. 7τοι. Kallim. in schol. Ven. A on IX 193 uses Tauuas for "Adauas; cf. Et. Gud. 299 11 f.b.: the aspiration of the media in μηθέν &c. is due to such 52242. collocations as obd of C. I. A. II 78924 (373 B. C.). After 330 B. C. obdels, undels are the regular forms in Attic. The old forms reappear under the empire. Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 372 regards obfanet in Epidauros, C. D. I. 334022. μηθαμώς in Korkyra 3206108, μηθαμόθει in Aitolia 1410s as evidencing the original asper, which has been lost in Ionic μηδαμοί &c. 302 7 f. b. : γέγραπφα Priene, Inscript, of the Brit. Mus. III 1, no. 412, 7. Such expansions of the aspirates are frequent on Hellenistic documents, e.g. συνδιαπεφύλακχεν, 308 9 f. b.; Wackernagel R. M. XLVIII 299 Mylasa, B. C. H. V 102. shows that in Kyzikos 108 B 4 raborov is to be read and that or is expressed by sampi. radesor occurs in Kos, Mitth. XVI 4071. If a Karian word it is important for § 21. The T of GalaTas is probably not sampi; at least sampi 309 2 f. b.: whether Carebov is is certain only in non-Hellenic words. from 8; a-we80v may be doubted. At all events, Hom. 8ame80v, which occurs in a fragment wrongly attributed to Anakreon (124), is not the equivalent of the intensive 8a- in Sapowes, Sarkers, as is suggested by Curtius Et. 621. δάπεδον is δηπεδον, i.e. the level floor of the house, the first part being connected with δώμα, δεσπότης, δάμαρ. From the above mentioned meaning was evolved the use as plain, ground. 8dmeter in Prometh. 829 is clearly impossible, whatever be thought of Choeph. 798. 312 12 f. b.: Képow Demokr. 87. виров Theog. 698, Sim. Keos 120, Pindar Pyth. X 21, теропты Hippokr. VIII 42 319 19: that for antevocalic F, w may be used in the Ionic from *r (po-o-nra. alphabet after it had lost the f follows from TERFON in Knossos, Museo Ital. II 678, col. 2, 1. 5, 8. 322 21: read 352; 25: read loval and cf. § 716. 332 6: in view of the occurrence of Kerámep 64 times in Hdt., it is better to read κατά than κατὰ τά. The latter appears in all MSS, IV 16z, V 8g, VI 54, In all except d (and s) II 99, in all except d VI 89. κατά = καθά appears in I 208, II 6, 116, III 86, VII 199 (here only = schere). Furthermore in all MSS. in IV 201, in all except Psv IV 76, in all except Pr V 12, 112. ker & is a r. L. IV 76, 201. Cf. p. 454, 3; 13 f. b. read Lenis. 333 12 f. b.: see Lobeck on Aias 805 for ήλιος, fewer &c. in compounds in literature; 8 f. b.: ἐφ' ໂστμ καὶ δμοίη: Ephesos, Inscript. of the Brit. Mus. III 2. 334 15: Herodas has έγδοῦσα 6,2, έγλῦσαι 6,1, ένβλέπεις 6,4, ένπαλέων 6,2. In 5,3 Meister edits σύ γ[ε] φίγγε; last line: τοῖν μαζοῖν VII 514 (several MSS, the plural), ἀμφοῖν VII 486. 385 16: ἀστραγάλαι occurs also in the Anthol. VI 309, ef. Didymos schol. on \(\Psi 88, \) Eust. ad loc., and schol. on \(\Pri \) 551. \$\frac{1}{2} \) Alfer is called Ionic by Porphyrios Quaest. Hom. 8, p. 229. It occurs in Hrd. 4n (a work in marble), but in 434 δ λίθος = the stone. 337 to f.b.: Έρμης Ηιρρου. 340 7 f. b.: the following examples of nouns in -y occur in Herodas, to which there are in Attic and other dialects parallel forms in -a; manning 331, 30, πτέρνη 721 (Hippokr. V 236), σμίλη 7111-341 15 : pri[at] should be read. µras in Hippon, and Hrd, is the Attic form, for which µrfar should be substituted. On the inflection of 74, see Schmidt K. Z. XXXII 349. Απολλωνίδεω Th. 78 B 10 (III Century), Ισσαρχεώ also in Kyzikos, Mitth. XVI 141 l. 1 (under Caligula), Tordowee in the letter of Dareios which is otherwise a late Atticized reproduction of the original (B. C. H. XIII 529, L. 3). 350 f. n. I: this law of hyphaeresis obtains in Homer only (Schmidt). 852 15: γενής Hrd. 21, 4μ; 19: γενεής Hdt. III 33, 122; last line: for Zeleia read Abdera (Έρμηι). 353 22: τεῖ βουληι and τεῖ βουλεῖ Eretria Έφημ. ἀρχ. 1890, 196 (411 B. C.), 200. 354 7: Έρμη Anakr. 111, epigr., γενη Hrd. 215 357 2: δωρεήν Hrd. 210, νέην Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 51. 358 5: insert Hdt. before IV. Meister Herodas p. 830 conjectures that the nom. was year, In Hdt. IV 192 d has yalal. yeveal occurs in Hdt. II 142, veas in Hrd. Im; § 445: ἀλ(λ)HOν represents -εων, not -ηων (§ 140, 1 n.) or -ηον; see § 289, 1. 360 12 f. b.: dele βροντέων; 10 f. b.: for 360 read 560, and add πορνέων 235, αίρέων 6,00. 361 6: Hrd. 222 μνέων 'Αττικών speaks in favour of the inflection of the feminine adjective like the masculine (cf. p. 363). xakaw 750 should however be χαλκέων; 8: Anakr. 124 has Moυσάων (?); 4 f. b.: γεῶν Hdt. IV 198. 365 (§ 451): to this section add Solon in Aristotle's 'Aθ. πολ. : πολλαίσιν 124, άρπαγαίσιν 123. Herodas της έμησι 5κ3 (not έμησι with the papyrus and § 450, 3), ταΐσι μηλάνθαισι III 2; μετρηίαις 174 is corrupt (γρήαισι Blass). In 6100 αὐτῆ[σι] is certain, in 614 ταῖs. Hrd. uses -ps only when it stands in conjunction with -you, a rule that will not hold in the early Ionic poets. 376 (§ 466): νόον Mimn. 58, νοῦν Mandrokles of Samos in Hdt, IV 88, Hrd. 475, πλοῦν Hrd. 140, ἀργυρεῦν 462, 65. 380 (§ 474): add Solon in Aristotle's 'Αθ. πολ.: μετρίοισι 53, ανθρώποισιν δσοις μή 124, κακοίσιν 125, δφθαλμοΐσιν 12, τοίσιν 12, τοίσ' έναντίοισιν 12; Herodas τοίσδ' 430 μετώποις έ- Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 22. 383 1 : the Koan forms τέλεως Paton and Hicks 37m. τέλεωι 3814, 15, 42 B 6, τέλεων 40 A 5, may be regarded as Ionisms. The native dialect had however the non-Ionic dual (τέλεω 392); Hrd. 750 has τέλεων neuter; 10: 'Αρτυσίλεω Thasos 78 B 11. 384 4: Hrd. has Kws Jase Kῶν 42; 9 f. b.: read Ιλεφ; Hrd. has the accus. pl. εδκερως in Class. Res. V 480, frag. 114. To this declension Meister would refer 'Arcford Hrd. 3419 (cf. § 428, 1 A) because the accent is on the papyrus and words in -ewr are paroxytona, while clip-names in -ns are generally perispomena. Exceptions are however very frequent, and there seems to have been no certain tradition in respect of many hypocoristic names. See addenda to p. 429 and Chandler §§ 59, 60. The difficulties on the score of vocalization have been ignored by Immisch, who (R. M. XLVIII 290 ff.), in attempting to show that the proper form of the name of the author of the 'Iliou mipous was Aigness. explains the name as derived from an hyper-Ionic *Aeoxinos < Aeoxaios, and in like manner 'Ακέσεωs from "'Ακεσήιος <' Ακεσαίος. But it is only when F, not s, intervened between vowels, that metathesis quantitatis occurs, and all of Immisch's examples of εω < ηιο are vicious. 'Ακεσεύς and 'Ακεσαίος are not connected as regards the endings, the latter being a development of 'Account, which was formed directly from 'Aκέσανδρος (§ 165, note). If by the side of Λεσχαΐος we have Λέσχης, by the side of 'Ακεσαΐος we may have 'Ακέσης. Though not prepared to pronounce against the incorrectness of Aégreus. there does not seem to me to be any great difficulty in supposing that Afoxen in Proklos is the genitive of Λέσχης. Hdt. often retains the native vocalism (§ 158), so too Thukydides, Xenophon, and Plato (§§ 73, 429, 484); and inscriptions (cf. p. 346) show that even in Roman times the -ew of the genitive was retained; footnote 2 read of. Wackernagel Philol. Anxilor XVI 73 and place this after p. IV. 387 11 f. b.: after πόλιος). add καὶ Ίπποκράτης φθίσιος (ΙV 536). 289 18: 'Ακέσιος Paros, Milth. XVIII 17:. 391 (§ 486): Hrd. has πόλιος 226, 31; in 28 πόλεως has been corrected to πόλιος, thus introducing a certain anapaest in the fifth foot, which at best is very rare. In 231 πόλιος brings an anapaest into the fourth foot, which appears beyond doubt in only one other passage (655, cf. 623). To avoid the metrical difficulties and because he makes much of -eo; as an Ionic form, Meister recommends the adoption of the form wokers in all three passages. His correction of Joh. Gr. 240, Meerm. 650, where -105 is called Ionic, is wide of the mark, though it cannot be denied that the statements of the grammarians (§ 481) are elsewhere obscure in reference to the form of the genitive. was one of the first words to show the Kourf inflection in the various dialects, e.g. in Kretan (Cauer 1224, 9, 20, 1277, 14, 13233, 40, C. I. G. 2567), Lakonian (Cauer 270), Phokian (Ross 81), to cite merely occurrences of the genitive. I find no mention in Meisterhans of [81] abores in an Attie inscription from 341-40 B.C. (B. C. H. V 364), which, if correct, should be added to the examples of Attic -cos. It is the only example of -cos in Attic outside of literature. The document in question has Or and fi. By 320 B.C. a was written for w in Accords, but there is no early instance of -cos for -cos in an 392 9: in Theog. 1043 πόλευς is the vulgate reading, and A has ev stem. πόλεως. Ziegler adopts πόλεος. 394 6: It is not of <olf, but of <o(1)t; cf. olds (OO) in Mnesimachos III 570 (V. 47) and § 227; 19: we must read $\Gamma \nu \lambda \lambda l[s]$ in Hrd. I_{eq} , μ , i.e. the nominative is used for the vocative (cf. I_{e} , μ , μ); vocative forms are Keperri 644, Kurri 4n; 17 f.b.: Lykophron Alex. 292 has 395 18 f. b.: 7013 Hrd. 140, 521, 720 is probably itacistic, though 398 18 : ἀπόξη Hippokr. III 298 τρείε occurs only once (190). Cf. § 571. must yield to -fea or -fupa. 899 6: γλυκέαι Hrd. 6, will avoid the anapaest in the fourth foot; note: after unvouched for, add to any extent except in Hdt.; 2 f. b.: add § 419 to § 219. 402 6: Hrd, has γναφέως 4τε. ['08]υσσέως Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 314 (ω-- possible); in Lykophron's Alex. we find -ηος, e.g. in τοκήσε 1394, Κυχρήσε 451; 12 f. b.: σκυτέα Hrd. 671. 403 23: 405 8; read 1; 14 f.b.; Kallim. has γρησι γονέων as [σκ]υτέων Hrd. 770. epigr. 41, 51 and epigr. incert. 6. 408 Ι: 'Αρκεσούν Οτοροs, 'Εφημ. άρχ. 1892, 54; 7: read πειθώ; 16 f. b.: add χελιδοί Simon. Koos 74. Ephopdreus Th. 78 B 8. 416 I: Θρασυάλκευς Th. 78 B 9. 422 6 : cf. άτηλέἄ C. I. G. 5172 and such forms as εὐκλής in Hesychios. εὐκλής may be either a contraction of the trisyllabic nom, form content (whereas the dissyllabic κλέος resists contraction), or built from εὐκλέα <εὐκλεία by hyphaeresis; 9: δλη, πανώλη Iasos, Mitth. XV 154; 12 f.b.: ΑΤΕΛΕΣ, Kyzikos 108 B 7, is a copy of the original spelling - areken, as Dittenberger Syll. 312 correctly reads. 428 16 f. b.: Hrd. has αληθέα 500, ψευδέα 500, 700. σκέλεα 52, σκύτεα 765, χείλεα 7115, έτεα Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 6,, μέλεα frag. 7,... Rutherford's [76]rea (000) 7 is therefore not to be defended, and reixy 4is to be corrected; 8: κατάντη Hippokr. III 298 is Attic. 424 7: δαψιλέων Hrd. 74, xeiligr 34. nepôler 72 would be the only case of open as from an -eg- stem in all post-Homeric Ionic poetry (except Ipplitable p. 348). Meister suggests that Keplier is meant. 429 6 f. b. : elip-names in -ar in Herodas are Σισυμβρα̂: 2_N, Βιτα̂το: 6₂₅, 11. The latter name has the genitive Birάδοs in Choirob. 4222, Birraδοs in Joh. Alex. 822 as in Hdn. (see footnote 2). A like variation exists in Έρμαροῦδος, 'Αμμαροῦτοι from "οῦτ, Έρμηδοι, Ποδήτοι from -ns, but it is only in Egyptian inscriptions that the genitive of as in proper names is -aros. Schulze R. M. XLVIII 252 suggests that the grammarians derived their knowledge of the genitive Birares from Herodas, in whose text Birades originally stood. In 6 we may read Kardar or]. Hdn. II 6837 (cf. Choirob. 4414, 4621, 13621, schol. Van. A on O 302) accepts two inflections of the name Thales: Gabis, -60, -6, -6, -6, and Gabs, -9res, -9re, -ита. In Kallim, frag. 95 the MSS, have Galifir, but in 94 Galyros and in 96

Θάλητα. This difference in accent finds a defender in Crusius who reads Θαλής in Hrd. 255, but Θάλητος in 20. If the nominative is Θαλής we must accent - ητος. Other words varying in accent and declension according to the ancients are Μεγής, Φαλής, Φανής, Κυής. 430 24: 'Αρτεμίς (οτ -είς, -is οτ -eis) Hrd. 687, 89, 'Αρτεμίν 694, a woman's name found in Knidos, Krete, Pisidia and Kos. Where the name occurs, indications point to its not being native to Greece; so even in Thessaly (Mitth. XII 361, no. 151), Athens (B. C. H. XIII 78). Genitives occur in Μητρείδος C. I. G. 3141, 30 (Smyrna), Moναρχείδος Paton-Hicks 185 (Kos), Φιλείδος B. C. H. VIII 378 (Lydia), &c. Names of women may end either in -īs, -īdos or in -īs, -fdos. Stems in -īd-434 last line : Hrd. has also μέζονα in Hrd. are δορκαλίδες 319, πυργίδα 715. 487; ήδίονα 187, μέζονα 75 are sing. In Phoinix we find πλείονα 117 in the MSS, where πλέονα (as in 23) is correct. 436 12: ΣΟΟΣ Styra 19 mp, et 23 is to be read Σωσs as ΣΟΟΝ C. I. A. I 36, σωσν. Boeckh's Σώφ (ΣΩΩ) in C. I. G. 39 cannot stand. The contracted form our is probably non-Homeric : at least all cases of its occurrence (except X 332) readily yield to the substitution σάος or σόος. The latter is possibly a contamination of σωf- and σἄf-. σόαι in Hrd. is either a case of the retention of the early form, or, as seems to me more likely, derived from σωσs as δρέσκοσs from -κω(t)σs. The forms with a subscript are neither Ionic nor known to Attic inscriptions. In Babrios 94, A has σώην, Suid. σώαν. In 7, σώος is written with no other spelling noted in Eberhard. 440 13: δ τέκνον μοι Μητρίχη Hrd. I at may serve as an example of the old possessive use of the pronoun : cf. Orestes 124 & τέκνον μοι, Hdt. I 207 τά μοι παθήματα, and the use of of in Hdt. I 1, III 3, Trachin, 650. See Wilamowitz Herakles v. 626, Wackernagel I. F. I 362; 7 f. b.: read 738; 6: in 146 there is authority for ανθρώποις instead of ήμείων, but it is a correction by a later hand. 441 7: in citing the forms of the pronoun I have almost always followed the MSS., which do not as a rule differentiate between the emphatic and unemphatic forms. In Anakr. 431. 622 ήμίν is no doubt unemphatic, as it is in 631, and in all three passages the MSS, have ήμῶν; but in 431, 631 the metre requires ήμῶν. Whether we should write halv, have or have cannot be determined, since we have no MS. authority for either accent in the monuments of early post-Homeric Ionic poetry. That the difference between the emphatic and unemphatic forms found expression in a different accentuation in the poetry of Alexandrian times may be inferred from \$\mu\meas\$ Hrd. 20 and \$\mu\meas\$ 200, where the papyrus has the proparoxytone. In I, δμῶν is emphatic and has the perispomenon in the MS. I have written ἡμῖν, ὁμῖν in Hrd. in all cases except where the ultima is certainly short. In Babrios 90, 987, 113, where Bergk, Eberhard, and Rutherford edit hur at the verse end, the Athoan MS, has hur; so 445 12: in 2611, 271, 3311 &c. A has huas. 443 1 : for often read 700 νιν is not more frequent than μιν, which occurs, in addition to the passages stated in 10, in 343 (?), 570 (?), 712. That PIV occurs after r or v is pure chance. Meister thinks vir was smuggled into the text of Hrd. from tragedy. 448 6 f. b. : Hrd. has κείνος also in 220, 450 (after ἡμέρη so that κείνη would be possible; cf. δούλη 'στι 453), ἐκεῖνος in 280. In 476 one case of ἐκεῖνος is uncertain (δε δεκείνον ή έργα τὰ ἐκείνου). 450 last line : for elision read crasis. ώυτης in Hrd. 684 would be an example of Apollonies' ωυ, were [4] ωυτής not a probable correction. On the origin of the reflexive forms, see now Wackernagel K. Z. XXXIII 2 ff., Meister Herodas 849; footnote 1: (Ahrens) after clision belongs after Γαύτω. Apoll. has ἐαύτω. 452 17: σοὶ αὐτῷ

I 108 should give way to σεωντῷ. σέο τ' αὐτοῦ occurs in I 124 (cf. Oid. Kol. 1417), but when abros is prefixed we have abro use as in IV 134, VII 28 (cf. E 459), αὐτῷ ol III 72, αὐτόν σε III 145, as αὐτοῖσι ἡμίν V 49, 91. I now see that Dryoff Pronomen Reflexioum emends abrée in I 24 to abroil. see p. 3324 and appendix: 7 f. b. in note: read έχρι. 455 II : 760 Hrd. 8,, the only case of so in a pronoun in that poet, should be corrected, cf. 700 2000 втевуска 5₂₀. 456 footnote 1: Wackernagel R. M. XLVIII 301 proposes to avoid the f in Lokrian for by reading \$ 871; to \$ 570 add : mereferepor = Erioi, rires, Hdt. I 63, 95, 199, II 125, &c., Hippokr. III 454, IV 220, 230 (where Galen says that the word is = {repos in the language of his time), Arctaios 5. In Nikander's Ther. 588, Schneider reads mer' derepose; of. έξέτεροι 412, 744. Το δτήμος in § 716 add that Hdn. I 512, (Theognos., An. Ox. II 1644) mentions δπημος and Arat. 568 has δππημος. πημος is mentioned by Hesychios and Hdn. II 925m. τημος is relative in Hippokr. IX 14 (6' ήμος in one very old MS.). 463 10 f.b.: it is better to read χρην in Hdt. In Hrd. 2, the papyrus has εχρηναυτον, where the ε belongs with the pro-472 (δργάζομαι): Hrd. 643 has δργάζετ'. This author always adopts the Attic rules for augment; (έρδω): έερδον in Solon ('Αθ. πολ. 12); note: dele the). 478 2 f.b. to end of §, and p. 472 s.v. efyevan: the original inflection of ογγυμι was as follows: (1) strong forms: δ(f)είγω, found in the Aiolic infinitive delyny C. D. I. 2141, Seryor, Certa. The imperfect distance may be substituted for areφye Π 221, Ω 228, aroslyeokor for araslyeokor Ω 455. For bife Z 298, A 446 &c. we may read beife (cf. Attic fueifa for the incorrect ξμιξα). (2) weak forms: δ(f)lyroum from the stem fry; cf. τείω, τίνυμαι. Felyrous had been the counterpart of δείκνομι, ζεύγνομι with the retention of the irregular diphthong in a form properly weak. The initial prosthetic o has been carried from blyrum into belyw where it is strictly not in place. The stem dry- appears in dryruro B 809, 0 58, and perhaps in Hrd. 411, whose бікта may, however, be an itacistic spelling for быкта (cf. тетнота). Theokr. XIV 47 has ἀνφγμαι. Later on δέγνυμε was contracted to σέγνυμε (cf. ols, oloual from ofic.), and the stem oly- transferred to the active in ανφίγεν Ε 168 (for which Nauck substituted armyer, Fick berge), ψξε Ω 457 (olfe?), olfaσa Z 89. Epidaurian ανώξε C. D. I. 3339 ..., Thookr. ανώξα XIV 15. Attic arolyw, arolew (hrosyer, hrose may be corrupt) and heoryma in Hippokr. V 436 (ἀνεφγ- Ermerins). Εξα, which is glossed as Hippokratic by ἀνέφξα in Erotian, can be defended only on the view that dry- and not dry- was transferred from the weak to the strong form, or on the assumption that it was 'distracted' from Ja. While the latter is not an impossibility, the former suggestion would seem to deserve more consideration because of Aiolic & post (Hdn. H 77713 = H 313:3 - I 25010) and offwer (Zonaras 2241). But Seyor is impossible in Homer, and it may be doubted whether we should not read Seryor, delywr in Aiolic, Seega in Hippokrates. The explanation of delyw and οίγνυμι here put forward, rejects the possibility of a stem form, which Kühner-Blass § 198, 6 hold to have originated from after by the transference of the spirant from the middle to the beginning. Though the existence of a stem fory would be welcome, such a shifting of f must however be pronounced impossible. Since no form in ely- had an initial f, the explanation of Wackernagel must fall to the ground, though in itself well adapted to clear up the mysterious of in love, lote, love the from "freeye &c.). We believe that free from of we became forer under the influence of the perfect (originally feforya), and that the perfect became fays under the

influence of the imperfect (cf. έώρα, έόρακα έώρακα). After the imperfect had adopted the extraneous ι, the agrist φξα became έφξα. Meister Hendas p. 823 would refer to σίγνυμι the Hesychian δοιγα' φαρέτρα with substantive ablant of ει to οι. The quiver is the οΙστοδέγμονα θησαυρόν βελέεσσιν Porezi 1020. 476 18 f.b.: rend Herodotos. 482 14: Hrd. has θέλω eight times, ἐθέλω once, and that in an augmented form (ἤθελον 533). This is the usage of the Kowh. 485: Hrd. has only contracted forms in the future : *priw 300 βαλέω 365, έρεις 428 and in seven other passages, διαβαλείς 622, άποκτενείς 521, προσμενείς 83, ερεί 325, θανεύμ' Class, Rev. V 481, frag. 85, αρείτ' 301, εκβαλεύσι 441. τιλεύσιν Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 815. 493 14: Babrios has γεγηράκει 4610, 1032, γηράσας 7415; Anakr. έάσεις 56, έασον 57 (Fick a), Hdt. I 90 έάσας; note 2, 4 f. b.: read Antiphon. In Hrd. 322 we have γνωναι read for which the regular ἀναγνῶναι is used in 302. In Hdt. II 91 ἀνέγνων is = agnovi. the verb Foφλέω is now attested in Arkadian. On an inscription from Mantinea (B. C. H. XVI 568, perhaps older than 450 B. C.), we find [fo] φλίασι 1. 1, [fo] φλέοι 1. 14, Γωφληκόσι 1. 18. 497 last line; the second person of the optative in Hrd, ends in -ais (357, 571, 68), never in -cias. In the third person we find -eie in 311, 75, -ai in 651, 782. 498 19: Hrd. has elva also in 537, είπατε 762, είπον 643, είπέ 647, 48, άνειπε 242, είπεῖν 693; read imperat. for opt. 502 9: βούλει in Hrd. is wrong. Apart from this form there are five cases (in the future) of -e, but there are four of -y in the indicative. Siçece is called Ionic for δίζηαι in the Lexicon Messan., R. M. XLVII 408 (cf. § 590). 503 14: Theog. 455 epaireo. Mpao p. 504 end, and 55917 belongs here. 505 11 : Solmsen K. Z. XXXII 546 defends Wackernagel's derivation of doverra; 23 f. b.: πίεται in Ion cannot stand (πιέτω Cobet); 22 f. b.: for M. Schmidt read Nietzsche. In connection with the above may be mentioned the fact that in Hippokr. V 386 we find πιέουσα, which is more probably a blunder for πιοῦσα (V 382) than the participle to πίει (C. I. G. 8046, 8096-8110, Bergk P. L. G. III 668 &c.), whose & is a genuine diphthong according to the Attic vase inscriptions. Cf. Roscher in Curtius' Studien IV 194, Bergk in Jahrb. CXVII 195, Kretschmer in K. Z. XXIX 482; 11 f.b.: Hippokr. has δάξομαι VIII 338 (so θ probably), but δήξομαι VII 336 (cf. § 619). 506 15 : [elae]velкантея, Erythrai, in Dittenberger's Syll. 15920 (shortly after 278 в. с.), but 509 10: εΙρύαται Hippokr. V 596, έντετμέαται IV 298; ἐσήν[ε] γκεν 160η. 14: λελέχαται Aret. 260, 284. 511 22: in Clouds 1203 verquéros is preferable; 8 f. b.: read kalw. 512 7: in Hippokr. II 26 we even find καταλελεπτύσθαι (vulgo -ησθαι), where -ύνθαι should be read with Cobet. The participle occurs in VI 192 bis. Hippokr, has the - σμαι form also in the case of θερμαίνω VI 190, 192, ύγραίνω 192, σκληρύνω 132, μιαίνω 96. Almost all of the -oual forms occur in the pseudo-Hippokratic tractates. 516 9 f.b.: of the poets, Theognis has -ee in 30, 32, 47, 100, 145, 331, 353, 547, 557, 1095, 1297, 1351, Archil. 66, ἀγάλλεο, 66, δδύρεο; Hrd. has also αλοχύνευ 2,5, γίνευ I 2, επευ 439, καταψεύδου in 117 is corrected to -εο or -ευ on the papyrus; ἐπεύχεο 358 should be changed to -ευ. 518 21: see appendix to p. 255. 520 18: δοθήσεται Samos 22121, νομισθήσεαι Euseb. Mynd. 52; 13 f. b.: βλαβήσεται Aret. 39. 530 footnote 2: add ἐσύλευν Hrd., Class. Rev. V 481, frag. 31, προσιεύσαν Hippokr. IX 340 (many MSS. -ου-). 537 17 f. b.: αμαρτεί Hrd. 495? (cf. 'papapreis 541) is the first occurrence in literature of this equivalent of δμαρτέω. It is attested in Hesychios and Eust. 5922. 543 22: with the variation between καλέοι and ποιοῖ, compare that in Eleian : δοκέοι 1156, ένποιοί 1156, απογηλέοι 1154, ποιοίτο 2. 544 4: Hermes not R.M. 563 19:

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or read λεοῖ and derive the form from ληρέοι. If this is correct, we must assume two verbs *λημω and *ληρεομω. ληρέοι could become λεόι after the loss of ρ, and then λεοῖ. Solmsen K. Z. XXXII 515, 517 regards as Kretan both λημω <λημω, and λεοῖ <ληρέοι. 566 12: in Hrd. 448 the papyrus accents (όην, which may be regarded as an adjective. The adjective was thus accentuated by Hdn. (I 11125, II 77816, 94714, where Epicharmos 120 is cited). In the passage in Archil. 632 the vulgate has (ωοῦ, and in Theokr. II 5 we find (ωοῦ. The substantive (όη had the oxytone accent according to Hdn. II 90125. 568 ff.: to the list add ἀπατοῖεν Herakl. in Hermes XV 605 (but probably an error for -ωιεν), ἀπολωφέοιτο Hippokr. IX 356 epist., μωμεσμένων Demokr. 123. As regards σταθμόω it should be noted that Kallim. 94 (choliambic) has σταθμήσασθαι. 596: to § 715 add εἶνεκεν Hippokr. IV 220, ἔνεκεν III 514; ὅτου εἶνεκα Syr. dea 27, 28, 34; Aret. οδνεκα 52, οὕνεκεν 66, τοδνεκε 45.

APPENDIX II

THE IONISMS OF THE LATE WRITERS OF IAMBICS AND CHOLIAMBICS.

WE present below a survey of the chief Ionisms of Kallimachos (K.), Aischrion of Samos (A.), Phoinix of Kolophon (Ph.), Parmenon of Byzantion (P.), Kritias of Chios, Babrios (B.), and Lykophron's Alexandra (L.). K. is cited from the text of Schneider, A., Ph., P., and Kritias from Schneidewin's Delectus (and Crusius, in the case of Ph. 1; see Crusius' Herondas p. 70), B. from Rutherford, and L. from Kinkel. Some of the Homerisms of L. and most of the Homerisms of B., have been included. In the case of the writers who aim at reproducing the dialect in all except a few details, i.e. in the above writers with the exception of B, and L., we have included such matters as crasis &c. The Ionisms of B. and L. are practically confined to the Ionic η and a few cases of Ionic ει, εν and ον. In L. the occurrences of n are sporadic merely, in B. they are so frequent as to lead to the belief that he intended to adopt it in the first declension throughout. There are some open forms that I have ventured to include, though uncertain whether they might not more properly be regarded as examples of the licence permitted Attic poetry. But attention should be called to the fact that no instance of an uncontracted aw, ew, or ow verb occurs in any of these writers.

1. Vowels. η for ā: ἐλαίη Κ. 93, νεήκων 78, Καστνιῆτιν 82 b.; χώρην Α. 2; εθύρην Ph. 1, κασπίης 23; μακρήν P. 11. In Babrios there occur about 150 cases of nouns of the first declension and adverbs where the Ionic η was possible. In about 70 of these the Athoan MS. has α, which Rutherford changes to η. Sometimes where this MS. has α, Suidas has η (181, 261, 812, 928), and sometimes the reverse is the case (101, 301, 822, 17, 861, 941, 10825). In the spurious fragments Rutherford leaves α, ε, g. in σαύραν 411, but changes to η in 10626, 1164. Hyper-Ionic η appears when ε became ε ε δξέη 774, δξέην [731, 133], βαθέην in the Athoan 257 where Suidas has είαν. μήην has been incorrectly read in 476 (μίαν Α), 1312 (μίαν V). In the middle of a word, η is comparatively rare. I have noticed ωχριήσαι 92, in Suidas (κριθιάσαι 622, ηθρίασε 459), ίηση 1207 (Ιατρός, Ιατρεύω), γενειήτην 12411, πρηύναι proem. B 15 (πρᾶος 1022, [1110], πραότης [1815]), νεηνίσκοις 10710, νέη proem. B 6 (νέα 2211, νέας 225, νεᾶνις 226), κνηκίαν 12212 sic in Suidas (κνακίαν Α

κνακόν 1132), ἀπείρητος 950 (πειράσας 9570, ἐπειράθην 5712, 13416), ἀλοιήσας 12211. \$λόησε 26, 129, Παιήων 120, (raidrer 24). The following always have a : Θράκη (L. always Θρήκη), πράσσω οτ πράττως κέκραγε, γηράσας, γεγηράκει, δαδίην, ρίων, ραθυμέω, γραῦς. Lykophron very rarely adopts the Ionic form: Λειβηθρίην 275, καλύπτρης 337, λυγρήν 910, δτρηρής 997, αρούρης 1060, ακρης in Bachmann's edition 714, Τιτήνας 709, Τυμφρητόν (?) 420, καρηβαρεθντας 384, xeareipsur (so in V) 1077. Scheer adopts n only in 384, 420. Of about 60 occurrences of the long form of the dative plural, Bachmann read *you in 18, 59, 106, 107, 193, 266, 442, 454, 470, 728, 729, 802, 817, 1055, 1358. # is also used 2. Diphthongs. El: B. has feiros [106,], elsewhere fer-, στεινής 10822, elphoras 1227, elapos 1313, entrelor 1293 conj. (έκπνέων 603); L. ξεινοβάκχης 175, κακόξεινος 1286, ανειρύσας 1322, είναφώσσωνα 101. ΕΥ: πρευμενής L. 536, 1055. ΟΥ: μοῦνος Β. 25, 126, 131, [106, 13] elsewhere μόνος (10 times), L. 179 (40- Sch.), 46res K. 76, 82 b, 00roug L. 339, 370 but Ph. tu karoμαστόν, γούνα Ph. I13, γουνασμάτων L. 1243, ούλαμηφόροις L. 32, ούλαμωνύμου L. 183, κούρος and κούρη A. 15, Ph. 110, 11, 13, L. 58, 182, 712, 1131 (κορ- Sch.), Kouρητις L. 671, Koupητες 1297. Elsewhere L. has κορ- as Babrios always. δουρατογλύφου L. 361, οδρήκεσει B. 1292. L. 557 has οδδας, 49, 698 οδδαίος. None of these later writers have any other form than \$Aos and \$pos. HI: δήτοι Ph. 220, βορηίφ 30, δνήτστος 31, λήτον Β. 114, 883, L. 252, 'Ητών L. 417; elsewhere y as in χρήζω Ph. 1, &c. Ωl: πρωϊνών B. 124, but πρώην 6, &c. Loss of ι from the diphthongs: B. 59, has 'Αθηνα but -αίη 72, α, Έρμης 30, and often, but -eins 301, 483, 1194, 1271; den B. 771, den [731, 1331], Bastine 251 (Athoan, -elar Suidas), πλέονα Ph. 2, and probably In ; πόη B. 46, but ποίη 95.11 12812, [1422]. Cf. also xpon 130, [653], xhon 462, 882, nron 3610, 1145. B. han 8. Contracted and Open Vowels, a+1: "Aibus ηλόησε 26, 129₁₀. Ph. 22, B. 95, 122, L. 197, 1188 (both first foot), 51, 404, 457, 497, 564, 655, 809, 813 (all second foot). a+ect delborra K. 90, delbo Babrica proem. B 16, 68 elsewhere in B. and in Ph. 114, 212. e+e: axeex K. 86, demale is B. 714, $\epsilon + \epsilon = \epsilon i$ always in the verb. $\epsilon + \eta$: yeven B. proom. A. 1. (γονήν Α. 17), Θαλής Κ. 95, Ph. 31, ἀργυρήν Ph. 210, χρυσήν 31. γεηπόνος Β. 10814. a noteworthy form for year, occurs in Aristotle according to L. & S. e+n always becomes η in the verb. e + ei always contracts in the verb. e + eiφωλεόν Β. [1062]; = ευ in μεδεύντι Κ. 95, τείχευς 86, τοιεύ Α. Ι., επωλεύμην B. 12811, 12923, καρηβαρεύντας L. 384. ε+ω: κυκεώνα Kritias, λεωλογείν Ph. 245 In L. λεώς is Attic. η + ε: ὑλέεντα Β. 95. η + ει : Κεισα Ph. 31. η + ω : πρηών L. 769, 1069 (Hesiodic), πρών 1237. ι+ ε (not genuine contraction): Ιρών Κ. 86, Ιρηξ B. [722]. o+o: πλόος K. (Meineke choliamb, frag. 1). o+n: "πίβωτος A. 11. 0+1: 515 B. 1321, 51r 132, but of: 1281. w+a: (wayplove B. 501s but Curpeir 532, Curptou 531. See also under 6 below. 4. Crasis &c. Ph. has τάπόλλωνος Ι2, ώνήρ 211, χώκόσα 216, τήτέρη 31, κήραν 210, Κ. 97 τάπιόντος, Α. 15 ή πίβωτος. 5. Consonants. K forms of the pronoun occur in K. 85, 93, Ph. 212, 10, 19 (π in I15, 216). Neither Babrios nor Lykophron uses the Ionic z. abris B. 88, elsewhere abois in B. L. has abris in B 546, on occurs in H. τόσσος 36, (L. 1461), μέσσος 1291 (μέσος 1291, 18 de.), πόσσος 1211, ποσσίε 1911 ούρησσιν 1292, είρυσσας 122, (ανεφύσας L. 1322), χωρίσσης 124; μεσσαβούν L. 817. Babrios varies between σσ and στ: the former in wpdσσω sic M_B, 1192, 12710, but πράττω always in the spurious parts (512, 402, 3320), πλήσσω 36,, but TT always in ATTA, ATTACHAS, ATTACH. In uses only or. autoform occurs in Ph. 2,. Declension (Nouns). (1) κριθέων Ph. 1, and Kritias, but Augrer Ph. 214. - aug. (and -aus) Ph. 114 where there is MS. authority

for Μούσησι πρός θύρησ' άδων. Babrios has -ais except in 5915, 1298, 1340, while Lykophron uses the longer form about 60 times (see under 1). (2) Homeric -010 occurs in B. 721, over ten times in L., who even adopts -ao (848). -oios is found in Ph. 25, 6, 35 bis, Kritias, -ois in Ph. 114 Tois Kastyvh Tots at the end, and A. I1. -otor occurs in B. about 16, in L. about 40 times. This enumeration takes no account of -ois before a vowel. dortew appears in B. 9500. χρυσέφ proem. B. 7, χρυσέαις L. 708. Whether such open forms are to be regarded as Ionic is doubtful. λαγωόs is often read in B. where it may be merely a late form, and not Homeric. (3) Open forms in the -es declension are : μέρε' (?) B. 1344, δρέων 922, τειχέων L. 1418, μεζέων 762; βάμφεσσι 598. "Apeos is found in B. 684. B. has οδατα 95m (ἀτός 95το), Ιχθόας 9ε, νῆα 71, (νηός L. 618, να- Sch.), νομῆα 128, (conj.), οὐρήεσοιν (conj.) 129 ... δῖς (above 3). πόρτιος L. 320, ἐπάλξιες 292. γοῦνα appears in Ph. 113, Ζεῦν in A. 15. Cf. app. p. 402. 7. Pronouns. Keivos K. 87, Ph. 27, B. 377, 956, L. 128, 304, 1139, ekeivos K. 89, B. over 30 times, L. 258, 259, 1081, Keidt 686, hufwr Ph. 2, ήμέων (-v-) is noteworthy B. 902. The relative τῶν appears in Ph. 14.

8. Verb. An uncontracted 'pure' verb is unknown. ἐὧν is found in B. 367, where some read τις ων for τ' ἐων. ων occurs in B. elsewhere at least 13 times. ἀναπλώσας Β. 742, ἐκπεπλωκότες L. 1084, and οίδας Β. 9514 may be noted. We have the Homeric fool in B. 777, 1197 (MSS. el), elphorous 1227, χωρίσσης 12π, σαώσει L. 758. θέλω, not έθέλω, is used by B. The pluperfect, which is used with remarkable fondness by B., is sometimes devoid of the augment (4610, 1032). Absence of the syllabic augment occurs in imperfect (95a) and norist (33s (?), 68s, 1116), but this is not in imitation of the iambographic style. 9. Prepositions, Conjunctions. els is used by K. 94 (MSS.), Ph. 112, 13, &s in K. 86, 96, 98 a, Ph. 222, A. 14, a consonant following in all cases except Ph. 22 and A. 14. Since Babrios used & only when compelled to do so by the metre. Rutherford corrects to els in 1,1, 11, 108,20. So in L. who has before vowels is in 497, 603, its about 20 times, before consonants els about 35 times. (Bachmann had ès in 14, 158, 326, 338, 463, 501, 512, 1472; Scheer in 139, 747 also, but not in 326, 512). arthree L. 1259. ην appears in B. 214, 4713, 647, 9569, 12710, 1286, L. 2, 623. αν is found over ten, ἐάν three times in the MSS. of B. ἐπήν occurs in 610.

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